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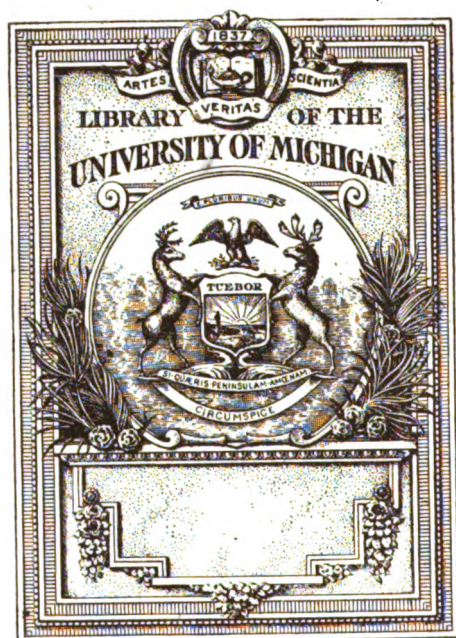
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**A CRITICAL AND EXEGETICAL .
COMMENTARY
ON
THE REVELATION OF ST. JOHN
BY
R. H. CHARLES, D.Litt., D.D.
VOLUME I**

THE INTERNATIONAL CRITICAL COMMENTARY
**A CRITICAL AND EXEGETICAL
COMMENTARY**
ON
**THE REVELATION OF
ST. JOHN**
WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND INDICES
ALSO
THE GREEK TEXT AND ENGLISH TRANSLATION

BY
R. H. CHARLES, D.Litt., D.D.
ARCHDEACON OF WESTMINSTER
FELLOW OF THE BRITISH ACADEMY

(IN TWO VOLUMES)
VOL. I

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TO
MY WIFE
TO WHOM
I AM IMMEASURABLY BEHOLDEN
IN THIS AS IN MY OTHER STUDIES
BUT IN THIS
BEYOND ALL THE REST

363038

PREFACE.

IN 1894 Messrs. T. & T. Clark asked me to undertake a Commentary on the Apocalypse. The present Commentary, therefore, is the result of a study extending over twenty-five years. During the first fifteen years of the twenty-five—not to speak of the preceding eight years, which were in large measure devoted to kindred subjects—my time was mainly spent in the study of Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic as a whole, and of the contributions of individual scholars of all the Christian centuries, but especially of the last fifty years, to the interpretation of the Apocalypse. The main results of these studies are embodied in my article on “Revelation,” in the last edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

But this work had hardly passed through Press before I became convinced that many of the conclusions therein set forth were in a high degree unsatisfactory, and that, if satisfactory results were to be reached, they could only be reached by working first hand from the foundation. From that period onwards I began to break with the traditions of the elders—alike ancient and modern—and to rewrite—and that not once or twice—the sections of my Commentary already written. Thus I soon came to learn that the Book of Revelation, which in earlier years I feared could offer no room for fresh light or discovery, presented in reality a

field of research infinitely richer than any of those to which my earlier studies had been devoted. The first ground for such a revolution in my attitude to the Book was due to an exhaustive study of Jewish Apocalyptic. The knowledge thereby acquired helped to solve many problems, which could only prove to be hopeless enigmas to scholars unacquainted with this literature. But the second ground was of greater moment still. For the more I studied the Greek of the Apocalypse the more conscious I became that no scholar could appreciate the essential unity of the style of the greater part of the book, or even translate it, who had not made a special study of the Greek versions of the Old Testament, and combined therewith an adequate knowledge of the Greek used by Palestinian Jewish writers and of the ordinary Greek of our author's time. From the lack of such a study arose the multitude of disintegrating theories with which I have dealt in my *Studies in the Apocalypse*. The bulk of these were due to their authors' ignorance of John's style. They failed to recognize the presence in the text of certain phrases and passages which conflicted with John's style, while with the utmost light-heartedness they excised from his text chapters and groups of chapters which are indisputably Johannine.

John's Grammar.—In fact, John the Seer used a unique style, the true character of which no Grammar of the New Testament has as yet recognized. He thought in Hebrew,¹ and he frequently reproduces Hebrew idioms literally in Greek. But his solecistic style cannot be wholly explained from its Hebraistic colouring. The language

¹ I have already in part dealt with this subject in my *Studies in the Apocalypse*², pp. 79-102. I am glad to learn from the editor of Moulton's *Grammar of N. T. Greek* that Dr. Moulton abandoned his earlier attitude on this question after reading these lectures.

which he adopted in his old age formed for him no rigid medium of expression. Hence he remodelled its syntax freely, and created a Greek that is absolutely his own. This Greek I slowly mastered as I wrote and rewrote my Commentary chapter by chapter. The results of this study are embodied in the "Short Grammar" which is included in the Introduction that follows.

The Text.—The necessity of mastering John's style and grammar necessitated, further, a first-hand study of the chief MSS and Versions, and in reality the publication of a new text and a new translation. When once convinced of this necessity, I approached Sir John Clark and laid before him the need of such a text and such a translation. After consultation with Dr. Plummer, the General Editor of the Series, Sir John acceded to my request with a courtesy and an enthusiasm I have never yet met with in any publisher. Sir John's action in this matter recalls the best traditions of the great publishers of the past.

For the order of the text and the readings adopted, and for any critical discussion of the text in the *Apparatus Criticus*, I am myself wholly responsible. The readings followed in the Commentary do not always agree with those in the Greek Text and in the Translation. Where they disagree, the Text, Translation, and Introduction represent my final conclusions. But these disagreements only affect matters of detail as a rule, and not essential questions of method. The Text represents only a fuller development of the methods applied in the Commentary.

Apparatus Criticus.—In the formation of the *Appar. Crit.* I had to call in the help of other scholars, since owing to over twenty years spent largely in the collation of MSS and the formation of texts in several languages, I felt my eyes were wholly unequal to this fresh strain.

When seeking such help, I had the good fortune to meet the Rev. F. S. Marsh, now Dean of Selwyn College, Cambridge. To his splendid services I am deeply indebted for the preparation of the *Appar. Crit.* At his disposal I placed the photographs of the Uncials A and B, of twenty-two Cursives, and of all the Versions save the Ethiopic. One-half of the twenty-two Cursives I examined personally in the Vatican Library, in the Laurentian Library in Florence, and in St. Mark's in Venice, and had them photographed. The rest of the photographs I procured through the kind offices of the Librarians of the Bodley, the National Library in Paris, and of the Escorial. Three or even four of these Cursives are equal in many respects to the later Uncials, and in certain readings superior.

Mr. Marsh collated in full the readings of these MSS and practically all the readings of the Versions,¹ and prepared the *Appar. Crit.* of chapters i.-v. Readings from other Cursives have been adopted from Tischendorf, Swete, and Hoskier. Unfortunately, when the work was far advanced, Mr. Marsh was called off to the War for three years. During his absence, Professor R. M. Gwynn² and Miss Gertrude Bevan most kindly came to my help, and verified the *Appar. Crit.* of i.-v., with the exception of the Syriac and Ethiopic Versions. There are three other scholars to whom my warm thanks are due. The first is the Rev. Cecil Cryer, who verified Mr. Marsh's collations of vi.-xiv. and embodied them in the *Appar. Crit.*, and

¹ I am myself responsible throughout for the collation of the Ethiopic Version. For my own satisfaction also, I have collated and verified hundreds—in some cases thousands—of readings in each of the other Versions, and in each of the twenty-two MSS.

² Professor Gwynn also read through the proofs of the Commentary, and Miss Bevan gave me most ungrudging help in part of the Introduction.

subsequently carried i.-xiv. through the Press.¹ During this process I verified here and there in the proofs thousands of readings from the MSS and Versions, but this revision was of necessity only partial. Mr. Marsh then made a complete revision of the *Apparatus Criticus* and corrected a large number of *errata*. The other two scholars are the Rev. D. Bruce-Walker and the Rev. J. H. Roberts. These in conjunction verified Mr. Marsh's collations of xv.-xxii., the former taking the larger share of the work. At this juncture Mr. Marsh returned, and prepared and carried through Press xv.-xxii. Once again I must record my grateful thanks to Mr. Marsh, and express the hope that he may find time and opportunity for research, and so make the contributions to scholarship for which he is so well qualified. Also I would express my gratitude to the Rev. George Horner for the large body of readings which he put at my service from the Sahidic Version, and the frequent help he gave in connection with readings from the Bohairic Version; and to Professor Grenfell for calling my attention to the Papyrus Fragments of the Apocalypse (see vol. ii. 447-451). Finally, I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. Plummer for his patience and kindness throughout the long years in which I was engaged on this Commentary, as well as for the many corrections he made in the revision of the proofs.

The Indexes.—For the first and fourth Indexes I am indebted to the competent services of the Rev. A. Ll. Davies, Warden of Ruthin, North Wales.

The Translation.—The Translation is based on the text. While the text diverges in many passages from

¹ Mr. Cryer further helped me by verifying the references in the Introduction.

that accepted in the Commentary, the Translation diverges from the text practically only in one (ii. 27).

In the Translation I have sought to recover the poetical form in which the Seer wrote so large a part of the Apocalypse. Nearly always, when dealing with his greatest themes, the Seer's words assume—perhaps unconsciously at times—the forms of parallelism familiar in Hebrew poetry. Even the strophe and antistrophe are found (see vol. ii. 122, 434–435). To print such passages as prose is to rob them of half their force. It is not only the form that is thereby lost, but also much of the thought that in a variety of ways is reinforced by this parallelism.

The Apocalypse—a Book of Songs.—Though our author has for his theme the inevitable conflicts and antagonisms of good and evil, of God and the powers of darkness, yet his book is emphatically a Book of Songs. Dirges there are, indeed, and threnodies; but these are not over the martyrs, the faithful that had fallen, but spring from the lips of the kings of the earth, its merchant princes, its seafolk, overwhelmed by the fall of the empire of this world and the destruction of its mighty ones in whom they had trusted, or from the lips of sinners in the face of actual or impending doom. But over the martyred Church, over those that had fallen faithful in the strife, the Seer has no song of lesser note to sing than the beatitude pronounced by Heaven itself: "Blessed—blessed are the dead that die in the Lord." A faith immeasurable, an optimism inexpugnable, a joy inextinguishable press for utterance and take form in anthems of praise and gladness and thanksgiving, as the Seer follows in vision the varying fortunes of the world struggle, till at last he sees evil fully and finally destroyed, righteousness established for evermore, and all the faithful—even the weakest of God's servants

amongst them—enjoying everlasting blessedness in the eternal City of God, bearing His name on their foreheads, and growing more and more into His likeness.

The Apocalypse—a book for the present day.—The publication of this Commentary has been delayed in manifold ways by the War. But these delays have only served to adjourn its publication to the fittest year in which it could see the light—that is, the year that has witnessed the overthrow of the greatest conspiracy of might against right that has occurred in the history of the world, and at the same time the greatest fulfilment of the prophecy of the Apocalypse. But even though the powers of darkness have been vanquished in the open field, there remains a still more grievous strife to wage, a warfare from which there can be no discharge either for individuals or States. This, in contradistinction to the rest of the New Testament, is emphatically the teaching of our author. John the Seer insists not only that the individual follower of Christ should fashion his principles and conduct by the teaching of Christ, but that all governments should model their policies by the same Christian norm. He proclaims that there can be no divergence between the moral laws binding on the individual and those incumbent on the State, or any voluntary society or corporation within the State. None can be exempt from these obligations, and such as exempt themselves, however well-seeming their professions, cannot fail to go over with all their gifts, whether great or mean, to the kingdom of outer darkness. In any case, no matter how many individuals, societies, kingdoms, or races may rebel against such obligations, the warfare against sin and darkness must go on, and go on inexorably, till the kingdom of this world has become the kingdom of God and of His Christ.

It is at once with feelings of thankfulness and of regret that I part with a work that has engaged my thoughts in a greater or lesser measure for twenty-five years. On the one hand, I am thankful that I have been permitted to bring this study of the Apocalypse to a close, though this thankfulness is tempered by a keen sense of its many shortcomings, of which none can be so conscious as I am myself. On the other hand, I cannot help a feeling of regret that I am breaking with a study which has been at once the toil and the delight of so many years; and in parting with it I would repeat, as Professor Swete does in his work on the Apocalypse, St. Augustine's prayer : *Domine Deus . . . quaecumque dixi in hoc libro de tuo, agnoscant et tui; si qua de meo, et Tu ignosce et tui*.¹

R. H. C.

4 LITTLE CLOISTERS, WESTMINSTER ABBEY,
May 1920.

¹ *Advice to the reader.*—Since the present work on the Apocalypse is a large one, and in many respects difficult, *it would be advisable for the serious as well as for the ordinary student to read through the English translation first.* This will introduce him to the main problems of the book, and help him to recognize that the thought of our author is orderly and progressive, and easier to follow than that of the Epistle to the Hebrews or of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. After the Translation he should read the Introduction, §§ 1, 4, and such others as these may suggest to him. The serious student should master the chief sections of the Short Grammar (pp. cxvii–clix). So prepared, he can then face the problems discussed in the Commentary, and recognize the grounds for the adoption of certain readings and interpretations and the rejection of those opposed to them.

Each chapter (or, in two cases, groups of chapters) is preceded by an introduction. Such introductions are divided into sections. The first section (§ 1) always gives the general thought of the chapter that follows, while the remaining sections discuss the diction and idiom of the chapter, its indebtedness to the Old Testament and other sources, and many other questions, exegetical, critical, and archaeological.

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¹ J^{ap}=the Apocalypse, J the Gospel, 1 J the First Epistle, etc.

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INTRODUCTION.

I.

§ 1. *Short Account of the Seer and his Work.*

JOHN the Seer, to whom we owe the Apocalypse, was a Jewish Christian who had in all probability spent the greater part of his life in Galilee before he emigrated to Asia Minor and settled in Ephesus, the chief centre of Greek civilization in that province. This conclusion is in part to be drawn not only from his defective knowledge of Greek and the unparalleled liberties he takes with its syntax, but also from the fact that to a certain extent he creates a Greek grammar of his own.¹ He had never mastered the Greek of his own day. The language of his adoption was not for him a normalized and rigid medium of utterance : nay rather, it was still for him in a fluid condition, and so he used it freely, remodelling its syntactical usages and launching forth into unheard of expressions. Hence his style is absolutely unique. That he has set at defiance the grammarian and the usual rules of syntax is unquestionable, but he did not do so deliberately. He had no such intention. His object was to drive home his message with all the powers at his command, and this he does in some of the sublimest passages in all literature. With such an object in view he had no thought of consistently committing breaches of Greek syntax. How then is the unbridled licence of his Greek constructions to be explained ? The reason, as the present writer hopes to prove,² is that while he wrote in Greek he thought in Hebrew and frequently translated Hebrew idioms literally into Greek. In Galilee he had no doubt used Aramaic as the ordinary vehicle of intercourse with his fellows, but all his serious studies were rooted in Hebrew. He had so profound a knowledge of the O.T. that he constantly uses its phraseology not only consciously, but even unconsciously. When using it consciously he uses the Hebrew text, and translates it generally first hand ; but not infrequently his renderings are influenced not only by the LXX, but also by a later version,

¹ See pp. cxvii-clix.

² See pp. cxlii-clii.

which is now lost in its original form, but which was re-edited by Theodotion 100 years later.¹

John the Seer was quite distinct from the author of the Gospel and Epistles.² That the Gospel and Epistles were from one and the same author, who was probably John the Elder, I have shown below.³ That these two Johns belonged to the same religious circle, or that the author of the Gospel was a pupil of John the Seer, is not improbable.⁴

We gather from the Apocalypse that John the Seer exercised an unquestioned authority over the Churches of the Province of Asia. To seven of these, chosen by him to be representatives of Christendom as a whole,⁵ he wrote his great Apocalypse in the form of a letter, about the year 95 A.D.⁶ The object⁷ of the Apocalypse was to encourage the faithful to resist even to death the blasphemous claims of the State, and to proclaim the coming victory of the cause of God and of His Christ not only in the individual Christian, and the corporate body of such individuals, but also in the nations as such in their national and international life and relations. It lays down the only true basis for national ethics and international law. Hence the Seer claims not only the after-world for God and for His people, but also this world. God's work will be carried on without haste, without rest, till "the kingdom of this world has become the kingdom of God and of His Christ."

The Seer has used freely not only his own visions of various dates,⁸ but also Jewish and Christian sources of Neronian and Vespasianic dates in the presentation of his great theme.⁹

The fact of his having freely used sources might seem to militate against the unity of his work.¹⁰ But this is not so. A glance at the Plan¹¹ of the book will show how thought and action steadily advance step by step from its very beginning till they reach their consummation and culminate at its close.

But unhappily the prophet did not live to revise his work, or even to put the materials of 20⁴-22 into their legitimate order.¹² This task fell, to the misfortune of all students of the Apocalypse, into the hands of a very unintelligent disciple. This disciple was a better Greek scholar than his master, for he corrects his Greek occasionally, and was probably a Greek-speaking Jewish Christian of Asia Minor. He had not his master's knowledge of Hebrew, if he had any knowledge of it, and he was profoundly ignorant of his master's thought. If he had left

¹ See pp. lxvi sqq., lxxx sq.

² See pp. xli-xliii.

³ See p. lxxxix sq. note.

⁴ See p. ciii sq.

⁵ See p. xc sq.

¹¹ See pp. xxiii-xxviii.

³ See pp. xxix-xl.

⁴ See pp. xxxii-xxxiv.

⁶ See p. xxiv.

⁸ See pp. xc, xciv.

¹⁰ See pp. lxxxvii-xci.

¹² See pp. i-iv.

his master's work as he found it, its teaching would not have been the unintelligible mystery it has been to subsequent ages; but unhappily he intervened repeatedly, rearranging the text in some cases, adding to it in others, and every such intervention has made the task of interpretation impossible for all students who accepted such rearrangements and additions as genuine features of the text. Since, however, his handiwork and character are fully dealt with later, we need not waste more time here over his misdemeanours.¹

When once the interpolations of John's editor, which amount to little more than twenty-two verses, are removed, and the dislocations of the text are set right,² most of the difficulties of the text disappear and it becomes a comparatively easy task to follow the thought of our author as it develops from stage to stage, from its opening chapters darkened with the shadow of the great tribulation about to fall on entire Christendom, till it reaches its triumphant close in the eternal blessedness of all the faithful in the new heaven and the new earth.

The Apocalypse consists of a Prologue, 1¹⁻³, the Apocalypse proper, consisting of seven parts—a significant number—and an Epilogue. The events in these seven parts are described in visions *in strict chronological order*, save in the case of certain proleptic visions which are inserted for purposes of encouragement and lie outside the orderly development of the theme of the Seer: *i.e.* 7⁹⁻¹⁷ 10–11¹⁸ 14, and 12, which relates to the past, but forms a necessary introduction to 13.³

Thus there is no need to resort to the theory of Recapitulation which from the time of Victorinus of Pettau (*circa* 270 A.D.) has dominated practically every school of interpretation from that date to the present. So far is it from being true that the Apocalypse represents more or less fully, under each successive series of the seven seals, the seven trumpets and the seven bowls, the same series of events, that the interpretation which is compelled to fall back on this device must be pronounced a failure. This principle of interpretation, like many other forlorn efforts in this field, arose mainly from the non-recognition by scholars in the past of the interpolations made in the text by the disciple and editor of the Seer.

§ 2. *Plan of the Book.*

The Apocalypse consists of a Prologue, 1¹⁻³, a letter consisting of seven distinct parts: (1) 1⁴⁻²⁰, (2) 2–3, (3) 4–5, (4) 6–20⁶, (5) 21²⁻²² 14–15 17 20⁴⁻¹⁰, (6) 20¹¹⁻¹⁶, (7) 21^{5a, 4d, 5b, 1-4abc} 22²⁻⁵, and an Epilogue, 21^{5c, 6b-8} 22^{6-7, 12a, 16, 18, 19, 20-21}.

¹ See pp. l–lv.

² See pp. lvi–lx.

³ See p. xxv.

The Apocalypse consists of a Prologue, the Apocalypse proper—consisting of seven distinct parts, and an Epilogue. In the Prologue, 1¹⁻³, the Apocalypse is affirmed to have been given by God to Christ and by Christ to John. In the Epilogue the truth of the claims made in the Prologue is attested by God, 21^{5a}. 6b-8; by Christ, 22⁶⁻⁷. 18a. 16. 18. 10; and by John himself, 22⁸⁻⁹. 20-21.

The seven parts and the Epilogue constitute a letter, 1⁴-22²¹, which, like the Pauline letters, opens with "John to the Seven Churches. . . . Grace unto you, and peace, from Him which is, and which was, and which is to come; and from Jesus Christ" (1^{4-6a}), and ends with the words, "The grace of the Lord Jesus be with all the saints. Amen."

The Prologue and Epilogue are not mere subsequent additions to the book. They are organic parts of it. Not to mention other grounds, this is at once obvious from the fact that the Prologue contains the first of the *seven beatitudes* of the Apocalypse (*i.e.* 1³), and the Epilogue the seventh (*i.e.* 22⁷). That there should be exactly seven beatitudes in our book and not more and not less, is at once intelligible to all students of the Apocalypse.¹

The Book, apart from the Prologue and Epilogue, falls naturally into seven parts—again a significant division. In Jewish writers the favourite division of a work was a fivefold one. Thus the five books of the Pentateuch, of the Psalms, of the Megilloth, of the Maccabean history by Jason of Cyrene, of 1 Enoch, of the Pirke Aboth. This fivefold division is clearly traceable in Matthew (see *Horae Synopticae*², 164; Hawkins). But the number five does not occur in our author save with evil associations (cf. 9^{5.10} 17¹⁰), whereas seven is a most sacred number in his regard.

The seven parts are as follows: (1) 1⁴⁻²⁰. John's letter to the Seven Churches, in which he tells how Christ had appeared to and bidden him to send to the Churches the visions written in this book. (2) 2-3. The problem of the book—as reflected in the letters to the Churches—how to reconcile God's righteousness and Christ's redemption with the condition of His servants on earth. (3) 4-5. A vision of God and a vision of Christ, who takes upon Himself the guidance of the world's destinies and its judgments. (4) 6-7⁸. 8¹. 8-5. 2 & 18-9. 11¹⁴-13. 15-20⁸. Judgments of the world. (5) 21²-22². 14-15. 17 20⁴⁻¹⁰. The Millennial Kingdom: attack of evil powers on the Beloved City at its close: their destruction and the casting of Satan into the lake of fire. (6) 20¹¹⁻¹⁶. Heaven and earth vanish: final judgment by God Himself. (7) 21^{5a}. 4d. 5b. 1-4abc 22⁸⁻⁹. The

¹ See note on i. 3; also footnote¹ in vol. ii. 445.

everlasting Kingdom in the new heaven and earth and the New Jerusalem.

In these seven parts the events described in the visions are in strict chronological order, save that the Seer is obliged in chap. 12 to consider past events in order to prepare for those in 13. But there are certain sections of the book lying outside the orderly development of the Seer's theme, *sc.* 7⁹⁻¹⁷ 10-11¹³ and 14. These three additions, which do not carry on the action of the divine drama and are likewise breaches of unity in respect of time, are all proleptic. After 7¹⁻³ the visionary gaze of the Seer leaves for the moment the steady progressive unveiling of the events of his future and beholds in 7⁹⁻¹⁷ the more distant destinies of the martyred faithful triumphant and secure before the throne of God in heaven (although these sealed members of the Church are not martyred till 13), and of the same host of martyrs on Mount Zion (during the period of the Millennial Kingdom) in 14¹⁻⁵. These visions are recounted out of their due order to encourage and inspire the Church in the face of an impending universal martyrdom. In the case of 10-11¹³ the explanation is different. Our Seer sees Rome to be the impersonation of sheer might, of wickedness and lawlessness, *i.e.* the Antichrist. But before our Seer's time in Christian circles Jerusalem was expected to be the scene of the appearance of the Antichrist (2 Thess. 2⁴) and Rome was regarded as the representative of order. This former view of the Antichrist is preserved in this proleptic section, but no reference is made again to it throughout the remaining chapters.

In the analysis which follows the three proleptic sections are inserted on the right hand of the page :

Prologue, 1¹⁻³.

1¹⁻³. The Revelation given by God to Christ and by Christ entrusted to John. John's testimony to it as from God and Christ. The first beatitude on those who keep the things written therein.

I. John writes to the Seven Churches to tell them that he has seen Christ and been bidden by Him to send them the visions written in this book—1⁴⁻²⁰.

1⁴⁻⁷. John begins his letter to the Seven Churches with the blessing of grace and peace from the Everlasting God and Jesus Christ, Lord of the dead and Ruler of the living, the Redeemer.

1⁸⁻²⁰. John recounts his vision of the Son of Man in Patmos, who bids him to write down what he saw in a book and to send it to the Seven Churches.

II. Problem of the book set forth in the Letters to the Seven Churches, which reflect the seeming failure of the cause of both God and Christ on earth—2-3.

III. Vision of God, to whom the world owes its origin, and of Christ, to whom it owes its redemption—4-5.

IV. *Judgments. First Series*—the first Six Seals.

Judgments. Second Series, 7-13—The seventh Seal and the Three Woes, bringing into manifestation the servants of God and the servants of Satan and Satan himself. Before the seventh Seal there is a pause on earth, during which God marks out His servants by a seal on their foreheads; after the seventh Seal there is a pause in heaven during which His servants' prayers are presented before God—both the sealing of the faithful and their prayers being designed to secure them against the Three Woes.

First and Second Woes bring Satan's servants into manifestation and affect only those who had not been sealed.

2-3. Letters to the Seven Churches. These implicitly set the problem. How are God's righteousness and Christ's redemption of the world to be reconciled with the condition of His servants on earth and the dominating power of evil thereon? Hence John's visions, embracing heaven and earth, begin in 4-5 with God and Christ as the Supreme Powers in the world.

4. Scene of John's visions is no longer earth with its failures, troubles, and outlook darkened with the apprehension of universal martyrdom, but heaven with its atmosphere of perfect assurance and peace and thanksgiving and joy. John's vision of God—of a throne and of Him that sat thereon, to whom the Cherubim and Elders offered continual praise, and to whose will the whole creation owes its being.

5. Vision of Christ, who, having wrought redemption for God's people, takes upon Himself the guidance of the destinies of the world in a series of judgments.

6. First series of judgments affecting all men alike, good and bad—the first six Seals.

7¹⁻⁶. Further judgments stayed till the spiritual Israel are made manifest through the seal of God affixed on their foreheads and are thus secured against the Three Woes, against the first two absolutely, and against the *spiritual* effects of the third.

7⁸⁻¹⁷. Proleptic vision of a vast multitude of the faithful in heaven, *i.e.* of those who had just been sealed and had died as martyrs—a vision subsequent in point of time to the visions in 13.

8¹⁻², 9, 10, 11, 12. The seventh Seal, introducing the Three Woes, is followed by silence in heaven, during which the prayers of the faithful are offered before God in heaven for protection against the Three Woes.

9-11^{14a}. First and second demonic woes (heralded by trumpet blasts) affecting only those who had not been sealed, with torment and death respectively.

Third Woe, followed by two songs of triumph in heaven, brings into full manifestation Satan, his chief agents the two Beasts, and all his servants. Evil is now at its climax. All Satan's servants are visited with spiritual blindness and marked with the mark of the Beast. All the faithful are martyred.

Vision of the entire martyr host in heaven who had proved themselves victorious over the Beast and his image.

Judgments. Third Series, 15^a-20^a.

(a) Preliminary judgments—the Seven Bowls affecting the heathen who alone survive.

(b) Successive judgments affecting the powers of evil in succession.

(a) Destruction of Rome and the Seer's appeal to Heaven to rejoice over its doom.

The response of all the angel and martyr hosts in songs of thanksgiving.

10-11^a. Proleptic digression on the Antichrist in Jerusalem—a vision contemporaneous in point of time with 13.

11^{14b-19}. Third and Satanic Woe heralded by a trumpet blast. Thereupon two songs of triumph burst forth in heaven declaring that God is King, and faithful and faithless alike will receive their due recompense.

12-13. Third or Satanic Woe. Satan at last fully manifest. Climax of his power and his apparent triumph on earth. In 12 the vision is *retrospective*: it recounts the birth and ascension of Christ and the casting down of Satan to earth—facts closely connected; also Satan's persecution of the Church. In 13 Satan summons to his help the first and second Beasts. The faithless are spiritually blinded and marked by the mark of the Beast. All the faithful are martyred.

14¹⁻⁷. Proleptic vision (a) of the Church triumphant *on earth* in the Millennial Kingdom and the conversion of the heathen—a vision contemporaneous with 20⁴⁻⁶, and (b) in 14⁸⁻¹¹, 14. 18-20 of judgment of Rome and of the heathen nations—a vision contemporaneous with and summarizing 18. 19¹¹⁻²¹ 20⁷⁻¹⁰.

15²⁻⁴. Vision of the martyred host (martyred in 13) standing on the sea of glass before God, singing praises and proclaiming the coming conversion of the nations.

15⁵⁻⁸. The Seven Bowls of God's wrath entrusted to the Seven Angels.
16. The Seven Bowls.

17¹⁻⁴. Vision of the Great Harlot seated on the Beast.

17⁵⁻¹⁰. Interpretation of this vision.
18¹⁻¹⁹, 21-22^d. Vision of her destruction.

18²⁰, 22²³⁻²⁴. The Seer's appeal to Heaven to rejoice.

19¹⁻³. Thanksgiving song of the angels.

19⁴ 16^{2b-6}. Thanksgiving song of the Elders and Cherubim.

16⁷. Thanksgiving song of the altar beneath the throne.

19⁵⁻⁸. Thanksgiving song of the martyr host in heaven.

(β) Destruction of the Parthian hosts by Christ and His elect.

Lost (though referred to proleptically in 17¹⁴ and presupposed in 19¹²: possibly displaced by the interpolated passage, 19⁹⁻¹⁰).

(γ) Destruction of the hostile nations by Christ and the armies of Heaven. The Beast and False Prophet cast into the lake of fire, and Satan chained for 1000 years.

19¹¹⁻²¹. The Word of God and the armies of Heaven destroy the hostile nations. The Beast and False Prophet cast into the lake of fire.
20¹⁻³. As Satan was cast down from heaven on the fresh advent of Christ, on Christ's second advent he is cast into the abyss and chained for 1000 years.

V. Millennial Kingdom: Jerusalem come down from heaven to be its Capital. Reign of the martyred Saints for 1000 years.

21²-22². 14-15. 17. 20⁴⁻⁶. Vision of the Heavenly Jerusalem coming down from heaven to be the abode of Christ and the glorified martyrs who are to reign with Christ 1000 years and evangelize the nations.

Final attack of the evil powers on the Saints in the Beloved City: their destruction and the casting of Satan into the lake of fire.

20⁷⁻¹⁰. Close of the Millennial Kingdom. Satan loosed: march of Gog and Magog against the Beloved City: their destruction and the casting of Satan into the lake of fire.

VI. Heaven and Earth having vanished, a great white throne appears, before which the dead come to be judged by God Himself.

20¹¹⁻¹². Vision of a great white throne, and of Him that sat thereon. Disappearance of the former heaven and earth. Judgment of those risen from the dead, both bad and good. Death and hell cast into the lake of fire.

VII. The Everlasting Kingdom established in which God and Christ dwell with man. Reign of all the saints for ever and ever.

21^{2a-c}. 4d. 6b. 1-4 abc. 22²⁻⁵. The new heaven, the new earth, and the New Jerusalem. The faithful reign as kings for ever and ever,

Epilogue.

21^{5c}. 6b-8. God's testimony to John's book and His message to mankind through John of divine sonship for them that overcome.
22²⁻⁷. 12a. 16. 13. 12. 10. Christ's testimony to John's book. The seventh beatitude. Christ's speedy coming to judgment.
22⁸. 9. 20-21. John's own testimony. Christ's final words. John's prayer and benediction.

II.

AUTHORSHIP OF THE JOHANNINE WRITINGS—LINGUISTIC EVIDENCE.

The Apocalypse and the Fourth Gospel¹ from different Authors.

We shall deal here only with the linguistic evidence on this question, which is in itself decisive. We shall, however, discover later that the two writers were related to each other, either as master and pupil, or as pupils of the same master, or as members of the same school.

§ 1. *The grammatical differences.*—These make the assumption of a common authorship of J and J^{ap} absolutely impossible, unless a very long interval intervenes between the dates of J^{ap} and J. But such an assumption is made impracticable by the best modern research. Furthermore, our author's style shows no essential change in the interval of from 10 to 20 or more years, which elapsed between the writing of the Letters to the Seven Churches and the Apocalypse as a whole (see vol. i. 43-47). The reader will find the grammatical differences between J^{ap} and J dealt with in the grammar. The main evidence is given under the heading, "The Hebraic Style of the Apocalypse"; but throughout the rest of the grammar (see particularly "The Order of Words") the evidence is more than adequate to prove diversity of authorship. Observe amongst a host of other differences that, whereas J uses *μή* with the participle 11 times and the genitive absolute frequently, our author uses neither. Also that whereas in our author the attracted relative never occurs, it often occurs in J: see 4¹⁴ 7⁸⁹ 15⁹⁰ 17⁵. 11-12 21¹⁰ and 1 J 3²⁴. Again, in J^{ap} *ἀξιος* is followed by *inf.*; in J by *iva*.

§ 2. *Differences in diction.*—Lists of words found in J^{ap} but not in J could be given here, or *vice versa*, but such divergence in the use of words might in the main be due to difference of subject. But it is instructive to touch upon a few phenomena of this nature. Thus our author has *πίστις* 4 times and *πίστος* 8, whereas J has not *πίστις* at all, *πιστός* once, but *πιστεύειν* nearly 100 times. Our author uses *ὑπομονή* 7 times and *σοφία* 4, but J, neither. On the other hand, J uses *ἀγαπᾶν* 36 times and *ἀγάπη* 7 (1. 2. 3 J 31 and 21 respectively), but our author has *ἀγαπᾶν* only 4 and *ἀγάπη* only 2 times. Again, *ἀλήθεια*, *ἀληθής*, and *χαρά* found so frequently in J, are wholly absent from our author. J has *μέν* . . . *δέ* 6 or more

¹ For convenience' sake J will designate the Gospel, 1 J the first Epistle, etc., J^{ap} the Apocalypse.

times, our author not once: ἀλλά 100 and γάρ 65, and our author 13 and 16 respectively. Again our author has ἐνώπιον 34 times and ἵνα 45, whereas J has these once and 150 times respectively.

§ 3. *Different words or forms used by these writers to express the same idea.*—Our author uses ἀρνίον (= Lamb of God) 29 times where J uses ἀμνός 2: μου or ἐμοῦ¹ (= "mine") where J uses ἐμός 36 times: αὐτός as an emphatic pronoun 3²⁰ 14¹⁰ 19¹², whereas J uses ἐκεῖνος in this sense while he uses αὐτός as an unemphatic pronoun: see Abbott, *Gr.* 236. Again our author says ἐν μέσῳ or ἀνὰ μέσον where J uses μέσος: Ἱερουσαλήμ where J has Ἱεροσόλυμα.² Our author uses ἰδοὺ (26), but J ἰδέ³: Ἰουδαῖος, 2⁹ 3⁹ (= a member of the Chosen People of God, nearly so in Ro 2^{17.28}), where J has Ἰσραηλίτης, 1⁴⁷. Again, whereas our author defines the historic city Jerusalem as τῆς πόλεως . . . ἥτις καλεῖται πνευματικῶς Σόδομα, 11², J names it as Ἱεροσόλυμα, 1¹⁶ 2¹³ etc.

A very interesting divergence is to be observed where the Greek equivalent of "called" or "named" occurs. Here our author always has καλεῖν and J λέγειν. Thus we have 1⁹ τῇ νήσῳ τ. καλουμένην Πάτμῳ, 12⁹ ὁ καλούμενος Διάβολος, while J writes 4⁵ πόλιν . . . λεγομένην Συχάρ, 4²⁸ Μεσσίας . . . ὁ λεγόμενος Χριστός, 11¹⁶ θωμᾶς ὁ λεγόμενος Δίδυμος (cf. 11²⁸ 5² 9¹¹ 11⁵⁴ 20²⁴ 21²): and just as our author says, 11² ἥτις καλεῖται . . . Σόδομα, so J 19¹⁷ says ὃ λέγεται . . . Γολγοθᾶ. The divergence comes still more into relief when we compare J²⁰ 16¹⁶ τόπον τ. καλούμενον . . . Ἀρ Μαγδών and J 19¹³ τόπον λεγόμενον Λιβόστρωτον. On this as well as on other grounds 8^{11a} καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἀστέρος λέγεται Ὁ Ἀψινθος is to be excised as a gloss.

Again, our author always uses κατοικεῖν of living in a certain locality; J sometimes uses μένειν in this sense, but never κατοικεῖν: also ὀλίγον, 17¹⁰ (= "a little while"), whereas J says μικρόν in the same sense 9 times; and οὕς 8 times while J uses ὥτιον once.

A very delicate distinction calls for attention in their equivalents of the English "no longer." Thus our author⁴ says οὐκ . . . ἔτι (14, including chap. xviii.), but J always οὐκέτι (12), and ὥς with finite verb by way of illustration (2²⁷), while J uses καθὼς with finite verb (13¹⁵ 15¹² 17²⁸ etc.).

Finally, whereas J frequently uses καθὼς (31, and 1. 2. 3 J 13

¹ J uses σός (6), ὁμέτερος (3), ἰδῖος (15), and 1 J ἡμέτερος (2), but our author uses the possessive pronouns always in their stead. He has ἐμός once.

² In our author Ἱερουσαλήμ is used only of the heavenly or the New Jerusalem. It is used by Paul always, and nearly always by Luke, of the historic city, whereas Mark always (and Matt. always save once) uses Ἱεροσόλυμα.

³ τ uses ἰδοὺ 4 times.

⁴ Our author has οὐκέτι 3 times (2 of these in chap. xviii.).

times), our author uses always *ὡς* in the same sense. Where J says *καθὼς ἐγώ* (15¹⁰), our author says *ὡς καὶ γώ* (2³⁷).¹ Where J^{sp} uses *ἄχρι* (11 times), J uses *ἕως*. Neither J nor 1. 2. 3 J use *ἄχρι*. Where J^{sp} uses *σφόδρα*, 16²¹, 2. 3 J, uses *λίαν*. In this last contrast, I assume that 2. 3 J and J are from the same author.

§ 4. *Words and phrases with one meaning in our author and a different one in J:*

APOCALYPSE.

FOURTH GOSPEL.

<i>ἀληθινός</i> =true in word as opposed to false (= <i>ἀληθής</i>).	= "genuine" as opposed to unreal. See vol. i. 85 sq.
<i>ἀκούειν φωνῆς</i> · <i>ἀκούειν φωνῆν</i> .	Different meaning in J. See <i>Gram.</i> , vol. i. p. cxl.
<i>αὐτός</i> used as emphatic pronoun.	Used as unemphatic pronoun, <i>ἐκείνος</i> being used as emphatic.
<i>οἱ δοῦλοι τοῦ θεοῦ</i> ² —a title of the highest honour: cf. 1 ¹ (<i>δύς</i>) 7 ³ 10 ⁷ 11 ¹⁸ 19 ² .	15 ¹⁸ <i>οὐκέτι λέγω ὑμᾶς δούλους</i> .
<i>δωρεάν</i> , 21 ⁸ 22 ¹⁷ = "freely."	15 ²⁸ "without a cause."
<i>ἔθνος</i> or <i>ἐθνη</i> (23)=Gentiles, 2 ²⁸ 11 ³ 15 ⁴ etc., or all nations, including the Jews (?).	<i>ἔθνος</i> (5) only used of Jewish nation.
<i>Ἰουδαῖος</i> , 2 ³ 3 ⁹ —used in a good sense.	Used over 70 times, and generally in a bad sense.
<i>κόσμος</i> =the created world, 11 ¹⁸ 13 ⁸ 17 ⁹ .	<i>κόσμος</i> =the world of man (frequently, and often in a bad sense).
<i>λαός</i> =Gentiles generally, but = Christian believers twice.	Jewish nation (2, excluding 8 ³).
<i>Ὁ Λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ</i> , 19 ¹⁸ —a conception developed in Jewish thought.	<i>Ὁ Λόγος</i> , J 1 ¹⁴⁹⁹ . This conception is quite different and presupposes, while opposing, Philonic speculations.
<i>ὄν</i> (6), always illative, ³ a particle of logical appeal.	195 times, and generally a narrative particle, <i>i.e.</i> of historical transition.
<i>ποιμαίνειν</i> , 2 ³⁷ 12 ³ 19 ¹⁸ = "to destroy" (though in 7 ¹⁷ = "to feed").	21 ¹⁶ "to feed."

¹ J uses *ὡς* in a temporal sense (= "when") 20 times: our author never. On our author's various uses of *ὡς*, see vol. i. 35 sq.

² The servant in J 15¹⁸ knows not his Master's will, in J^{sp} he does. In our author the word *δούλος* means (a) a slave as opposed to *ἐλεύθερος*: cf. 6¹⁸ 13¹⁸ 19¹⁸, and (b) a willing servant of God, whether prophet or other faithful worshipper: cf. 1¹ 2³⁰ 7³ 10⁷ etc. Thus our author uses *δούλος* as the equivalent of *ἄγγ.* But in J *δούλος* follows the Greek usage as denoting a bondman in the literal sense, cf. 15¹⁸, and in the metaphorical sense 8³⁴ *δούλος . . . τῆς ἀμαρτίας*. *ἄγγ.* is not used in this metaphorical sense. The verb *ἄγγ.*, however, is used of idolatrous service. See Abbott, *Johannine Voc.* 212, 227, 289-292, for the use made by the four Evangelists of this word.

³ In Homer *ὄν* is non-illative, just as in the majority of passages in J. It is noteworthy that in J *ὄν* occurs nearly always in the narrative portions, and only 8 times in Christ's words out of the 195, whereas in J^{sp} it occurs only in Christ's words, and never in the narrative portions. In the Synoptists it occurs mostly in Christ's words.

προσκυνεῖν, c. dat. = "to worship."
 ,, c. acc. "to do homage to."
 See note on 7¹¹: vol. i. 211 sqq.

These constructions have exactly opposite meanings in J. See *Gr.* p. cxli, also vol. i. 211-212; Abbott, *Voc.* 137 sqq.

ὁδὸν ζωῆς, 2¹⁶ 22¹⁷
 ἐθλον ζωῆς, 2⁷ 22² 14

{ = ὁδὸν ζῶν, 4¹⁰ 7²⁸, which phrase includes the meanings of the two phrases in J²². See vol. i. 54 sq.

Again, though 7¹⁶ ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τ. θρόνου † σκηνώσει ἐπ' αὐτοῦς is similar to J 1¹⁴ ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο καὶ ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν, the similarity is only an outward one. The same is true of 2²⁷ εἰληφα παρὰ τ. πατρός μου as compared with J 10¹⁸ ταύτην τ. ἐντολήν ἔλαβον παρὰ τ. πατρός μου.

§ 5. *The Authors of the Apocalypse and the Fourth Gospel were in some way related to each other:*

(a) The following phrases point in this direction:

APOCALYPSE.

2³ οὐ δύνη βαστάσαι.

20³ ὁ ἔχων μέρος ἐν.

22¹⁸ ποιῶν ψεῦδοι.

22¹⁷ ὁ διψῶν ἐρχέσθω.

FOURTH GOSPEL.

16³ οὐ δύνασθε βαστάζειν.

13⁸ ἔχεις μέρος μετά.

3²¹ ποιῶν τ. ἀλήθειαν (1 J 3³ ποιῶν τ. ἀμαρτίαν).

7²⁷ ἐάν τις διψᾷ ἐρχέσθω πρὸς με καὶ πινέτω.

- (b) The spiritual significance attached to such terms as *ζωή*, *θάνατος*, *διψᾶν*, *δόξα*, *πεινᾶν*, *νικᾶν* (16 times, in J (1), in 1 J (6)), *δδηγεῖν*.
- (c) The occurrence of the following words and phrases exclusively in these two writers in the N.T. λαλεῖν μετά (elsewhere in N.T. the dative or πρὸς cum. acc. follows λαλεῖν): ὄψις (1¹⁶—J 11⁴⁴) = πρόσωπον: τηρεῖν τ. λόγον or λόγους (4 times—J 8: see note, vol. i. 369): ὄνομα αὐτῷ ὁ θάνατος, 6⁸—ὄνομα αὐτῷ Ἰωάννης, J 1⁶ 3¹: χρόνον μικρόν, 6¹¹—J 7²⁸: μικρόν χρόνον, 20³—J 12²⁵: κυκλεῖν once—J once: πορφύρεος 2 times—J 2 times: σκηνοῦν, 4—J once: φοῖνιξ, once—J once.
- (d) The agreement of both authors (in 1⁷—J 19³⁷) in the rendering ἐξεκέντησαν against the LXX. See, however, vol. i. 18 sq. The use of the suspensive ὅτι; see *Gram.* p. cxxxvii.
- (e) The use by both authors of the following phrases and words—found occasionally in the rest of the N.T. ποιεῖν σημεῖον, 4—J 14 (only 4 times in rest of N.T.): τηρεῖν τ. ἐντολὰς, 2—J 4 (1 J 5 times): δεικνύναι (of revelation), 8—J 7: ἑβραϊστί, 2—J 5: μαρτυρία, 9—J 14 (1 J 6 times, 3 J once): πιᾶζειν, 1—J 8: σημαίνειν, 1—J 3: φιλεῖν, 2—J 13: σφάζειν, 8—1 J 2 times.

- (5) There is to be no temple in the heavenly Jerusalem—the Capital of the Messianic Kingdom, 21²². According to J 4²¹ the temple will cease to exist as the centre of worship.
- (6) The same Jewish and Christian ideas underlie the phrase ὁ ἄμνος τοῦ θεοῦ, J 1²⁹, 36, and the equivalent phrase τὸ ἀρνίον in J^{AP}.
- (7) The number “seven” occurs more frequently in our author than in all the rest of the N.T. Though it does not occur at all in J, yet J is “permeated structurally with the idea of ‘seven.’ . . . John records only seven ‘signs.’ . . . The Gospel begins and closes with a sacred week . . . the witness to Christ is . . . of a sevenfold character” (see Abbott, *Gr.* 463).

The above facts, when taken together with other resemblances, to which attention is drawn in the *Grammar*, point decidedly to some connection between the two authors. The Evangelist was apparently at one time a disciple of the Seer, or they were members of the same religious circle in Ephesus. We find perfect parallels to the latter relationship in earlier days. The authors of the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs and of the Book of Jubilees, who wrote at the close of the 2nd century before the Christian era, studied clearly in the same school; for the text of the one has constantly to be interpreted by that of the other. Yet these two writers are poles asunder on some of the greatest questions of their day. The former hopes for the salvation of the Gentiles and sets forth a system of ethics without parallel before the N.T. The author of Jubilees is a legalist of the narrowest type: is mainly concerned with the Mosaic law and the deductions to be drawn from it, and declares categorically that no Gentile can be saved. The second parallel is to be found between 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch. The materials of these two works are in certain respects complementary. The former is all but hopeless as to the future alike of Judaism and the Gentiles, whereas the latter is a thoroughgoing optimistic Jew, who looks to Judaism for the conversion of the Gentiles, so far as these can be saved.

In the Seer and the Evangelist we have got just such another literary connection. But the literary connection is much less close than in the case of the Jewish authors just mentioned, while the theological affinities between the Seer and the Evangelist are much closer than those existing between the Jewish writers. The greater unity in spiritual outlook and theological concept is explicable, however, from the fact that the variations within the Christianity of the 1st century are infinitesimal as

compared with those that prevailed in contemporary and earlier Judaism.

§ 6. *J and (1.) 2. 3 J were written by the same Author.*—That J and 1 J are derived from the same author is generally admitted. But from a very early date 2 and 3 J have been ascribed to a different writer.¹ But a study of the internal evidence leads to the conclusion that all 2. 3 J and most probably 1 J are from one and the same writer, who was also the author of the Gospel. The same evidence shows that, though 2 or 3 J have a few points in common with J^{ap}, the style of these two Epistles is decidedly that of J (or 1 J) as opposed to that of J^{ap}. Their failure to study the linguistic relations of 2. 3 J have led Schmiedel, von Soden, and Moffatt into the grievous error of attributing 2. 3 J and J^{ap} to the same author. The pronouncement of these scholars led me to investigate this subject, and therein I am grateful to them, seeing that the result of this investigation appears to furnish the key to some important Johannine problems. No investigation of this nature has, so far as I am aware, ever been made.

There is one usage in 2 J which it has in common with J^{ap} and which is not found in J. In 2 J¹⁰ we have εἰ τις (ἐρχεται), which occurs occasionally in J^{ap} but never in J or 1 J, which have always εἰς τις. But there seems to be a reason for using εἰ here and not εἰς. The author assumes that the ἐρχεσθαι is not a mere possibility but a thing likely to happen. ὥς with the part. is found in 2 J⁵ οὕχ ὡς γράφων, and in J^{ap} 1¹⁵ 5⁶ 13³ but not in J. But the usage is not really the same in 2 J⁵ and J^{ap}. In the latter ὥς conveys the idea of likeness, whereas in 2 J⁵ it implies a purpose. The Hebraism in 2 J² διὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τὴν μένουσαν ἐν ἡμῖν καὶ μεθ' ὑμῶν ἔσται (= "which abideth in us and shall be with us") is of frequent occurrence in J^{ap}. But it occurs probably in J 1⁸² τεθέσθαι τὸ πνεῦμα καταβαῖνον . . . καὶ ἔμεινεν ἐπ' αὐτόν, and in Col 1²⁶. Hence no real weight can be assigned to these coincidences in style.

On the other hand, the body of evidence in favour of a common authorship of J and (1.) 2. 3 J carries with it absolute conviction.

- i. 2. 3 J are with one exception (2 J²) free from the solecisms and idiosyncrasies of J^{ap}.
- ii. *Constructions common to 2. 3 J and J, but not found in J^{ap}:*
 - (a) 2 and 3 J use μή 3 times with the participle: J 11 times: 1 J 8 times: 3 J has μηδέν once with part., while J has it twice. But J^{ap} never

¹ Origen (Eus. vi. 25. 10) writes that questions as to the genuineness of these Epistles were rife in certain quarters: Jerome (*De Viris Illust.* 9) distinctly assigns them to different hands.

uses μή or μηδέν with the participle. In this respect J^{ap} diverges from J, 1. 2. 3 J, exactly as the *Iliad* does from the *Odyssey*.

- (b) In 2 J¹⁰ the writer uses μή with the present imperative, i.e. μή λαμβάνετε (3 J¹¹ μή μμοῦ) in order to forbid an action not yet begun. Here the author of J^{ap} would have used μή with the aor. subj. In this respect the author of 2. 3 J has the support of J (see below, p. cxxvi).
- (c) In 3 J⁸ we have the genitive absolute, which occurs often in J but never in J^{ap} (nor 1 J).
- (d) The unemphatic possessive pronoun αὐτοῦ (or αὐτῆς) (i.e. the genitive before its noun) occurs in 3 J¹⁰ 1 J 2⁶ and frequently in J, but never in J^{ap} (save in a source 18⁶).
- (e) οὗτος is used resumptively in regard to a preceding clause (consisting of δ with part. or ὅς with finite verb) in 2 J⁹ and 4 times in J but not in J^{ap}.
- (f) μαρτυρεῖν takes the dative 3 times in 3 J and 4 in J, but J^{ap} always construes it with the acc. μαρτυρεῖν is followed by ὅτι in 1 J and by περί in J, but by neither in J^{ap}.
- (g) In 3 J⁹ the order of the words, ὁ φιλοπρωτεύων αὐτῶν Διοτρέφης, has several parallels in J but none in J^{ap} (or 1 J). The author of J^{ap} would have written ὁ Διοτρέφης ὁ φιλοπρωτεύων αὐτῶν. See *Gram.* p. clvi. πολὺς is a prepositive in 2 J⁷ 1 J 4¹—J 6⁵ 10³² 11⁴⁷ etc.; but always postpositive in J^{ap}, once in 1 J and in J 3²⁸ 6² 10 7¹².
- (h) ἐρωτῶ σε . . . ἵνα, 2 J⁵—J 4⁴⁷ 17¹⁵ 19³⁸ * but not in J^{ap}. αὕτη ἐστὶν . . . ἵνα, 2 J⁶ (sup.)—J 15¹² 17⁸ (1 J 3^{11.28}), but not in J^{ap}. μείζονα τούτων σὺχ' ἔχω χαράν, ἵνα ἀκούω, 3 J⁴—μείζονα ταύτης ἀγάπην οὐδεὶς ἔχει, ἵνα τις τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ θῇ J 15¹³. To this construction I know of no real parallel.

iii. Words, particles, and phrases common to 2. 3 J and J (1 J), but not found in J^{ap}.

- (a) Words. ἀληθής, ἀληθῶς, ἀλήθεια, μείζων, μένειν, ὀφείλειν, χαρά.
- (b) Particles and phrases. ἀλλὰ καί, ἀλλ' οὐ, καθώς, καὶ νῦν, περί (cum gen.), τοιοῦτος, ὑπέρ: καὶ ἡμεῖς δέ, 3 J¹²—J 15²⁶: ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, 2 J⁶—J 8⁴⁴ 15²⁷ (1 J 1¹ 2^{7.12.14} etc.): τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ τοῖς πονηροῖς

* The verb "ask" does not occur in J^{ap} though ἐρωτᾷν is found in 2 J and J, and αἰτεῖν in 1 J and J. J uses also ἐπετάζειν, ἐπερωτᾷν, πυνθάνεσθαι.

2 J¹¹—J 7⁷ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ πονηρά: ὑπομνήσω, 3 J¹⁰
—J 14²⁰: τὸ κακόν, 3 J¹¹—J 18²³: τὸ ἀγαθόν
3 J¹¹—J 5²⁰.

- iv. *Words frequent in 1. 2. 3 J and J, but exceptional in J^{ap}.* ἐμός once in 3 J (in 15 verses), only once in J^{ap} in 404 verses; thus 3 J using it once in 15 verses approximates to J which uses it once in every 22. J^{ap} uses no other possessive adjective, but 1 J uses ἡμέτερος twice, and J ὑμέτερος 3 times and σός 6. ἐπί does not occur in 1. 2. 3 J, but 150 times in J^{ap} and 35 in J. If J had it relatively as often as J^{ap}, it would occur 225 times instead of 35. Thus 1. 2. 3 J are strongly marked off here from J^{ap} but approximate to J.

- v. *The following parallel expressions are in themselves strong evidence of identity of authorship:*

ε J⁹ πᾶς ὁ . . . μένων ἐν τῇ διδαχῇ J 7¹⁶ (cf. 18¹⁹) ἡ ἐμὴ διδαχὴ οὐκ ἐστὶν τοῦ Σμιστοῦ. ἐμή.

This parallel is full of significance; for in J διδαχὴ is used only of Christ's teaching (as derived from God, 7¹⁷), whereas in J^{ap} it is used only of heretical teaching: cf. 2¹⁴ 15. 24.

2 J ⁴ ἐντολὴν ἐλάβομεν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς.	J 10 ¹⁸ ταύτην τὴν ἐντολὴν ἐλαβον παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς μου.
2 J ⁹ ἡκούσατε ἀπ' ἀρχῆς (1 J 3 ¹¹).	J 16 ⁴ ἐξ ἀρχῆς οὐκ εἶπον.
2 J ⁸ ἐντολὴν γράφων σοι καὶνὴν (ἐντολὴν καὶνὴν γράφω, 1 J 2 ⁷).	J 13 ²⁴ ἐντολὴν καὶνὴν διδωμι.
2 J ¹ οἱ ἐγνωκότες τὴν ἀλήθειαν.	J 8 ²⁰ γνώσεσθε τὴν ἀλήθειαν.
2 J ¹³ (1 J 1 ⁴) ἵνα ἡ χαρὰ ὑμῶν πεπληρωμένη ᾖ.	J 3 ²⁰ αὕτη οὖν ἡ χαρὰ ἡ ἐμὴ πεπληρωται Cf. 15 ¹¹ 16 ²⁴ .
3 J ¹⁰ ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκβάλλει.	J 9 ²⁴ ἐξέβαλον αὐτὸν ἐξω.
3 J ¹¹ οὐχ ἑώρακεν τὸν θεόν.	J 14 ⁹ ὁ ἑώρακώς ἐμέ ἑώρακεν τὸν πατέρα.
3 J ¹² ἡ μαρτυρία ἡμῶν ἀληθὴς ἐστίν.	J 8 ¹⁴ ἀληθὴς ἐστὶν ἡ μαρτυρία μου.

The connection of 2. 3 J with 1 J could be shown by such examples as 2 J⁹ θεὸν οὐκ ἔχει—1 J 5¹² ὁ . . . ἔχων τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ: 3 J¹¹ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστίν—1 J 4²: 2 J⁷ ὁ ἀντίχριστος—1 J 2¹⁸ 22. The conception of the Antichrist in 1. 2 J is quite different from that in J^{ap}.

- vi. *There are no quotations in 1. 2. 3 J. In this respect they show an affinity with J where there are very few, and offer a strong contrast to J^{ap} where quotations abound. Even in the Epistles to the Seven Churches this feature is prominent.*

- vii. The Greek of 2. 3 J is far more idiomatic than that of J^{ap}. The order of the words exhibits none of the monotonous regularity of J^{ap}.

From the above evidence I conclude without hesitation that 1. 2. 3 J and J are ultimately from the same author. J has

undoubtedly undergone revision, and 1. 2. 3 J may have suffered somewhat in this respect.¹

§ 7. This conclusion of criticism, completing as it does the work of Dionysius the Great of Alexandria, is one of tremendous importance. Before his time, from 135 A.D. onward (see p. xxxix sq.), Church writers began uncritically to assign J^{ap} to the Apostle John. This false conception led necessarily to intolerable confusion. No matter how valid the evidence might be for the martyrdom of this Apostle before 70 A.D., it could only be regarded as purely legendary, seeing that according to the most current view John the Apostle wrote the Apocalypse and wrote it in Domitian's reign. If the Apostle were living about 95 A.D. he could not, of course, have been martyred before 70 A.D. This misconception has therefore vitiated the evidence of most Early Church writers on this question,² and has proved an *ignis fatuus* to many distinguished scholars of our own day. Hence it is not astonishing that so little evidence of the Apostle John's early martyrdom—and yet, cumulatively considered, it is not little—should have survived, but it is astonishing in the extreme that any evidence of any sort as to John's early martyrdom has survived at all, seeing that the all but universal beliefs of the Church from the earliest ages worked for its absolute deletion from the pages of history. Happily such evidence has survived in out-of-the-way corners of Church history and Church observance, which, owing to the prevailing opinions on such subjects, must have been a hopeless enigma to those who sought to understand them. One Church writer—Gregory of Nyssa in his *Laudatio s. Stephani* and *De Basilio magno*: see below, p. xlvii—has attempted to do so, and has explained away the evidence of the Church calendars for the early martyrdom of John in a way that can satisfy only those who share the same groundless hypothesis as himself as to John's joint authorship of J and J^{ap}.

¹ 2 J¹ οὐ μὴ ὁμολογούντες Ἰ. Χ. ἐρχόμενον ἐν σαρκί presents no difficulty in the face of 1 J 4². The ἐρχόμενον is timeless: "confess not J. Christ as coming in the flesh." Nor does the phrase ὁ πρεσβύτερος, 2 J 3 J¹ point to any connection with J^{ap}. For πρεσβύτερος there has a different meaning. Even an apostle could designate himself thus: cf. 1 Pet 5¹ ὁ συμπρεσβύτερος. But Peter has already called himself ἀπόστολος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ in 1¹. Hence there is no risk of confusion. No weight, moreover, attaches to the use of κοινωνεῖν for κοινωνίαν εἶναι, or the occurrence of the greeting χάρις, εἰρήνη, εὐλογία.

² Justin Martyr believes in the Apostolic authorship of J^{ap} as early as 135 A.D. or thereabouts. A myth can arise in a very few years. Hence it is not strange that such writers as Hegesippus (ob. circ. 180) and subsequent writers, as Irenaeus, Tertullian, Origen, have lost all knowledge of the early martyrdom of John the son of Zebedee.

III.

AUTHORSHIP OF THE JOHANNINE WRITINGS.

It may assist the reader if the conclusions arrived at in this chapter are put shortly as follows. (a) J^{ap} and J are from distinct authors. (b) 2. 3 J are from the author of J and not of J^{ap}. The evidence for this fact, which in the present writer's opinion furnishes the key to some of the chief Johannine problems, is given on p. xxxiv sqq. (c) If John the Elder is the author of 2. 3 J, then he is according to all internal evidence the author of J and of 1 J. (d) John the prophet—a Palestinian Jew, who late in life migrated to Asia Minor, is the author of J^{ap}. (e) The above conclusions, which are arrived at on internal grounds, and on external evidence mainly of the 2nd century, are confirmed by the Papias-tradition, that John the Apostle was martyred by the Jews before 70 A.D.

§ 1. *The Apocalypse is not pseudonymous, but the work of a John.*—In Jewish literature practically every apocalyptic book was pseudonymous. I have elsewhere¹ shown the causes which forced works of this character to be pseudonymous. In the post-Exilic period the idea of an inspired Law—adequate, infallible, and valid for all time—became a dogma of Judaism. When this dogma was once established, there was no longer any room for the prophet, nor for the religious teacher, except in so far as he was a mere exponent of the Law. The second cause for the adoption of pseudonymity was the formation of the Canon of the Law, the Prophets and the Hagiographa. After this date—say about 200 B.C.—no book of a prophetic character could gain canonization as such, and all real advances to a higher ethics or a higher theology could appear only in works of a pseudonymous character published under the name of some ancient worthy. Accordingly, when a man of God, such as the author of Daniel, felt that he had a message to deliver to his people, he was obliged to issue it in this form. But with the advent of Christianity the Law was thrust into a wholly subordinate place; for the spirit of prophecy had descended afresh on the faithful, belief in inspiration was kindled anew, and for several generations no exclusive Canon of Christian writings was formed. There is, therefore, not a single *a priori* reason for regarding the Apocalypse as pseudonymous. Furthermore, its author distinctly claims that the visions are his own, and that they are not for some far distant generation, as is universally the case in Jewish pseudonymous works, but for his own (22¹⁰). In four distinct

¹ See my *Eschatology*², 173–205 (especially 198–205), 403 sq.; Daniel, p. xi sq., *Religious Development between the O. and N. Testaments*, 41–46.

passages he gives his name as John (1¹. 4. ⁹ 22⁸). He states that he is a servant of Jesus Christ (1¹), a brother of the Churches in Asia and one who has shared in their tribulations (1⁹), that he has himself seen and heard the things contained in his book (22⁸), and that he was vouchsafed these revelations during his stay (voluntary or enforced)¹ in the island of Patmos for the word of God and the testimony of Jesus (1⁹). To a more intimate study of our author we shall return later. So far it is clear that the Apocalypse before us was written by a prophet (22⁹) who lived in Asia Minor, and that his actual name was John. J^{AP} is just as assuredly the work of a John as 2 Thess 2 and 1 Cor 15 are apocalypses of St. Paul.² Even the later Christian apocalypse of the Shepherd of Hermas bears, as is generally acknowledged, the name of its real author.

Finally, if the work were pseudonymous, it would have gone forth under the aegis—not of a John who was a *prophet* of Asia Minor and otherwise unknown, but of John the Apostle. Furthermore he would not have ventured to claim the name and authorship of a prophet in the very lifetime of that prophet and in the immediate sphere of that prophet's activity. There is not a shred of evidence, not even the shadow of a probability, for the hypothesis that the Apocalypse is pseudonymous.

There is manifold early evidence of the Johannine authorship. Thus Justin, who lived about 135 A.D. in Ephesus, where one of the Seven Churches had its seat, declares that J^{AP} is by "John, one of the apostles of Christ" (*Dial.* 81). Melito, bishop of Sardis, another of the Seven Churches, wrote (*circa*. 165) a lost work on J^{AP} (τὰ περὶ . . . τῆς ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰωάννου: see Eus. iv. 26. 2). Irenaeus (*circa*. 180) upheld the Johannine authorship of all the Johannine writings in the N.T. For J^{AP}, see *Haer.* iii. 11. 1, iv. 20. 11, v. 35. 2, where John is called Domini discipulus (ὁ τοῦ κυρίου μαθητής) (a title, however, which does not exclude apostleship; cf. ii. 22. 5). Tertullian cites J^{AP} as the work of the Apostle John (*c. Marc.* iii. 14, 24). So also Origen, Hippolytus, and others: also the Muratorian Canon.

§ 2. *John, the author of J^{AP}, is distinct from the author of J.*—Tertullian,³ Hippolytus,⁴ and Origen⁵ were assured that

¹ There is no evidence that John was *exiled* to Patmos before Clement of Alexandria, and that evidence is chiefly Western.

² Hence the attribution of the Apocalypse to the heretic Cerinthus by Caius (200–220 A.D. See Eus. ii. 25, vii. 25) and the Alogi (Epiphanius, *Haer.* li. 3, 4), in ancient times and by certain modern scholars, is an utterly baseless and gratuitous hypothesis.

³ *C. Marc.* iii. 14, 24.

⁴ See his *Comment. on Daniel*, edited by Achelis, 1897, pp. 142, 240, 244, etc., and his *Περὶ τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου*, xxxvi., Οὗτος γὰρ ἐν Πάτμῳ . . . ὅρα ἀποκάλυψιν . . . λέγε μοι, ὦ μακάριε Ἰωάννη, ἀπόστολε καὶ μαθητὰ τοῦ κυρίου, τί εἶδες.

⁵ In *Joann.*, tom. i. 14: φησὶν οὖν ἐν τῇ ἀποκαλύψει ὁ τοῦ Ζεβεδαίου Ἰωάννης: tom. v. 3: see also the quotation from Origen in Eus. vi. 25. 9.

both the Gospel and the Apocalypse proceeded from the son of Zebedee. But this view, that both works proceeded from one and the same author, was rejected by Dionysius (*ob.* 265 A.D.), bishop of Alexandria, a pupil of Origen. Dionysius (*Eus. H.E.* vii. 25. 7-27) accepts *J^{ap}* as the work of a John, but declares that he could not readily agree that he was the Apostle, the son of Zebedee. In the following sections he enumerates a variety of grounds. (a) The Evangelist does not prefix his name or mention it subsequently either in the Gospel or in his Epistle, whereas the writer of the Apocalypse definitely declares himself by name at the outset, and subsequently. That it was a John who wrote the Apocalypse he admitted, but this John did not claim to be the beloved disciple of the Lord, nor the one who leaned on His breast, nor the brother of James. (b) There is a large body of expressions of the same complexion and character common to the Gospel and *1 J*, but wholly absent from *J^{ap}*. Indeed, the latter "does not contain a syllable in common" with the two former works. (c) The phraseology of the Gospel and *1 J* differs from that of *J^{ap}*. The former are written in irreprehensible Greek (*ἀπταιστως*), and it would be difficult to discover in them any barbarism or solecism or idiomatism (*ιδιωτισμὸν*). But the dialect and language of *J^{ap}* is inaccurate Greek (*διάλεκτον . . . καὶ γλῶτταν οὐκ ἀκριβῶς ἐλληνίζουσιν*), and is characterized by barbarous idioms and solecisms. Such is Dionysius' criticism of the style of *J^{ap}*; and from the standpoint of the Greek scholar it is more than justified. But that there was law and order underlying the seeming grammatical lawlessness of the Seer neither Dionysius nor any purely Greek scholar could ever discover—a fact that widens immeasurably the breach discovered by Dionysius between *J* and *J^{ap}*. This will become apparent when we come to the grammar and vocabulary of our author (see pp. cxvii-clix). A study of these with a knowledge of the Hebraic style of our author makes it impossible to attribute *J^{ap}* and *J* to the same author. Thus the theory of Dionysius as to diversity of authorship has passed out of the region of hypothesis and may now be safely regarded as an established conclusion. There were at all events two Johannine authors. Who were these?

§ 3. *There were, according to Papias, two Johns, one the Apostle and the other John the Elder. Dionysius and Eusebius suggest that the latter is the author of J^{ap}.*—Eusebius in his history (iii. 39. 4) quotes the following fragment of Papias which clearly distinguishes the Apostle and the Elder, both bearing the name John. "And if any one chanced to come who had been also a follower of the elder, I used to question (him) closely as to the sayings of the elders—as to what Andrew or Peter *had said*

(ἐλεν), or Philip, or Thomas, or James, or John, or Matthew, or any other of the disciples of the Lord: also as to what Aristion and the Elder John, the Lord's disciples, *say* (λέγουσιν)." Eusebius then goes on to emphasize the distinction made by Papias between these two Johns, and contends that this view is confirmed by the statements of those who said that there were two Johns in Asia and "there were two tombs in Ephesus, both of which bear the name of John even to this day. To which things it is needful also that we shall give heed; for it is probable that the second (*i.e.* the Elder), unless one will have it to be the first, saw the Apocalypse bearing the name of John (iii. 39. 6)." At an earlier date Dionysius of Alexandria threw out the same suggestion. He held that John the Apostle wrote J and 1 J (Eus. vii. 25. 7), but that another John—one of the two Johns who according to report had been in Asia and both of whose tombs were said to be there—had written the Apocalypse (vii. 25. 16). Jerome testifies to the belief ("Johannis presbyteri . . . cujus hodie alterum sepulcrum apud Ephesum ostenditur," *De viris illis*. 9), and also to the fact that in his day the tradition was still current that this John the Elder was the author of 2 and 3 J (*ibid.* 18).

§ 4. But 2 and 3 John appear on examination of the language and idiom to proceed even more certainly than 1 J from the author of J.¹—The traditional view assigns 1 J and J to the same authorship. But in modern days a minority of competent scholars have rejected this view. The problem is discussed with great fairness by Brooke (*Johannine Epistles*, pp. i–xix), who comes to the conclusion that "there are no adequate reasons for setting aside the traditional view which attributes the Epistle and Gospel to the same authorship. It remains the most probable explanation of the facts known to us (p. xviii)."² With this conclusion the present writer is in agreement.

But what as to the authorship of 2. 3 J? Some notable scholars disconnect these two Epistles wholly from J and 1 J. Thus Bousset (*Offenbarung*, 1906) at the close of a long discussion on the authorship of J^{ap} (pp. 34–49) concludes that a John of Asia Minor, and not John the Apostle, was the author of J^{ap}: that this John was probably identical with John the Elder of whom Papias tells us, with the Elder of 2. 3 J, with the unnamed disciple in J 21, and with the teacher of Polycarp, of whom Irenaeus writes in his letter to Florinus. Von Soden (*Books of the N.T.*, pp.

¹ I take J as it stands, since its relation to 1. 2. 3 J does not require any critical study of its composition. J and 1 J (?) have been more or less edited, but the work of the editors does not affect the question now at issue.

² The list of linguistic differentiae in 1 J, which is given in Moffatt's *Introd. to N.T.*, p. 590 sq., should be noted. They are important.

444-446, 1907) is also of opinion that John the Elder was the author of J^{ap} and 2. 3 J as well as 1 J. Next, Schmiedel (*Johannine Writings*, pp. 208-209, 216-217, 229-231, 1908) attributes J^{ap} and 2. 3 J to an unknown writer who assumed the pseudonym of John the Elder, and 1 J to another author. The joint authorship of J^{ap} and 2. 3 J is also supported by Moffatt (*Introd. to Lit. of the N.T.*³, p. 481).

But the present writer cannot accept this hypothesis. After a considerable time spent on the linguistic study¹ of 2. 3 J in comparison with J and J^{ap}, he has been forced to conclude that 2. 3 J are connected linguistically with J, and that so closely as to postulate the same authorship. This study was first undertaken to discover what connection existed between 2. 3 J and J^{ap}, since an early tradition assigned the latter to John the Elder and the opening words (ὁ Πρεσβύτερος) of 2. 3 J received their most natural explanation on this hypothesis. In fact, this is more or less the view advocated by the scholars mentioned above.

Now on p. xxxiv sqq. I have dealt with the characteristic words and constructions common to 2. 3 J and J, or 2. 3 J and J^{ap}. The facts there set forth admit in the present writer's opinion of only one conclusion as regards the relations of 2. 3 J with J and J^{ap}, and this is that *whereas 2. 3 J have nothing whatever to do with J^{ap}, they are more idiomatically connected with J than is 1 J, and postulate the same authorship.*

§ 5. If, then, (1.) 2. 3 J and J are derived from the same author and J^{ap} from quite a different author, and John the Elder is admitted to be the author of 2. 3 J, it follows further that John the Elder is the author not only of 2. 3 J, but also of J and of 1 J.—There is no evidence that John the Elder wrote J^{ap} beyond the conjectures of Dionysius and Eusebius. But there is some external evidence and good internal evidence that the Elder wrote 2. 3 J. The external evidence is of the slightest. It is found in Jerome (*De viris illus.* c. 18), "rettulimus traditum duas posteriores epistulas Johannis non apostoli esse sed presbyteri." But the internal evidence is strong. As Brooke writes (*Johannine Epp.* 166 sq.): "The evidence of Papias and Irenaeus points to a prevalent Christian usage of the word (πρεσβύτερος), especially in Asia, to denote those who had accompanied with Apostles. . . . It is natural to suppose that throughout the fragment of his Introduction, which Eusebius quotes, Papias uses the expression πρεσβύτερος in the same sense." The elders are the men from . . . whom Papias learnt the sayings

¹ No linguistic study of 2. 3 J in relation to J and J^{ap} is known to me. But for my previous study of J^{ap} I should have missed most of the points that determine the question at issue.

of the Apostles. "The absolute use of the phrase in Papias (*καὶ τοῦθ' ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἔλεγε*) and in 2 and 3 John makes it the distinctive title of some member of the circle to whom the words are addressed, or at least of one who is well known to them." Hence it is only natural to recognize the Elder, mentioned in Papias and in 2. 3 J, as John the Elder, whom Papias so carefully distinguishes from John the Apostle. The writer of 2. 3 J cannot have been an apostle.¹

But if John the Elder was the author of 2. 3 J, then we conclude further by means of the results arrived at in II. § 6 above that he was also the author of J.²

This conclusion does not exclude the possibility that John the Elder was, as Harnack suggests, the pupil of John the Apostle. In this case J embodies materials which John the Elder learnt from John the Apostle, but the form is his own.

§ 6. *If John the Elder is the author of J and (1.) 2. 3 J, is John the Apostle the author of J^{ap}? No. John, its author, claims to be a prophet, not an apostle. He was a Palestinian Jew who migrated to Asia Minor when probably advanced in years.—John the author of J^{ap} nowhere claims that he is an apostle. He appears to look upon the apostles retrospectively and from without, 21¹⁴ (cf. 18³⁰). In these two passages he enumerates as two distinct classes—apostles and prophets. He never makes any claim to apostleship: he never suggests that he knew Christ personally. But he distinctly claims to be a prophet—a member*

¹ It has, however, been urged that an apostle could designate himself an elder. This is true under certain conditions but not in 2. 3 J. That the writer is an elder and not an apostle we infer from the fact that he claims no higher title in 3 J, where, had he been an apostle, he would naturally have availed himself of his power as an apostle to suppress Diotrophes and others who disowned his jurisdiction and authority, which they could not have done had he been an apostle. Further, in case 1 Pet 5¹ is quoted to prove that an apostle may designate himself as an elder (*πρεσβυτέρους οὖν ἐν ὑμῖν παρακαλῶ ὁ συνπρεσβύτερος*), we have only to observe that Peter has at the outset indicated his apostolic authority, so that the words in 5¹ form no true parallel to 2. 3 J¹.

² The statement in Irenaeus (ii. 22. 5), that according to the elders in Asia, John the disciple declared that Jesus reached the age of 50, is professedly second-hand, and is therefore to be estimated accordingly. If this evidence were trustworthy, it would be practically impossible to assign J to John the Elder. But as we have seen elsewhere, Irenaeus is often quite untrustworthy. The extravagant account of the fruitfulness of the vine is also attributed by Irenaeus (v. 33²) to the elders, who said that they had heard it from John the disciple. Such an expectation, if it was literally accepted and really transmitted by John the Elder, would be against his authorship of J. But it was obviously to be interpreted in a purely metaphorical sense. In these passages Irenaeus believes that the John he is speaking of is the Apostle and not the Elder, although he never designates him as ἀπόστολος, but only as μαθητής.

of the brotherhood of the Christian prophets, 22⁹, who are God's servants in a special sense, 1¹ 10⁷ 11¹⁸ 22⁶, whereas other Christians are God's servants so far as they observe the things revealed by the prophets, 22⁹. He is a servant of Jesus Christ 1¹, a brother¹ of the Churches of Asia and a partaker in their sufferings, 1⁹. He is commanded "to prophesy" to the nations of the earth, 10¹¹. He designates his work as "the words of the prophecy," 1⁸, or "the words of the prophecy of this book," 22^{7.10.18}. Hence it may be safely concluded that the author of J^{ap} was not an apostle.

The author of J^{ap} was a Palestinian Jew. He was a great spiritual genius, a man of profound insight and the widest sympathies. His intimate acquaintance with the Hebrew text of the O.T., of which his book contains multitudinous quotations based directly upon it, is best explained by this hypothesis. The fact also, that he thought in Hebrew and translated its idioms literally into Greek, points to Palestine as his original home. Though no doubt he used the Aramaic of his day, in a real sense Hebrew was his mother's tongue. His Greek also, which is unlike any Greek that was ever penned by mortal man, calls for the same hypothesis. No Greek document exhibits such a vast multitude of solecisms and unparalleled idiosyncrasies. Most writers on J^{ap} have been struck with the unbridled licence of his Greek constructions. But in reality there is no such licence. The Greek, though without a parallel elsewhere, proceeds according to certain rules of the author's own devising. Now this fact is a proof that our author never mastered Greek idiomatically—even the Greek of his own day.

But we may proceed still further. Just as his use of Hebrew practically as his mother tongue (for Hebrew was still the language of learned discussions in Palestine) points to his being a Palestinian Jew, so his extraordinary use of Greek appears to prove not only that he never mastered the ordinary Greek of his own times, but that he came to acquire whatever knowledge he had of this language when somewhat advanced in years.

Two other characteristics of the man and his work point not only to Palestine, but Galilee as his original home. The first is that he was a prophet or Seer. Now the writers of apocalypses, so far as we are aware, were generally natives of Galilee, not of Judaea. In the next place, our author exhibits an intimate acquaintance with the entire apocalyptic literature of his time, and this literature found most of its readers in Galilee, where the Law, which was hostile to it, had less power than in Judaea.

¹ The author describes himself simply as a brother of his readers. In 2 Pet 3¹⁸ Paul is similarly described (ὁ ἀγαπητός ἡμῶν ἀδελφός); but there one apostle is supposed to be referring to another.

§ 7. *The silence of ecclesiastical writers down to 180 A.D. as to any residence of John the Apostle in Asia Minor is against his being the author of J^{ap}.*—The conclusion reached in § 6 is confirmed by external evidence. No sub-apostolic writer betrays any knowledge that John the Apostle ever resided in Ephesus. Yet the author of J^{ap} was evidently the chief authority in the Ephesian Church, or at least one of his chief authorities. Thus Ignatius (*circ.* 110 A.D.) in his letter to the Church of Ephesus (12^a) speaks only of Paul, but makes no allusion whatever to John the Apostle, *though according to the later tradition John had exercised his apostolic authority in Ephesus long after Paul, and had written both J and J^{ap}.* The reasonable inference from the above silence is that Ignatius was not aware of any residence of John the Apostle in Ephesus. That Clemens Romanus (*circ.* 96 A.D.) was silent as to John's residence in Ephesus, may have some bearing on this question when taken in connection with that of Ignatius. Justin and Hegesippus (150–180 A.D.) in like manner tell nothing of John's residence in Ephesus. Yet Justin lived in Ephesus about 135 A.D., which city, according to later tradition, was the scene of John's apostolic labours.

§ 8. *The above conclusions are confirmed by the tradition of John the Apostle's martyrdom, which, if trustworthy, renders his authorship of J^{ap} as well as of the other Johannine literature impossible.*¹—That John the Apostle, like his brother James, died a martyr's death, has been inferred from the following evidence:—

(a) *The prophecy of Jesus.*—This is recorded in Mk 10³⁸⁻⁴⁰ = Mt 20²⁰⁻²³, and especially the words: "The cup that I drink shall ye drink" (τὸ ποτήριον ὃ ἐγὼ πίνω πίεσθε καὶ τὸ βάπτισμα ὃ ἐγὼ βαπτίζομαι βαπτισθήσεσθε, Mk 10³⁹ = τὸ μὲν ποτήριόν μου πίεσθε, Mt 20²³).² In Mark the above words are followed by a parallel clause: "And with the baptism that I am baptized withal shall ye be baptized." The meaning is unmistakable. Jesus predicts for James and John the same destiny that awaits Himself. That this prediction was in part fulfilled when Herod Agrippa 1. put James to death, we learn from Acts 12², but not in the case of John. Now, if John's martyrdom fell within the period covered by Acts, we may conclude with Wellhausen and

¹ See Schwartz, *Über den Tod der Söhne Zebedaei*, 1904; Wellhausen and J. Weiss on Mk 10³⁹; Schmiedel, *Encyc. Bib.* ii. 2509–2510; Burkitt, *Gospel History*, 250 sq.; Moffatt, *Introd. to Literature of the N. T.* 3 602 sq., 613 sq.; Swete, *The Apocalypse*, p. clxxix sq.; Bacon, *Fourth Gospel in Research*, 133, 147; Latimer Jackson, *Problem of the Fourth Gospel*, 142–150.

² If these words are taken to be a vaticination *post eventum*, as they are by certain scholars, then the evidence for the martyrdom of John is simply a fact of history. But the present writer accepts the words as an actual prophecy of Christ and one that was fulfilled in actual fact.

Moffatt that we have here one of the many gaps discoverable in Luke's narrative, who fails to record John's death as he does that of Peter. But it is not necessary to assume that John was martyred before 66 A.D., as we shall see presently.

(b) *But though Acts 12² fails us here, there is a Papias-tradition recounting the martyrdom of John.*—A MS of Georgius Hamartolus (9th cent.) states on the authority of Papias that John the son of Zebedee was slain by the Jews (Ἰωάννης μαρτυρίου κατηξιώται. Παπίας γὰρ . . . φάσκει ὅτι ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἀνῆρέθη, πληρώσας δηλαδὴ μετὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ περὶ αὐτῶν πρόρρησιν). This statement is confirmed by an extract published by De Boor (*Texte u. Untersuchungen*, 1888, v. 2. 170) from an Oxford MS. (7th or 8th cent.) of an epitome of the Chronicle of Philip of Sidé (5th cent.). "Papias in the second book says that John the Divine and James his brother were slain by the Jews" (Παπίας ἐν τ. δευτέρῳ λόγῳ λέγει ὅτι Ἰωάννης ὁ θεολόγος¹ καὶ Ἰάκωβος ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἀνῆρέθησαν). Swete (*Apoc.* clxxix. sq.) adds here the following pertinent comment: "If Papias made it (this statement), the question remains whether he made it under some misapprehension, or merely by way of expressing his conviction that the prophecy of Mk x. 39 had found a literal fulfilment. Neither explanation is very probable in view of the early date of Papias. He does not, however, affirm that the brothers suffered at the same time: *the martyrdom of John at the hand of the Jews might have taken place at any date before the last days of Jerusalem.*"²

This Papias-tradition is rejected by Bernard, *Studia Sacra*, 260–284; Harnack, *TLZ.*, 1909, 10–12; Drummond, 227 sq.; Zahn, *Forschungen*, vi. 147 sq.; Armitage Robinson, *Historical Character of John's Gospel*, 64 sqq.; Stanton, *Gospels as Historical Documents*, i. 166 sq.; but such a rejection is hazardous in face of the evidence furnished by subsequent and independent authorities, not to speak of the results already arrived at independently in this chapter.³

(c) *Certain ancient writers imply or recount the martyrdom of John the son of Zebedee.*—The first evidence is that of Heracleon (an early Gnostic commentator on J, about 145 A.D.), preserved in Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* iv. 9). Heracleon in connection with Lk 12¹¹⁻¹² states that "Matthew, Philip, Thomas,

¹ ὁ θεολόγος is, of course, a late addition. It is found in most cursives of the Apocalypse in its title.

² The italics are mine.

³ These results exclude the possibility of John the son of Zebedee being the author of J^{ap}, and also of 1. 2. 3 J, J, if, as is highly probable, John the Elder wrote 2. 3. J. John the Apostle may have been the teacher of John the Elder. This Papias-tradition would account perfectly for the absence of his writings from the N.T.

Levi,¹ and many others" had escaped public testimony to Christ. The omission of John's name is full of significance. He cannot, in view of his prominence both in the N.T. and in the 2nd cent., be relegated to the nameless body of the "many others." Clement does not call in question this statement of Heracleon. Archbishop Bernard weakens this evidence, but his (*Studia Sacra*, 283 sq.) argument proceeds on the hypothesis that John the Apostle was the author of the Apocalypse.

The next evidence is furnished by the *Martyrium Andreae* i. 2 (Bonnet, *Acta Apost. Apocr.* II. i. 46 sq.). Here it is recounted how the apostles cast lots as to which people they should severally adopt as their sphere of missionary effort. The result of the casting of the lots was that the circumcision was assigned to Peter, the East to James and John, and the cities of Samaria and Asia to Philip (ἐκλήρωθη Πέτρος τὴν περιτομήν, Ἰδωβος καὶ Ἰωάννης τὴν ἀνατολήν· Φίλιππος τὰς πόλεις τῆς Σαμαρίας καὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν), and so on. What is significant in this legend is that it ignores wholly any residence of John in Asia Minor.²

Next, in Clement (*Strom.* vii. 17) it is stated definitely that the teaching of the apostles, embracing the ministry of Paul, was brought to a close in the reign of Nero³ (ἡ δὲ ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ (i.e. Χριστοῦ) μέχρι γε τῆς Παύλου λειτουργίας ἐπὶ Νέρωνος τελειοῦται). These words presuppose the death of all the apostles before 70 A.D. In Epiphanius (li. 33), John's activity is assigned to the times of the Emperor Claudius: τοῦ ἀγίου Ἰωάννου . . . προφητεύσαντος ἐν χρόνοις Κλαυδίου καίσαρος.

The same tradition of John's martyrdom is attested in Chrysostom (*Hom.* lxxv. on Mt 20²⁸), though in *Hom.* lxxvi. he says that John long survived the fall of Jerusalem.

According to Moffatt (p. 607), even Gregory of Nyssa (*Laudatio Stephani: De Basilio Magno*) mentions Peter, James, and John as martyred apostles and places them between Stephen and Paul. But Bernard (*Studia Sacra*, 280 sqq.) has rightly objected to Gregory being cited as supporting such a thesis. The fact is that Gregory is mystified naturally by this attestation of the Church calendar to the martyrdom of John and seeks to explain it away.

¹ This reduplication in Matthew . . . Levi is found elsewhere.

² As Latimer Jackson observes, "the allusion Gal 2⁹ is significant; it suggests that John, extending the right hand of fellowship to Paul and Barnabas (who had taken the Gentiles as their sphere of work), decides to cast in his lot with the circumcision (p. 149)." But we have to remember also that Peter went to the West and was martyred in Rome.

³ It is true that elsewhere Clement (*Quis dives salu.* 42) tells the story of John and the robber, which, were it true, would imply his living to old age.

As Clement and Chrysostom reflect the conflicting traditions as to the manner of John's death and the age at which he died, the Muratorian Canon attests indirectly the survival of the older tradition. It states that Paul wrote to seven churches after the precedent set by John. This statement cannot be accepted, since most (if not all) of the Pauline Epistles were written before all the Seven Churches in Asia were founded. Thus the Church in Smyrna was not founded till 61-64 A.D. at earliest: cf. Polycarp, *Ad Phil.* ii. But the statement becomes intelligible, if John's apostolic activity belonged to the decades before 70 A.D. Thus the older tradition discovers the element of fact in this statement of the Muratorian Canon. For in its enumeration of the works of St. Paul it proceeds: "Ex quibus singulis (non) necesse est a nobis disputari, cum ipse beatus apostolus Paulus, *sequens prodecessoris sui Johannis ordinem*, nonnisi nominatim septem ecclesiis scribat. . . ." Here the composition of J^{ap} is set before that of the Pauline Epistles. This fact justifies the assumption that the Muratorian Canon represents the composition of J as prior to the dispersion of the apostles. "Quantum evangeliorum Johannis ex discipulis. (Is) cohortantibus condiscipulis et episcopis suis dixit: Conjeunacte mihi hodie triduo, et quid cuique fuerit revelatum, alterutrum nobis enarremus. Eadem nocte revelatum Andreae ex apostolis, ut recognoscentibus cunctis Johannes suo nomine cuncta describeret" That the *condiscipuli* = the rest of the apostles, is to be inferred from John himself being called *ex discipulis*. It may be remarked in passing that the revision of J is here plainly stated.

The North African work *De Rebaptismate* (circ. 250 A.D.) supports the Papias-tradition: "He said to the sons of Zebedee: "Are ye able?" For he knew the men had to be baptized, not only in water but also in their own blood."

Finally, the Syrian Aphraates (*De Persecutione* (344 A.D.)) writes: "Great and excellent is the martyrdom of Jesus. . . . After Him was the faithful martyr Stephen, whom the Jews stoned. Simon also and Paul were perfect martyrs. And James and John walked in the footsteps of their Master Christ. . . . Also others of the apostles thereafter in diverse places confessed and proved themselves true martyrs." Here the actual martyrs are mentioned first, including John. Then come the confessors to whom the honorary rank of martyrs is accorded.

(d) *The Syriac Martyrology postulates the martyrdom of John the son of Zebedee.* This martyrology (411 A.D.) was drawn up at Edessa for the use of the local church. It contains the following festivals:

Dec. 27. Ἰωάννης καὶ Ἰάκωβος οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις.

Dec. 28. Ἐν Ῥώμῃ τῇ πόλει Παῦλος καὶ Συμεὼν Κηφᾶς.

Here the martyrdom of James and John in Jerusalem is commemorated between that of Stephen on Dec. 26 and that of Paul and Peter on Dec. 28.

Seeing that the statements with regard to James, Paul and Peter are trustworthy, there appears no reason for questioning that respecting John. In the Calendar of Carthage (*anc.* 505) there is the entry, "Commemoration of St. John Baptist, and of James the Apostle, whom Herod slew." Since in the same calendar the Baptist is commemorated on June 24, it is clear that John the son of Zebedee is here intended. Thus the two sons of Zebedee are here conjoined, and evidently on the ground of their common martyrdom. According to Moffatt (*Introd. Lit. N.T.* p. 605), the Armenian and Gothico-Gallic Calendars agree with the Syriac.

This considerable body of independent and diverse forms of evidence appears to the present writer to remove the Papias-tradition from the sphere of hypothesis into that of reasonably established facts of history. Finally, the date of John's martyrdom can be fixed within certain limits. He was alive when Paul had his conference with the "pillar-apostles" in Jerusalem (Gal 2⁹). This was not later than 64 A.D.¹ Since he was martyred by the Jews, he must have died before 70 A.D.

That the later testimony of Irenaeus that John the Apostle resided in Asia, as well as the statement that Polycarp was a disciple of the Apostle, must be rejected if the Papias-tradition is correct, follows as a matter of course. Irenaeus is occasionally very inaccurate. His confusion of John the Elder with John the Apostle² finds (III. 12. 15) an exact parallel in his confusion of James the Lord's brother, who in Acts 15¹³ takes part in the Council of Jerusalem, with James the son of Zebedee, who has already been martyred in Acts 12². In iv. 27. 1 he states that one of his authorities is a disciple of the disciples of the apostles; yet in 32. 2 he designates the same man as a disciple of the apostles. In *H.E.* iii. 39. 2, Eusebius charges Irenaeus with wrongly representing Papias as a disciple of John the Apostle. Irenaeus states on the authority of certain elders, who maintained that they had heard it from John, that Jesus did not die

¹ Galatians is variously dated from 53 to 64 A.D.

² Though Irenaeus has transferred to John the Apostle the labours of John the Elder and the scene of these labours, he still distinguishes the Elder whom he frequently quotes alike from the body of the Elders whom he also quotes, and from John the disciple of the Lord; cf. iv. 30. 4: "Si quis autem diligentius intendat his, . . . quaecunque Joannes discipulus Domini vidit in Apocalypsi," and 31. 1: "Taliam quaedam enarrans de antiquis presbyter reficiebat nos"; 32. 1: "Senior apostolorum discipulus"; also iv. 28. 1. It is significant, however, that Irenaeus never calls this John, whom he regards as the author of the Johannine writings, an apostle, but only a disciple of the Lord. This element of truth still survives in his treatment of this question.

till the reign of Claudius (II. 22. 5). The confusion of Philip the Evangelist and Philip the Apostle, whom Luke in the Acts distinguishes carefully, is found in several ancient writers, most probably in Polycrates of Ephesus (*circa* 196 A.D.) and Proclus: cf. Eus. iii. 31. 3-4, v. 24. 2; in Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* iii. 6. 52), Tertullian and Eusebius. See *Encyc. Bib.* (2511); Moffatt, *Introd.*³ 608 sqq.; otherwise Lightfoot, *Colossians*, 45 sq.

The primitive tradition as to the martyrdom of John the Apostle was gradually displaced by the later tradition represented by Irenaeus; but even so the primitive tradition maintained itself in various places down to the 7th cent., as we have shown above.

The conclusion to which the above facts and inferences point is that John the Apostle was never in Asia Minor, and that he died a martyr's death between the visit of St. Paul to the "pillar" apostles in Jerusalem, *circa* 64 (?) and 70 A.D.

IV.

THE EDITOR OF THE APOCALYPSE.

From the section dealing with the Plan, pp. xxiii-xxviii, we have seen that J^{ap} exhibits, except in short passages, and especially towards the close of chap. 18, a structural unity and a steady development of thought from the beginning to 20³. In 20⁴-22, on the other hand, the traditional order of the text exhibits a hopeless mental confusion and a tissue of irreconcilable contradictions. In vol. ii. 144-154 I have gone at length into this question, and shown the necessity for the hypothesis that *John died when he had completed 1-20³ of his work, and that the materials for its completion, which were for the most part ready in a series of independent documents, were put together by a faithful but unintelligent disciple in the order which he thought right.* Such was the solution of the problem I arrived at five years ago, and all my subsequent study has served to confirm the truth of this hypothesis. In the earlier chapters (1-20³) I adopted tentatively and occasionally the hypothesis of an editor, but generally that of an interpolator or interpolators, but it was nothing but one hypothesis possible amongst many others, till I came to deal with 20⁴-22. This present section, therefore, represents a brief restudy of the interpolations which can with most probability be attributed to the editor from the standpoint of the solution of the problem discovered in connection with 20⁴-22. For the main grounds for this hypothesis the reader should consult ii. 144-154 and the commentary that follows.

On p. lvii sq. we have given a complete list of the interpolations in the text, and marked by an asterisk those which appear to proceed from the editor.

Now, if we wish to learn something about this editor we should begin with his editing of 20⁴-22. We are here first of all seeking to learn his grammatical usages, though occasionally we shall consider his opinions so far as they have led him to change the text. He is a more accurate Greek scholar than our author, and, as he shows no sign of really knowing Hebrew, he was probably a native of Asia Minor.

As regards grammar, the construction in 20¹¹ τὸν καθήμενον ἐπ' † αὐτοῦ † and 21⁶ ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ † τοῦ θρόνου †, which is not that of our author (see p. cxxxii), is probably due to him. This construction with the gen. is more usual in classical Greek.¹ Now in the interpolation which he has made in 14¹⁶⁻¹⁷ we find this same construction twice: τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς and ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῆς νεφελῆς; and in 9¹⁷ we find the same non-Johannine construction τ. καθημένους ἐπ' † αὐτῶν †, which may be traced to the editor. In any case, in three passages at least the editor appears to have corrected the Johannine construction into the more usual Greek one. 21⁶ ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ † τῷ θρόνῳ † seems to be a primitive corruption for ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον.

In 20⁴-22 there are three other passages where the editor has changed the text. In 20⁴ the οἱτινες is an insertion of the editor to make the text possible Greek. But the construction without the οἱτινες, i.e. τῶν πεπελεκισμένων καὶ οὐ προσεκύνσαν, is *always* elsewhere the Hebraism used by our author. See vol. i. 14 sq. Again, in 21⁶ τῷ διψῶντι δώσω we should expect, in accordance with our author's usage, αὐτῷ after δώσω (which 046 and certain cursives actually add). Here again the editor was improving the author's Greek. In 22¹⁸ the order of the words, τὸ ἔργον ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ, is the editor's. In any case it is not John's. Here 046 and a few cursives restore John's order.

That the editor was a better Greek scholar than the author is apparent also in his interpolations in 22¹¹. 18b-19. To these passages, which are interpolations (see ii. 221-224), we shall return presently.

But though a fair Greek scholar, the editor is very unintelligent. He has made a chaos of 20⁴-22, and wherever else he has intervened he has introduced confusion and made it impossible in many cases for students, who accepted his interpolations as part of the text, to understand the author. In 1⁴ he has sought

¹ ἐπὶ, c. gen. dat. or acc., is found in our author as elsewhere after κάθησθαι. But where the idea of resting on is present, the genitive is most natural. But the use of the case after κάθησθαι ἐπὶ in our author is wholly unique. See p. cxxxii.

by his interpolation to make the text enumerate the Persons of the Trinity—a grotesque conception indeed, but with a parallel in Justin Martyr. His interpolation of 1⁸ is singularly infelicitous as well as being impossible. Not understanding that ὁ θεός δ παντοκράτωρ is a stock rendering of the Hebrew “God of Hosts,” and that accordingly this title cannot be broken into two parts, he actually divides ὁ θεός from δ παντοκράτωρ by eight words, and next represents the Seer as hearing God speaking this verse, although he has not yet fallen into a trance. The intrusion 8⁷⁻¹² with the necessary changes in the adjoining context is to be traced to him also (see vol. i. 218–223). This fragment is of unknown provenance. In order to introduce this interpolation the editor has, as already observed, made many changes in the adjoining contexts. One of these changes bears clear testimony to his ignorance of our author’s style. Thus in 8⁶ he represents our author as saying βρονταὶ καὶ φωναὶ καὶ δοτραπαί. But our author knows well that the δοτραπαί always precede the βρονταί: cf. 4⁵ 11¹⁹ 16¹⁸. But apparently this editor neither knew this fact nor his master’s usage. This interpolation made it impossible for all interpreters of the Apocalypse to understand the meaning of the clause ἐγένετο σιγὴ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ὡς ἡμῶριον. Besides, 8⁷⁻¹² is a weaker repetition of what is said elsewhere in our author, and is frequently at variance with its adjoining context.

In 9¹¹ the clause καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἑλληνικῇ ὄνομα ἔχει Ἀπολλύων (which is good Greek) appears to come from the editor’s hand. Our author would naturally have written καὶ Ἑλληνιστὶ Ἀπολλύων, if he had written the words at all, since the preceding words run, ὄνομα αὐτῷ Ἑβραϊστὶ Ἀβαδδών, and *our author never aims at variety of construction in repeating the same simple fact.* ὄνομα αὐτῷ is frequent in the LXX. See also 6⁸ and the note on 9¹¹.

The next interpolation due to this editor is 14^{30-4ab}. If these clauses are from his pen they help us to recognize another trait in his character. He is a narrow ascetic, and introduces into Christianity ideas that had their origin in pagan faiths of unquestionable impurity. According to the teaching of 14^{30-4ab}, neither St. Peter nor any other married apostle nor any woman whatever would be allowed to follow the Lamb on Mt. Zion. But it is chastity not celibacy that is a Christian virtue. To regard marriage as a pollution is impossible in our author, who compares the covenant between Christ and the Church to a marriage, 19⁹, and calls the Church the Bride, 21²⁻⁹ 22¹⁷.

In 14¹⁴⁻³⁰, however, the editor reaches the climax of his stupidity. Here by his insertion of the impossible verses, 14¹⁵⁻¹⁷, which he found elsewhere, he has first of all divided the Messianic judgment into two acts, the first of which—added by

him—is called the harvesting of the earth, 14¹⁶⁻¹⁷, and the second of which is called the vintaging of the earth, 14¹⁸⁻²⁰. The first is assigned to the Son of Man! and the second and greater part to an angel. Thus the Son of Man is treated as an angel—a conception impossible not only in J^{ap}, but in Jewish and Christian literature as a whole. But our author never speaks of the judgment as a harvesting of the earth, but as a vintaging, and this vintaging is described at length in 19¹¹⁻²¹ and assigned to the Word of God (ὁ Λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ), who “treadeth the winepress of the fierce anger of God Almighty” (19¹⁵). The fact that our editor, in the face of this clear assignment of the *entire* Messianic judgment—described as a vintaging of the earth—to the Son of Man, could assign it to an angel, betrays a depth of stupidity all but incomprehensible, and brands him as an arch heretic of the first century though probably an unconscious one. And the irony of it is that, despite his abysmal stupidity and heresies, he has achieved immortality by securing a covert in the great work which he has done so much to discredit and obscure.¹

In 15¹ we have, no doubt, another of his additions. It is designed to introduce the Seven Bowls. Now every new important section our author begins with the words μετὰ ταῦτα εἶδον (see note on 4¹ in Commentary). Less important divisions are introduced by καὶ εἶδον. Here, however, we find the latter words used, which at once provokes our astonishment. But that is not all. The vision breaks off, and a new vision—that of the blessed martyrs in heaven, 15²⁻⁴—is recounted; and then at last we come to the real introduction to the Seven Bowls in 15⁵, which rightly begins with the words καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα εἶδον—a fact which shows that the Seven Bowls are here mentioned for the first time. Such an interference with the text can hardly be assigned to any mere scribe (see vol. ii. 30-32).

Passing over 16²⁰, which was most probably interpolated by the editor, since it exhibits a wrong construction of προσκυνεῖν from the standpoint of our author, we come to 16^{6a} καὶ ἤκουσα τοῦ ἀγγέλου τῶν ὑδάτων—a clause which he added in order to introduce some actual sentences of our author, *i.e.* 16^{6b-7}. These verses belong after 19⁴. The editor may have found them detached on a separate piece of papyrus, and owing to his inability to recognize their true context inserted them after 16⁴. It is true that to the uninstructed mind they present a

¹ History has here in part repeated itself; for in the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs (see my edition, pp. xvi sq., lvii-lix) the work of a bitter assailant of the Maccabean priest-kings has gained a place in the heart of a book that was written by an ardent upholder of the earlier members of that dynasty.

superficial fitness for the place they occupy in the traditional text, but they are in reality wholly unsuited to it, as its technical expressions prove. See vol. ii. 120-123. 16^{18b-14a} (ὡς βάραχοι· εἰσὶν γὰρ πνεύματα δαιμονίων ποιοῦντα σημεῖα) was also apparently foisted into the text by the editor. It is against our author's grammar, which would require ὡς βατράχους. To adapt the context to the interpolation he has changed ἐκπορευόμενα into ἀ ἐκπορεύονται. 17^{9b} (ὄρη εἰσὶν, ὅπου ἡ γυνὴ κάθηται ἐπ' αὐτῶν¹ καὶ with ἐπὶ added after βασιλεῖς), which gives a second explanation of the ἐπὶ βασιλεῖς, appears also to be from his hand. 19^{9b-10} is quite clearly an interpolation (see vol. ii. p. 128 sq.), and owes its insertion here very probably to the editor. It has dislodged a necessary part of the original text. Was the original undecipherable, or was it simply expunged in order to receive the contributions of the editor?

We now return to 20⁴⁻²² with which we began. I have shown at length in ii. 144-154 the chaos to which the editor has reduced the work of his master in 20⁴⁻²². Notwithstanding, it will be instructive to touch here also on a few of the hopeless incongruities he has introduced through his sheer incapacity to understand his master's teaching. In 20⁴⁻²², as it stood originally, *our author* sees in a vision the coming evangelization of the world by Christ and the glorified martyrs on the Second Advent. This is already foretold in advance in 15⁴ by the triumphant martyrs before the throne of God, "All the nations shall come and worship before Thee," and in a vision in 14⁶⁻⁷, and again in 11¹⁶ where proleptically the angelic song declares that "the kingdom of this world hath become the kingdom of our Lord and of His Christ." The evangelization of the world is thus committed to the glorified martyrs at once as their task and the guerdon of their faithfulness in the past. They preach afresh the Gospel to the nations of the earth, and all who receive it are healed of their diseases, cleansed from their sins, admitted to the Heavenly City, and allowed to eat of the bread of life. Thus the Millennial Reign is one of arduous spiritual toil, and the thrones assigned to these glorified martyrs are simply a symbol of faithful service, which vary in glory in the measure of their service.

Such is our author's teaching, but through the *editor's* rearrangement of the text the Millennial Reign is emptied of all significance. The glorified martyrs return to earth with Christ and enjoy a dramatic but rather secular victory, sitting on thrones in splendid idleness for full one thousand years (20⁴⁻⁶)!

¹ The editor prefers the genitive always after καθέσθαι ἐπὶ, as we have seen above.

Nearly all the incongruities in 20⁴-22 are due to the editor's incompetence. But in 20¹⁸ there is something worse. Dishonesty has taken the part of incapacity. The editor has tampered with his master's text. In order to make the text teach a physical resurrection he has changed some such word as "treasuries" or "chambers" (*i.e.* the abode of righteous souls—not of the martyrs who went direct to heaven) and inserted ἡ θάλασσα. But the sea can only give up bodies, not souls. Yet the phrase "the dead" (τοὺς νεκρούς) implies personalities, *i.e.* souls, just as certainly as it does in the next line, where death and Hades give up "the dead" (τ. νεκρούς) in them. Hence it follows that ἡ θάλασσα cannot have stood originally in the text. Besides, before the final judgment began the sea had already vanished, 20¹¹. On this depravation of his text by the editor, see vol. ii. 194-199, where, as well as in the English trans., I have restored the text.

22¹¹ is written in a form of parallelism unexampled elsewhere in our author, while its subject-matter is in conflict with other passages in our author. The last interpolation,¹ 22^{18b-19}, exhibits the editor at his worst. Having taken the most unwarrantable liberties with his author's text by perverting its teaching in some passages and by his interpolations making it wholly unintelligible in others, he sets the crown on his misdemeanours by invoking an anathema on any person who should in any respect follow the method which had the sanction of his own example.² By this and other like unwarrantable devices this shallow-brained fanatic and celibate, whose dogmatism varies directly with the narrowness of his understanding, has often stood between John and his readers for nearly 2000 years. But such obscurantism cannot outlive the limits assigned to it; the reverent and patient research of the present age is steadily discovering and bringing to light the teaching of this great Christian prophet whose work fitly closes the Canon, and closes it with his benediction: "The grace of the Lord Jesus be with all the saints."

¹ In addition to the arguments advanced in vol. ii. 222-223 against the authenticity of 21^{18b-19}, we should observe that in the writer's use of *ἐπιτίθεσθαι* there is a play on the two meanings of this verb, *i.e.* "to add" and "to inflict." The latter use is found in Luke 10²⁰, Acts 16²³, and frequently in classical Greek. Such a play on words is not found in our author.

² The use of such anathemas by writers of an inferior stamp was quite common as I have shown in vol. ii. 223-224.

V.

DEPRAVATION OF THE TEXT THROUGH INTERPOLATIONS,
DISLOCATIONS, LACUNAE, AND DITTOGRAPHS.

§ 1. *Interpolations*.—There are in all some 22 or more interpolated verses in our text, if we add together all the interpolated verses, clauses, phrases, and words. The grounds for regarding these as interpolations are nearly always given in the Commentary, *in loc.*, and in footnotes to the English translation in vol. ii. in a more popular and less technical form. But in a few cases these will be found only in the latter, since they were not recognized as interpolations, or else wrongly condemned as such when the Commentary was written.

The interpolations are rejected as such either because they are wrong in their subject-matter, that is, against the context, or because they are against our author's linguistic usage. *But generally an interpolated passage betrays its intrusive character both by its linguistic form and subject-matter.* Where these two kinds of evidence combine, they are conclusive. As notable interpolations of this kind, the reader should study 1⁸ 14¹⁶⁻¹⁷. First, as regards 1⁸ we discover that this verse is impossible in its present context; for it represents the Seer as hearing God pronounce these words, although the Seer does not fall into a trance until 1¹⁰. Next, we discover that it could not occur in any context in our author, since, contrary to his universal usage and that of all Palestinian writers, he separates *ὁ παντοκράτωρ* from *ὁ θεός* by eight words, whereas it should immediately follow it, as it is a rendering of the Hebrew genitive (עֲבֹדָתוֹ) immediately dependent on *ὁ θεός* (אלהי). Next, 14¹⁶⁻¹⁷ is against our author's usage in respect to constructions. But it errs still more grievously against the context. The interpolator, failing to recognize "one like a son of man" (14¹⁴) as Christ, has treated Him merely as an angel, and assigned Him only one-half of the Messianic judgment, wherein the judgment is compared to a harvesting of the earth—a figure not used by our author. But this is not all. He has assigned to "another angel" the Messianic judgment—*i.e.*, the vintaging of the earth—the duty expressly attributed by our author to Christ in 19¹¹⁻²¹.

But interpolation sometimes leads to further depravation of the text. This occurs when the interpolated passage obliges the interpolator to adapt the immediate context to his additions to the text. The classical instance of such tampering with the text will be found in connection with the interpolation of 8⁷⁻¹², whereby "the three Woes," each preceded by a trumpet blast, have been

transformed into "the seven Trumpets." This drastic intervention of the interpolator has necessitated slight changes in 8² 6. 18 9¹. 18 10⁷ 11¹⁵ and the transposition of certain clauses. This addition is at variance with the entire context: it has destroyed the dramatic development of our author's theme, and represents him as indulging in vain and inconsistent repetitions.¹ The presence of this interpolation in our text has hidden from all interpreters up to the present the true meaning of the phrase—"there was silence in heaven for the space of half an hour," as well as other important matters.

Several interpolations have arisen from marginal glosses. 5^{8d} 14¹⁸ (ὁ ἔχων ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ τ. πυρός), 17^{9b} (ὁρῇ εἰσὶν . . . ἐπ' αὐτῶν καὶ)—a second interpretation of "the seven heads" from the hand of the editor or an interpolator. 19^{9b-10} is mainly a doublet of 22⁵⁻⁹, and in 11^{5b} 17¹⁷ the additions appear to be simply dittographs.

The complete list of interpolations in and additions to the text is as follows. Those which *appear* to be due to the editor are marked with an asterisk.

- *1^{4c} (καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἑπτὰ . . . αὐτοῦ). See vol. i. 11-13. *1⁸ (Ἐγὼ εἰμι τὸ Ἄλφα . . . ὁ παντοκράτωρ). See footnote on English translation *in loc.*, vol. ii. 1¹⁴ (ὡς χιών).
- 2⁵ (ἐὰν μὴ μετανοήσῃς). 2³² (ἐὰν μὴ μετανοήσουσιν ἐκ τῶν ἔργων αὐτῆς). See footnote on Eng. trans. *in loc.*, vol. ii.
- 4⁵ (ἃ ἐστὶν τὰ ἑπτὰ πνεύματα τοῦ θεοῦ): 4⁶ (ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ θρόνου καὶ): 4⁸ (κυκλόθεν καὶ ἔσωθεν γέμουσιν ὀφθαλμῶν).
- 5^{8d} (αἱ εἰσὶν αἱ προσευχαὶ τῶν ἁγίων): 5¹¹ (καὶ τ. ζῶων καὶ τ. πρεσβυτέρων). See vol. i. 145, 148 respectively.
- 6^{9b} (καὶ ὁ ἄδης ἡκολούθει μετ' αὐτοῦ). See vol. i. 169 sq. 6^{8d} (ἀποκτεῖναι . . . ὑπὸ τ. θηρίων τ. γῆς). See i. 171.
- *8² (οἱ ἐνώπιον τ. θεοῦ ἐστήκασιν). See i. 221: also footnote on Eng. trans. *in loc.* 8⁷⁻¹². To adapt this interpolation of the first four Trumpets to its new context, changes were introduced in 8² 6. 18 9¹. 18 10⁷ 11¹⁵ and 8² transposed from its original position after 8⁵. See i. 219-222.
- 9^{5c} (καὶ ὁ βασανισμὸς . . . ἄνθρωπον? See footnote: Eng. trans.). *9^{11c} (καὶ ἐν τῇ . . . Ἀπολλύων). See i. 246. *9^{16b-17a} (ἤκουσα τ. ἀριθμὸν . . . ὁράσει). Observe that the wrong construction, τ. καθημένους † ἐπ' αὐτῶν †, is due to editor. See i. 252. 9^{19b} (καὶ ἐν ταῖς . . . κεφαλáis). See i. 254.

¹ Hence practically every editor who accepts the entire work as from John's hand, whether he adopts or not the hypothesis of sources, is obliged to resort to the "Recapitulation Theory" in a greater or lesser degree, that is, that the Apocalypse does not represent a strict succession of events, but that the same events are either wholly or in part dealt with under each successive series of seven Seals, seven Trumpets, and seven Bowls.

- 11^{5b} (καὶ εἴ τις . . . ἀποκτανθῆναι). See i. 284.
- *14²⁻⁴ (οἱ ἡγορασμένοι ἀπὸ τ. γῆς . . . εἰσιν and καὶ τῷ ἁρνίῳ. See ii. 5-10, 422, footnote. *14¹⁵⁻¹⁷ καὶ ἄλλος ἄγγελος . . . δρέπανον ὀξύ). See ii. 18-19, 20-22. 14¹⁸ (ὁ ἔχων ἔξουσίαν ἐπὶ τοῦ πυρός). 14¹⁹ (ὁ ἄγγελος).
- *15¹. See ii. 30-32. 15⁸ (τ. ψῶδην . . . τ. θεοῦ καί). See ii. 34. 15⁶ (οἱ ἐπτά ἄγγελοι οἱ ἔχοντες . . . πληγὰς—a deliberate change for ἄγγελοι ἐπτά owing to interpolation of 15¹). See ii. 31-32, 38.
- *16^{2c} (τοὺς ἔχοντας . . . εἰκόνι αὐτοῦ). See ii. 43. *16^{5a} (καὶ ἤκουσα τοῦ ἀγγέλου τῶν ὑδάτων λέγοντος) added by editor when he wrongly introduced 16^{5b-7}, which properly belongs after 19⁴. ii. 44, 120-123. *16^{13b-14a} (ὡς βάραχοι . . . σημεῖα). See ii. 47-48. 16^{19a} (καὶ ἐγένετο . . . μέρη). See ii. 52.
- *17^{9b} (ὅρη εἰσὶν . . . ἐπ' αὐτῶν καὶ and ἐπτά after βασιλαῖς). See ii. 68-69. 17¹⁵—a gloss on 17¹. See ii. 72. 17¹⁷ (καὶ ποιῶσαν μίαν γνώμην). See ii. 73.
- 18¹⁸ (καὶ ἵππων . . . σωμάτων). See ii. 104.
- 19^{8b} (τὸ γὰρ βύσσινον . . . ἐστίν). See vol. i. 127-128. 19^{9b-10}, doublet of 22⁸⁻⁹, which has dislodged part of the original text. See ii. 128-129. 19^{12c} (ἔχων ὄνομα . . . εἰ μὴ αὐτός). See ii. 132. 19¹⁶ (ἐπὶ τ. ἱμάτιον καί). See ii. 137.
- *20⁴ (οἷτινες). *20⁵ (οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν νεκρῶν οὐκ ἔζησαν ἀχρι τελευτῆς τὰ χίλια ἔτη). See note on text *in loc.*, vol. ii. 372. 20¹² (κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν). *20¹⁸ (ἡ θάλασσα—an interpolation which has dislodged the original). ii. 194 sqq. 20^{14b} (οὗτος ὁ θάνατος . . . πυρός). See ii. 199 sq.
- *21^{6a} (καὶ εἰπὼν μοι Γέγοναν). See English translation, *in loc.* ii. 443. *21²⁵ text changed by editor. See ii. 173, 439.
- *22¹¹. See ii. 221 sq. *22¹² ὡς τὸ ἔργον † ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ †. The order ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ is due to the editor. Our author wrote αὐτοῦ ἐστίν. *22^{18b-19}. See ii. 222 sq.

§ 2. *Dislocations in 20⁴-22.*—In vol. ii. 144, I have emphasized the fact that apocalyptic is distinguished from prophecy in its structural unity and its orderly development of thought to the final consummation. In the pages that follow (145-154) I have shown at some length that the text is incoherent and self-contradictory as it stands, and that these characteristics of 20⁴-22, which are wholly impossible in apocalyptic (if the work is from one and the same author), are due to vast dislocations of the text. No mere accident could explain the intolerable confusion of the text in 20⁴-22 (see vol. ii. 144-154). Since this entire

section, with the exception of two or more verses, comes from the hand of our author, the only hypothesis that can account for the present condition of the text is that John died when he completed 1-20⁸ of his work, and that the materials for its completion, which were for the most part ready in a series of independent documents, were put together by an editor who fundamentally misunderstood the thought and visions of the Seer. Alike in the Commentary, Text, and Translation, the present writer has sought to recover the original order of the text (see vol. ii. 153-154) and given the grounds which have guided this reconstruction throughout. Manifold traces of the activity of this unintelligent editor are to be found in the earlier chapters, and it is more than probable that most of the interpolations are to be traced to his hand.

Dislocations in 1-20⁸.—Though there is nothing in the text of 1-20⁸ in the least comparable to the confusion that dominates the traditional structure of 20⁴-22, yet there are some very astonishing dislocations of isolated clauses and verses.

Of the many dislocations of the text in 1-20⁸ only one appears to have been deliberate, *i.e.* the transposition of 8³ from its original position after 8⁵ in order with other changes to adapt the interpolated section 8⁷⁻¹² (the first four Trumpets) to its new context.

The remaining dislocations in 1-20⁸ are as follows:—

2^{37c} has been restored after 2^{36b}. See Eng. trans. *in loc.*

3^{8bc} has been restored before 3^{8a}. See Eng. trans. *in loc.*

7^{5c}-6 has been restored after 7⁸. See vol. i. 207.

11^{18a} has been restored after 11^{18b}. See vol. i. 295 sq.

11^{18a} has been restored after 11^{18c}. See vol. ii. 416, footnote to Eng. transl. *in loc.*

13^{5b} has been restored after 13^{5b}. See vol. ii. 419, footnote to Eng. transl. *in loc.*

14¹²⁻¹³ has been restored after 13¹⁸. See vol. i. 368 sq.

16^{5b-7} has been restored after 19⁴. See vol. ii. 120-123.

16¹⁵ has been restored after 3^{5b}. See vol. i. 80 sq.

17¹⁴⁻¹⁷ has been restored as follows: 17¹⁷. 16. 14. See vol. ii. 60 sq.

18¹⁴⁻²² has been restored as follows: 18¹⁵⁻¹⁹. 21. 14. 22a-d. 23od. 22e-h. 23ab. 20. 23f.

The most startling of the above dislocations of the text is that in 18¹⁴⁻²². How this dislocation arose we cannot determine, but that the text is dislocated is beyond question. First, we observe that 18¹⁴ comes in wrongly between 18¹³ and 18¹⁵, and that both its sense and structure connect it immediately with 18²²⁻²³ and, as an introduction to these verses, which, combined with it, express in due gradation the destruction of everything in Rome

from the greatest luxuries to the barest necessities. Thus 18^{14. 22-23} (four stanzas) compose a special dirge over Rome. Next, 18²⁰ breaks the close sequence between 18¹⁹ and 18²¹ by introducing an apostrophe to heaven between the descriptive passages dealing with the ruin of Rome, 18¹⁹, and the dramatic action of the angel, 18²¹. But, though it cannot stand after 18¹⁹, it comes in with the most perfect fitness at the close of the dirge over Rome (18^{14. 22-23}), as an appeal to heaven to rejoice over the doom of Rome—an appeal that is immediately answered by choir after choir from heaven of a mighty multitude of angels, of the Elders and Cherubim, and of the martyr host in 19¹⁻⁴ 16^{5bc-7} 19⁵⁻⁷.

The dislocations in 7^{5c-8} 11¹⁸ 13^{5b-6b} 17¹⁴⁻¹⁷ could easily have arisen. Parallels to such dislocations are to be found in other books of the Bible and in other documents. Only three other dislocations remain, but two of these are suggestive. As to 16¹⁵ which is to be restored after 3^{5b}, it is possible that it was written on a separate slip of papyrus which got displaced and was subsequently inserted after the sheet of papyrus ending 16¹⁴. However this may be, it cannot possibly have stood originally after 16¹⁴, with which it has no connection of any kind. Its natural place is after 3^{5b}, and nowhere else.

Now we come to the two interesting dislocations, 14¹²⁻¹⁸, 17^{15,1}. These two passages appear to have been inserted above the written columns on the papyrus sheets, the first by the Seer himself, the second by the editor. The scribe who copied the original MS incorporated these marginal additions in the wrong columns. It is noteworthy that 14¹²⁻¹⁸ is exactly the same number of lines from 13¹⁸ that 17¹⁵ is from 17¹, of which it is a gloss.

§ 3. *Lacunae in the Text.*—Apart from 20⁴⁻²² where it is impossible to determine what lacunae exist (save in 21²²; see below) owing to the disorder of the text, there do not appear to be many in 1-20³. There are, however, lacunae, and these are important. The first consists of a loss of several clauses in 16¹⁰ (see vol. ii. 45-46). The second is a still graver loss after 19^{9a}. These lost verses after 19^{9a} (whose place has been taken by an

¹ That 14¹²⁻¹⁸ (ὁδε ἡ ὑπομονὴ τῶν ἀγίων κτλ.) is wholly out of place in a section that deals with the judgments inflicted on the wicked is clear at a glance, and that they should be restored at the close of the account of the persecution of the second Beast, *i.e.* 13¹⁸, is at once manifest, when we compare the closing words of the persecution of the first Beast, 13^{10a} (ὁδε ἐστὶν ἡ ὑπομονὴ . . . τῶν ἀγίων). These words are added for the encouragement and strengthening of the victims of the two persecutions. Next, it is clear that 17¹⁵ was originally an explanatory marginal gloss on 17¹. Since it has no connection whatever with its present context, the explanation given above for its position in its present context seems adequate.

interpolation, *i.e.* 19^{9b-10} modelled on 22⁸⁻⁹) recounted the destruction of the Parthian kings. Their destruction was prophesied in 17¹⁴, and the vision recounting their destruction should have been given here. In 17^{17.16} there is a prophecy of the destruction of Rome: in 18 a vision of this destruction. In 14^{14.18-20} (see also 16^{13-14.16}) we have a proleptic vision of the judgment of the nations by the Son of Man and a vision of their destruction by the Word of God in 19¹¹⁻²¹ (20⁷⁻¹⁰). Thus it is clear that a vision dealing with the destruction of the Parthian hosts by the Lamb and the Saints (see 17¹⁴) should have been recorded in our text. That it actually did stand in the autograph of the Seer may be reasonably concluded from 19¹³, where the Word of God is said to be "clothed with a garment dipped in blood." That this is the blood of the Parthian hosts follows from any just interpretation of the text. See vol. ii. 133.

A third lacuna occurs after 18^{22a}. The context makes the restoration easy, *i.e.* οὐ μὴ ἀκουσθῇ ἐν σοὶ ἔτι. Again, in 21²², where we should have a couplet, but where only the words καὶ τὸ ἀρνίον survive of the second line, we can with great probability restore the missing words by a comparison of 11¹⁰. These are ἡ κυβωτὸς τῆς διαθήκης αὐτῆς. See vol. ii. 170 sq.

§ 4. *Dittographs*.—There are several dittographs, *i.e.* (a) 13^{8a.8} = 17⁸; (b) 19^{9b} = 21^{6a} = 22^{6a}; (c) 19¹⁰ = 22^{8b.9}; (d) 20^{14b} = 21^{6a}.

(a) Both members of the first, *i.e.* 13^{8a.8} = 17⁸, belong to our text. See vol. i. 337.

(b) Here practically the same clause (καὶ εἰπὲν μοι Οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι πιστοὶ κ. ἀληθινοί) is repeated three times. In 21^{6a} 22^{6a} it is a genuine part of the text. On 21^{6a} see note ⁸ on English translation, vol. ii. 443, in accordance with which the note in vol. ii. 203 (*ad fin.*) sq. is to be corrected. In 19^{9b} it is manifestly interpolated (see vol. ii. 128, 203 sq.), probably by the editor.

(c) Here 22^{8b.9} is original and 19¹⁰ is an interpolation of the editor repeated in the main from 22⁸⁻⁹ but giving to σύνδουλος quite a different meaning. See vol. ii. 128 sq.

(d) 21^{6a} ὁ ἐστὶν ὁ θάνατος ὁ δεύτερος is original. But in 20^{14b}, where this phrase also occurs, it is quite meaningless. It represents the casting of death and Hades (as distinct from their inhabitants) into the lake of fire as the second death!

VI.

GREEK AND HEBREW SOURCES AND THEIR DATES.

Our author has used sources. Nearly one-fifth of his text appears to be based on sources, *i.e.* 7¹⁻⁸ 11¹⁻¹⁸ 12-13 (15⁶⁻⁸ 7). 17-18. These sources he has adapted to his own purposes, and in the course of such adaptation has, except in certain details, transformed their meaning. (a) Sources he found in Hebrew or Greek. (b) Sources he found in Greek. (c) Sources in Hebrew.

(a) Chap. 7¹⁻⁸ (before 70 A.D.). That there are two sources here is shown in vol. i. 191 sqq. Whether our author found these sources already existing in Greek and recast them in his own diction or translated them directly from the Hebrew is uncertain.

Chap. 7¹⁻⁸. Here "*the four winds*" (so designated though not previously mentioned) are not to be let loose till the faithful are sealed. A pause is enjoined in the course of judgment for this purpose as in 1 En 66¹⁻³, 67, and in 2 Bar 64²³⁴. The four winds appear in earlier tradition. See vol. i. 192-193.

Chap. 7⁴⁻⁸. From a Jewish or Jewish-Christian source. See vol. i. 193-194. The "sealing" in our text is also derived from tradition, but the meaning is wholly transformed from what it bears in the O.T. and Pss. Sol 15⁶⁻¹⁰, 18, which later work appears to have been before our author.

(b) *Greek Sources*, *i.e.* sources already existing in Greek, 11¹⁻¹⁸ 12.* 17-18.

Chap. 11¹⁻¹⁸ (before 70 A.D.). This section had originally a different meaning and was borrowed by our author from a source written before 70 A.D. 11¹⁻¹⁸ consists of two earlier fragments, both of which presuppose Jerusalem to be still standing (11¹⁻⁸). The diction, idiom, and order of words differ perceptibly from that of our author, and they contain certain phrases which bear a different meaning from that which they bear in our author. In 11⁸⁻¹⁸ our author's hand is discernible in the additions 11^{8b-9a} and the entire recasting of 11⁷, so that what stood there originally cannot be known. *In our text* the temple in 11¹ must be interpreted not as the actual temple which no longer existed, but as the spiritual temple, of which all the faithful are constituent members—a figure which our author has already used in 3¹², and the words "the measuring of his temple, the altar and those that worshipped therein," mean in their new context the securing of

* In vol. i. 300-305 I took chapter 12 to be a translation by our author from a Hebrew source, but subsequent study has obliged me to abandon this view. See *Introd.* p. clviii n.

the faithful against the spiritual influences of the demonic and Satanic powers. But all the ideas in the text do not lend themselves to such reinterpretation, and the presence of such inexplicable details is *prima facie* evidence that the sections in which they occur are not original creations of our author but are derived from traditional material. See vol. i. 269-292.

Chap. 12 (before 70 A.D.). In vol. i. 298-299 the meaning of this chapter in its Christian setting is given. But that this was not its original meaning, and that it could not have been written originally by a Christian, is shown in vol. i. 299-300. A full discussion of the two sources which underlie this chapter and were translated from Semitic originals but not by our author, is given in vol. i. 305-314. Our author most probably found these sources already in a Greek form, and the conclusion recorded in i. 303 is here withdrawn. These two sources, so far as they survive in our text, consist of 12¹⁻⁵ 12-17 and 12⁷⁻¹⁰ 12. These were adapted by our author to their new Christian context by the addition of 12⁶ 11 and by certain additions in 12⁸ (?), 12⁶ (ὅς μέλλει ποιμαίνειν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ), 12⁹ (ὁ ὄφεις ὁ ἀρχαῖος, ὁ καλούμενος Διάβολος. . . ἐβλήθη), 12¹⁰ (καὶ ἡ ἐξουσία τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ and τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν dislodging a Jewish phrase), 12¹² (ὅτε εἶδεν and ὅτι ἐβλήθη εἰς τὴν γῆν), 12¹⁷ (τῶν τηρούντων τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἔχόντων τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ). The expectation expressed in 12¹⁴⁻¹⁶ is a survival of an earlier time, being found by our author in his source. It referred to or prophesied the escape of Jewish Christians before 70 A.D. But the idea of such an escape during the entire sway of the Anti-christ (12¹⁴ καιρὸν καὶ καιροὺς καὶ ἡμῶν καιροῦ) is impossible in our text, where our author's expectation is that of a martyrdom of the entire Christian Church. No part of the Church escapes.

Chaps. 17-18 (71-79 A.D.). These chapters, though recast by our author to serve his own main purpose, preserve incongruous elements and traces of an earlier date. Thus 17¹⁰⁻¹¹ cannot be reasonably interpreted of a later time than Vespasian. And yet our author's additions in 17⁸ 11, which refer to the demonic Nero coming up from the abyss, can only be explained by a Domitianic date. The sense is confused, but the date is clear. To leave this passage unaltered was an oversight on the part of our author. Similarly, 18⁴ (see vol. ii. 96 sq.) postulates a Vespasianic date.

These chapters, the greater part of which our author found in a Greek form, were derived from two Hebrew sources, which for convenience' sake we designate A and B. A consisted originally of 17^{1c-2} 5b-6. 7. 18. 8-10 (greater part) 18²⁻²². See vol. ii. 88-89, 94-95. B consisted of 17¹¹ (greater part), 12-13. 17. 16. See vol. ii. 59-60.

Our author has adapted these sources to his own purposes

by inserting the following clauses: 17¹ (καὶ ἦλθεν . . . δείξω σοι),^{8a} (καὶ ἀπήνεγκέν με . . . πνεύματι),^{8c} (καὶ κέρατα δέκα),^{8b} (καὶ ἐκ τ. αἵματος . . . Ἰησοῦ),⁸ (ἦν καὶ οὐκ . . . ὑπάγει), and (ὅτι ἦν . . . πάρεσται),⁹ (ὥδε ὁ νοῦς ὁ ἔχων σοφίαν),¹¹ (ὁ ἦν καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν), and (καὶ εἰς ἀπώλειαν ὑπάγει),¹⁴. But the text of 17¹¹⁻¹⁷ is in disorder. 17¹⁵ is a gloss (see vol. ii. 72), 17¹⁷ should precede 17¹⁶, and 17¹⁴ (our author's addition) should follow immediately on 17¹⁶. Hence the right order of the text (see vol. ii. 61) is 17¹¹⁻¹⁸ 17. 16. 14. After 17¹⁴ our author transferred 17¹⁸, which originally belonged to A (see above), to the close of the chapter in order to introduce chap. 18.

Chap. 18^{2-23a-4}. This chapter, as we have already seen, belongs to the source A. Our author apparently found it in some disorder in a Greek form. He has made few changes in it. He has introduced it by prefixing 18¹, by inserting 18²⁰, and closing it by 18^{23f}.²⁴ Since 18²⁰ is an appeal to the heavenly hosts—an appeal that is immediately answered in 19¹⁻⁷, our author would naturally have placed it at the close of 18 and not where it stands in the traditional text. 18²⁰. 23f. 24 would thus form the close of this chapter coming from our author's hand and serving to introduce the theme of 19¹⁻⁴ 16^{5bc-7} 19⁵⁻⁷.

Since, therefore, 18²⁰ does not apparently stand where our author inserted it, it is reasonable to conclude that some of the great disorder that exists in 18¹⁴⁻²³ arose subsequently to our author's composition of the work as a whole.

(c) *Hebrew Sources.* One chapter, *i.e.* 13, is mainly composed of translations from three Hebrew sources by our author (see vol. i. 334-338). To the first source, written by a Pharisaic Quietist before 70 A.D., is to be traced 13^{1abd}. 2. 4-7a. 10. See vol. i. 340-342. To the second source, 13^{8a}. 8, of which we find a second Greek translation from another hand in 17⁸. See vol. i. 337. To the third, 13¹¹. 12ab. 13-14ab. 16ad-17a. See vol. i. 342-344. The date is probably prior to 70 A.D.

The original meaning of these sources is transformed by their incorporation into our author's text. He has adapted them to his own purpose by the insertion of the following clauses: 13^{1c} (καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν . . . διαδήματα),^{3ab} (καὶ μίαν . . . ἐθεραπεύθη),^{6c} (τοὺς . . . σκηνοῦντας),^{7b} (καὶ ἐδόθη . . . ἔθνος),^{8b-9} (τοῦ ἀρνίου . . . ἀκουσάτω),^{10c} (ὥδε . . . ἀγίων),^{12bc} (τὸ θηρίον τὸ πρῶτον οὐ ἐθεραπεύθη . . . αὐτοῦ),^{14b-15} (ἐνώπιον . . . ἀποκτανθῶσιν),¹⁶ (τ. μικροὺς . . . δούλους),¹⁷⁻¹⁸ (τὸ ὄνομα . . . ἔξ).

Possibly 15⁵⁻⁸ is translated from a Hebrew source by our author. The grounds for this hypothesis are to be found in the two impossible phrases in 15⁵. 6. It is remarkable that both these phrases can be explained by retranslation into Hebrew. See vol. ii. 37-38. On this hypothesis we should expect the whole

narrative of the Bowls to be likewise a translation from the Hebrew. But if it is, it is so thoroughly recast that no evidence for this hypothesis survives.

If we reject this hypothesis, we might assume that *λίνον* is a primitive error for *λινούν* in 15⁶, and that *τῆς σκηνῆς τοῦ μαρτυρίου* was originally a marginal gloss which was derived from Ex. 40³⁹, on which our text is based, and was subsequently incorporated in the text against both the sense and grammar. The editor, however, was capable of the grossest misconceptions, as we have been elsewhere: see pp. l-lv.

VII.

BOOKS OF THE O.T., OF THE PSEUDEPIGRAPHA AND OF THE N.T. USED BY OUR AUTHOR.

§ 1. *General statement of our author's dependence on the above books.*—Our author makes most use of the prophetic books. He constantly uses Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel; also, but in a less degree, Zechariah, Joel, Amos, and Hosea; and in a very minor degree Zephaniah and Habakkuk. Next to the prophetic books he is most indebted to the Psalms, slightly to Proverbs, and still less to Canticles. He possessed the Pentateuch and makes occasional use of all its books, particularly of Exodus. Amongst others, that he and his sources probably drew upon, are Joshua, 1 and 2 Samuel, and 2 Kings.

The evidence for the above summary of facts will be found below in §§ 3-5.

Of the Pseudepigrapha the evidence that our author used the Testament of Levi, 1 Enoch, and the Assumption of Moses, is sufficiently strong; see below, § 7. It is not improbable that he was acquainted with 2 Enoch and the Psalms of Solomon. See below, § 7. But the direct evidence is not so convincing as the indirect. Repeatedly in the commentary that follows it is shown that without a knowledge of the Pseudepigrapha it would be impossible to understand our author. As a few proofs of this fact, see on 4⁶ (the Cherubim), pp. 117-123; 6⁸ ("a great sword"), p. 165; 6⁹ (Martyrs = a sacrifice to God, cf. 14⁴), p. 174, vol. ii. 6; 6⁹ (the one altar in heaven), p. 172 sqq.; 6¹¹ (world to come to an end when the roll of the martyrs is complete), pp. 177-79; (white robes = spiritual bodies), pp. 184-188 and *passim*.

From an examination of the passages given below in § 8, it follows quite decidedly that our author had the Gospels of Matthew and Luke before him, 1 Thessalonians, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Colossians (or else the lost Ep. to the Laodiceans, which presumably was of a kindred character), Ephesians, and possibly

Galatians, 1 Peter, and James. Our author shows no acquaintance with St. Mark.

That our author used Matthew is deducible from the following facts. In 1⁷ he has had Matt 24³⁰ before him, where our author's combination of Dan 7¹³ and Zech 12^{10, 12} occurs already. Our author derives from Matthew the words *πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τ. γῆς*, which are not in the O.T. or Versions. Next, a reference to 2⁷ shows that it is the Matthaean (or Lucan: cf. 8⁸) form of the command, *ὁ ἔχων οὖς κτλ.*, Matt 11¹⁵ 13⁹ etc., that our author was familiar with. The dependence of 3⁸, 16¹⁵ on Matt 24^{42, 43, 46} is obvious at the first glance. 3⁵ presupposes both Matt 10³² and the parallel passage in Luke 12⁸. Other passages showing dependence on Matthew, though not so conclusively, will be found under 1^{8d} 1¹⁶ 6⁴ 11¹⁶ below.

That our author used Luke appears certain, though the evidence is less conclusive, from a comparison of 1⁸ with Luke 11²⁸, 3⁵ with Luke 12⁸, 11⁶ with Luke 4³⁵, and 18³⁴ with Luke 11⁵⁰. Unless we assume our author's acquaintance with the Little Apocalypse (embodied in Luke 21, Matt 24, Mark 13), then he is indebted to Luke for his fourth plague, i.e. the pestilence, Luke 21¹¹ (*λοιμοί*).¹

Possibly 13⁸ (*τ. ἀρνίου τ. ἐσφαγμένου ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου*) implies an acquaintance with 1 Pet 1¹⁹⁻²⁰. Compare also 16¹⁹ and 1 Pet 5¹³, and 1⁶ and 1 Pet 2⁹.

§ 2. *John translated directly from the O.T. text. He did not quote from any Greek Version, though he was often influenced in his renderings by the LXX and another later Greek Version, a revised form of the ο' (i.e. the LXX), which was subsequently revised and incorporated by Theodotion in his version.* Our author never definitely makes a quotation, though he continually incorporates phrases and clauses of the O.T. The question naturally arises: Do he and his sources (11¹⁻¹⁸ 12-13, 17-18) derive such phrases and clauses directly from the Hebrew (or Aramaic), or from ο' or from the Hebrew combined with ο'? (see §§ 3-5).

An examination of the passages based on the O.T. makes it clear that our author draws his materials directly from the Hebrew (or Aramaic) text, and apparently never solely from ο' or any other version.² And this is no less true of the sources our

¹ If, however, our author used Matthew and Luke only and not the Little Apocalypse, how are we to account for his using *θάνατος* and not *λοιμός*? But if he had the Aramaic document behind the triple tradition in the Synoptics this would be explicable, since *ܡܡܕ* = "death" or "pestilence." If he had the Little Apocalypse in Aramaic, we should have the explanation of this and other difficulties.

² It is important to recognize the results arrived at in §§ 3-6, seeing that several German scholars have definitely declared that certain classes of O.T.

author incorporated and edited. But this fact does not exclude the possibility that our author was acquainted with and at times guided by *o'* and some other Greek version. The latter clause is added deliberately, "and some other Greek version."

That our author was influenced in his renderings of O.T. passages by *o'* may be taken as proved after an examination of the list of passages given in § 4. But in the list of passages that follow in § 5, we discover that our author's renderings of the Hebrew are closely related to those which appear in *θ'* (*i.e.* Theodotion), where *θ'* differs from *o'*. But since Theodotion lived several decades later than our author, we must assume with Gwynn (*Dict. Christ. Biog.* iv. 974-978) that side by side with *o'* (preserved in a corrupt form in the Chisian MS of Daniel) there existed a rival Greek version from pre-Christian times.¹

But Gwynn's hypothesis, although adequate to a certain extent, is inadequate when confronted with fresh facts that have emerged in my study of this question. For from § 5 we learn that in 1^{17b} our text agrees not with *o'* but *θ'* in Is 48¹²: similarly 3⁷ with *θ'* of Is 22²² and 3⁹⁰ with *θ'* of Is 60¹⁴. Again the quotation 15²⁻⁴ ὁ βασιλεὺς τ. ἐθνῶν τίς οὐ μὴ φοβηθῇ; agrees word for word (though differing in case and tense) with *θ'* of Jer 10⁷, whereas *o'* is here wholly defective. Finally, 1⁶ (5¹⁰) βασιλείαν ἱερῆς is found in *θ'* of Ex 19⁶ where *o'* is different. Now one or more of these might be coincidences, but it is highly improbable that all five are. Hence we have good grounds for concluding that there existed either a rival Greek version alongside *o'* from pre-Christian times or a revised version of *o'*, which was revised afresh by Theodotion and circulated henceforth under his name. How many books of the O.T. were so translated afresh cannot be determined. The above evidence would imply that Isaiah and Jeremiah were so translated.² Possibly all the prophetic books were rendered

passages are directly from the Hebrew and others just as definitely from the LXX. The greatest offender in this respect is Von Soden (*Books of the NT*, 372 sq.), who states that "quotations from the O.T. in the Johannine portion (of Revelation, *i.e.* 1⁴-7) are constantly made according to the LXX, while in the Jewish portion (8-22⁸) the Hebrew text is taken into account." There is no foundation in fact for this statement.

¹ This hypothesis (first suggested by Credner, *Beiträge*, ii. 261-272) was practically accepted by Salmon (*Introd.* p. 547) and by Swete (*Introd. to the O.T. in Greek*, p. 48).

Gwynn supports this hypothesis by evidence drawn from 1 Bar 1¹⁸-2²⁰. Since the date of 1²-3⁸ is generally accepted as earlier than 80 A.D., and since numerous passages in 1¹⁸-2²⁰ are clearly based on *θ'* and not *o'* of Dan 9⁷-19, Gwynn (*op. cit.* 976) rightly infers the existence of a version of Daniel differing from *o'* and of a type closely akin to that which *θ'* bears.

² There is, of course, the possibility that our author was using a collection of *Testimonia*. But this explanation could not be used in the case of the passages wherein our author's text shows numerous and very close affinities to *θ'*. It is noteworthy that the author of the Fourth Gospel never agrees

afresh into Greek and this work incorporated and revised by Theodotion in his version. But the matter calls for further investigation.

§ 3. *Passages based directly on the Hebrew of the O.T. (or the Aramaic in Daniel). These are hardly ever literal quotations: in any case the words carry with them a developed and often different meaning.*

17^o ὁφεται αὐτὸν πᾶς ὀφθαλμὸς καὶ ὅτινες αὐτὸν ἐξεκέντησαν¹ καὶ κόψονται ἐπ' αὐτὸν πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τ. γῆς.²

11^o ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι . . . ἤκουσα φωνὴν μεγάλην ὁπισθέν μου.

11² (14¹⁴) ὅμοιον υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου. ἐνδεδυμένον ποδήρη.

περιεζωσμένον πρὸς τ. μαστοῖς ζώνην χρυσᾶν. Cf. 15^o where the text recalls the present.

11^{4a} ἡ δὲ κεφαλὴ αὐτοῦ καὶ αἱ τρίχες λευκαὶ ὡς ἔριον λευκόν.³

11^{6b} (19¹³) οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς φλόξ πυρός.

οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ ὅμοιοι χαλκοῖς βάνω.

Zech 12¹⁰ ο' θ'. ἐπιβλέψονται πρὸς μέ, ἀνθ' ὧν κατωρχήσαντο (θ'. εἰς δὲ ἐξεκέντησαν) καὶ κόψονται ἐπ' (>θ') αὐτόν. 12¹³ ο'. κόψεται ἡ γῆ κατὰ φυλὰς φυλὰς.

Ezek 31² ἀνέλαβέν με πνεῦμα, καὶ ἤκουσα κατόπισθέν μου . . . φωνὴν σεισμοῦ μεγάλου.

Dan 7¹³ (ο' θ') ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου.

Dan 10⁵ ܐܝܬܝ ܫܒܠ. ο' θ'. ἐνδεδυμένος βύσσινον (θ'. βαδδελν). Ezek 10³ renders the same words, ἐνδεδυκὸς τὴν στολὴν.

Dan 10⁵ ܕܢܗܒ ܕܢܗܒ ܝܢܝܗܐ. θ'. ἡ ὁσφὺς αὐτοῦ περιεζωσμένη ἐν χρυσῷ. ο'. τ. ὁσφὺν περιεζωσμένον βύσσινον.

Dan 7⁹ θ'. καὶ ἡ θριξ τ. κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ ὡς ἔριον καθαρόν. ο'. καὶ τ. τρίχωμα τ. κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ ὡς ἔριον λευκόν καθαρόν.

Dan 10⁶ (ο' θ') οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς λαμπράδες πυρός.

Dan 10⁶ ο' θ' quite different.

exclusively with θ' (see 19³⁷ where it agrees in part), and only a few times literally with ο' in 21⁷=Ps 68 (69)¹⁰, 10²⁴=Ps 81 (82)⁶, 12¹³=Ps 117 (118)²⁸, 12³⁰=Is 53¹, 19²⁴=Ps 21 (22)¹⁹. But the author of the Fourth Gospel seldom quotes—even indirectly—from the O.T., whereas our author's text shows its influence directly and indirectly, wherever his subject admits of it.

¹ Here our author renders ܝܪܝ as θ'. But this proves nothing; for ἐκκεντεῖν (ἀποκεντεῖν or κατακεντεῖν) is its normal rendering in the Versions. ο', of course, presupposes ܝܪܝ. Cf. John 19³⁷ ὁψονται εἰς δὲ ἐξεκέντησαν.

² The words κόψονται ἐπ' αὐτόν πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τ. γῆς agree exactly with Matt 24³⁰ save that the latter omits ἐπ' αὐτόν. Now, since Matt 24³⁰ combines Zech 12¹⁰ and Dan 7¹³ just as our author does in 17, it is highly probable that our author was acquainted with Matt 24³⁰, or that our author and Matt 24³⁰ drew here upon an independent source—i.e. a collection of O.T. passages relating to the Messiah. I have placed 17² ἰδοὺ ἔρχεται μετὰ τ. νεφέλων under § 5, but possibly it ought to be under § 3, as 17². In Zech 12¹⁰ the people mourn for him that is cut off, whereas in our text and in Matt 24³⁰ they mourn for themselves. κόπτεσθαι ἐπ' αὐτόν="mourn in regard to him."

³ Our author here diverges greatly from θ', and here alone approximates to ο' against θ' in Dan., though not necessarily presupposing a knowledge of ο'. Our text and ο', however, really point to the same Aramaic ܠܗܝ ܕܥܝܪ ܕܥܝܪ ܕܥܝܪ ܕܥܝܪ. This appears to have been the original text "And the hair of his head was spotless as white wool."

- 1¹⁶ (19⁶) ἡ φωνὴ αὐτοῦ ὡς φωνὴ ἔκδωτον πολλῶν. Ezek 43² (ο') φωνὴ τ. παρεμβολῆς ὡς φωνὴ διπλασιαζόντων πολλῶν. But our text is a literal rendering of the Hebrew עֲרֵב עֲרֵב לְרַב לְרַב. Dan 10⁶ is based on Ezek 43² but only remotely, and is not followed by our author. Jerome remarks how Rev 1¹⁸ supports the Mass. here.
- 1^{16a} ἐκ τ. στόματος αὐτοῦ ῥομφαία . . . ὀξεῖα. Cf. 2¹², 16 19¹⁵. Is 49² ἔθηκεν τ. στόμα μου ὡς μάχαιραν ὀξεῖαν.
- 1¹⁷ ἔπεσα πρὸς τ. πόδας αὐτοῦ ὡς νεκρός· καὶ ἔθηκεν τ. δεξιὰν αὐτοῦ ἐπ' ἐμέ λέγων Μὴ φοβοῦ. Dan 10⁶, 10, 12 Heb. = "Then was I fallen into a deep sleep on my face. . . . And behold a hand touched me. . . . And he said unto me, Fear not." (Greek Versions very different from our text).
- 1¹⁸ ζῶν εἰμι εἰς τ. αἰῶνας τ. αἰῶνων. Dan 4³¹ (θ') 12¹, 1 Enoch 5¹
- 2¹⁴ ἐδίδασκεν . . . φαγεῖν εἰδωλόθυτα καὶ πορνεύσαι. Num 25¹⁻² ἐβεβηλώθη ὁ λαὸς ἐκπορευῆσαι . . . καὶ ἐφαγεν.
- 2¹⁸ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς κτλ. See 1¹⁴ above.
- 2²³ Ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ ἐραυνῶν νεφροὺς καὶ καρδίας, καὶ δώσω ὑμῖν ἐκάστην κατὰ τὰ ἔργα ὑμῶν. Jer 17¹⁰ Ἐγὼ κύριος ἐτάζων καρδίας καὶ δοκιμάζων νεφρούς, τοῦ δοῦναι (πᾶν) ἐκάστην κατὰ τ. ὁδοῦ αὐτοῦ.²
- 3²⁶ ἤκουσιν καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν ἐνώπιον τ. ποδῶν σου.¹ Is 60¹⁴ ο'. πορεύονται πρὸς σέ. θ'. πορεύονται πρὸς σέ, καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν ἐπὶ τ. ἵχνι τῶν ποδῶν σου: cf. 45¹⁴.
- 3¹⁰ τ. κατοικοῦντας ἐπὶ τ. γῆς. Though this construction occurs in the LXX it is comparatively rare and represents a special Hebrew phrase: see vol. i. 289 sq., 336.
- 3¹⁷ πλοῦσις εἰμι καὶ πεπλούτηκα. Hos 12⁹. See vol. i. 96.
- 3¹⁸ ἐγὼ ὅσους ἐὰν φιλῶ ἐλέγχω καὶ παιδεύω. Prov 3^{11, 12} μὴ ὀλεῖσθαι παιδείαν κυρίου . . . ὅτι γὰρ ἀγαπᾷ κύριος ἐλέγχει (καὶ παιδεύει).³
- 3²⁰ ἔστηκα ἐπὶ τ. θύραν καὶ κρούω· ἐὰν τις . . . ἀνοιξῇ. Cant 5² κρούει ἐπὶ τ. θύραν. "Ἀνοιξόν μοι.
- 4¹ (7⁹) μετὰ ταῦτα εἶδον καὶ ἰδοῦ. Dan 7⁸ θ'. ὀπίσω τούτου θεώρουν καὶ ἰδοῦ. ο'. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐθεώρουν.

¹ Based on the Hebrew of Is 60¹⁴. The clause omitted by ο' is supplied by θ', but as we see in a different form. See on 15⁴ below under § 4, where a closely related text is derived from Ps 85 (86)⁹.

² Alone in the O.T. does Jer 17¹⁰ combine the two ideas in our text. Hence correct my note in vol. i. 72. Jeremiah also uses נָתַן in the rather unusual meaning of "to requite." With the second line cf. also Prov 24¹³ ἀποδίδωσιν (נָתַן) ἐκάστην κατὰ τ. ἔργα αὐτοῦ: Ps 61 (62)¹². Moulton and Milligan, *Voc. of G.T.*, p. 160, try to explain this meaning of διδόναι by a quotation: λίθω δέδωκεν τῷ υἱῷ μου (sc. πληγὴν) = "he gave it him with a stick." This is not a parallel. Our text involves no ellipsis. It is a Hebraism. Our author's use of διδόναι here = "to requite" is due wholly to Jer 17¹⁰; for in 22¹² he naturally uses ἀποδίδωμι in this sense (= נָתַן or נָתַן) as in Prov 24¹³, Ps 61¹².

³ See note in vol. i. 99. 3¹⁸ might be classed under § 4.

- 4⁵ ἐκπορεύονται ἀστραπαὶ καὶ φωναὶ καὶ βρονταί.
Ex 19¹⁸ ἐγένοντο φωναὶ καὶ ἀστραπαί.
See vol. i. 116. Cf. Jub 2² ἀγγελοὶ φωνῶν βροντῶν καὶ ἀστραπῶν.
- 4⁶ κύκλω τ. θρόνον τέσσαρα ὄψα γέμοντα ὀφθαλμῶν ἐμπροσθεν καὶ ὀπισθεν.
Ezek 1⁸ ἐν τ. μέσῳ ὡς ὁμοίωμα τεσσάρων ὄψεων. 1¹⁰ πλήρεις ὀφθαλμῶν κυκλόθεν. See vol. i. 118.
- 4⁷ ὅμοιον λέοντι . . . μόσχῳ . . . ἔχων τὸ πρόσωπον ὡς ἀνθρώπου . . . ὅμοιον ἀετῷ.
Ezek 1¹⁰ ἡ ὁμοίωσις . . . προσώπου ἀνθρώπου . . . λέοντος . . . μόσχου . . . ἀετοῦ.
- 4^{8a} ἐν καθ' ἐν αὐτῶν ἔχων ἀνὰ πτέρυγας ἑξ.
Is 6² ἑξ πτέρυγες τῷ ἐνὶ καὶ ἑξ πτέρυγες τῷ ἐνὶ (ἡκλ' οὐκ' οὐκ' οὐκ' οὐκ'),
- 4^{8b} λέγοντες "Ἅγιος ἅγιος ἅγιος κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ."¹
Is 6³ ἔλεγον "Ἅγιος ἅγιος ἅγιος κύριος σαβαώθ.
- 5¹ ἐπὶ τ. δεξιᾷ . . . βιβλίον γεγραμμένον ἔσθωθεν καὶ ὀπισθεν, κατεσφραγισμένον.
Ezek 2⁹ 10 ἐν αὐτῇ (i.e. χειρὶ) κεφαλὴς βιβλίου . . . ἐν αὐτῇ γεγραμμένα ἦν τὰ ἐμπροσθεν καὶ τὰ ὀπίσω.
Is 29¹¹ τοῦ βιβλίου τοῦ ἐσφραγισμένου: Dan 8²⁶.
- 5⁵ (5¹² 13⁸) ἀρῶν . . . ὡς ἐσφαγμένον.
Is 53⁷ ὡς πρὸς βατον ἐπὶ σφαγῇν ἤχθη καὶ ὡς ἀμνός.
- ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐπτά, αὶ . . . ἀπεσταλμένοι (οὐκ' οὐκ') εἰς πᾶσαν τ. γῆν.
Zech 4¹⁰ ἐπτά οὗτοι ὀφθαλμοὶ εἰσιν αὶ ἐπιβλέποντες ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τ. γῆν.
- 5⁹ φυλῆς καὶ γλώσσης καὶ λαοῦ καὶ ἔθνων.
From an older Aramaic text of Daniel than that preserved in the Canon. See vol. i. 147 sq.
- 5¹¹ μυριάδες μυριάδων καὶ χιλιάδες χιλιάδων.
Dan 7¹⁰ ο' θ'. χιλιαὶ χιλιάδες . . . μυρίαὶ μυριάδες.
- 6²⁻³ ἵππος λευκός . . . ἵππος πυρρός . . . ἵππος μέλας . . . ἵππος χλωρός.
From Zech 1⁸ 61⁴. Our author has not used the Greek Versions but the Hebrew freely for his own purposes. See vol. i. 161 sq.
- 6¹³ οἱ ἀστέρες τ. οὐρανοῦ ἔπεσαν . . . ὡς σукή βάλλει τ. ὀλύνθους αὐτῆς.
Is 34⁴ ο'. πάντα τ. ἀστρα πέσειται . . . ὡς πίπτει φύλλα ἀπὸ σукή. Our text is independent of the ο' here, but like ο' and σ' presuppose ἡσ' (πέσειται) instead of the Mass. ἡσ'.
- 6¹⁶ ἐκρῦψαν ἑαυτοὺς εἰς τ. σπήλαια καὶ εἰς τ. πέτρας τ. ὀρέων.
Is 2¹⁴ 19 εἰσελθετε εἰς τ. πέτρας καὶ κρύπτεσθε . . . καὶ τὰ χειροποίητα . . . εἰσενέγκαντες εἰς τ. σπήλαια. See vol. i. 182.
- 6¹⁶ καὶ λέγουσιν τ. ὄρεσιν καὶ τ. πέτραις Πέσατε ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ κρύψατε ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ προσώπου τ. καθημένου κτλ. Contrast Luke 23³⁰ which is drawn from σ'.
- 6¹⁷ ἦλθεν ἡ ἡμέρα ἡ μεγάλη τ. ὀργῆς αὐτῶν, καὶ τίς δύναται σταθῆναι;
Hos 10⁸ καὶ ἐροῦσιν τ. ὄρεσιν Καλύψατε ἡμᾶς, καὶ τ. βουνοῖς Πέσατε ἐφ' ἡμᾶς. Is 2¹⁰ κρύπτεσθε εἰς τ. γῆν ἀπὸ προσώπου τ. φόβου κυρίου.
- 7¹ (20⁸) ἐπὶ τ. τέσσαρας γωνίας τ. γῆς.
Joel 2¹¹ μεγάλη ἡμέρα τ. κυρίου . . . καὶ τίς ἔσται ἱκανὸς αὐτῇ (ὑστ'); 2^{21b} πρὶν ἔλθειν ἡμέραν κυρίου τ. μεγάλην. Nah 1⁶ ἀπὸ προσώπου ὀργῆς αὐτοῦ τίς ὑποστήσεται (ὑστ'). Ezek 7³ ἐπὶ τ. τέσσαρας πτέρυγας (ἡσ) τ. γῆς.

¹ On the critical importance of this rendering, ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ, see vol. ii., English translation, footnote on 1⁸. This epithet, ὁ παντοκράτωρ, is not found in any version of Isaiah.

- 7⁸ (9⁴ 14¹ 22⁴) ἀρχὴ σφραγίσωμεν . . . Ezek 9⁴ δὸς σημεῖον ἐπὶ τ. μέτωπα.⁴
ἐπὶ τ. μετώπων.
7¹⁰ ἡ σωτηρία τ. θεῶ.
7¹⁶⁻¹⁷ οὐ πεινάσουσιν ἐτι οὐδὲ διψή- Ps 3⁸ τ. κυρίου ἡ σωτηρία (ἡ σωτῆρ ἡ σωτῆρ).
σουσιν ἐτι, κτλ. Is 49¹⁰. See vol. i. 216.
7¹¹ (21⁴) ἐξαλείψει . . . πᾶν δάκρυον Is 25⁸ ἀφείλειν . . . πᾶν δάκρυον ἀπὸ
ἐκ τ. ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν. παντὸς προσώπου ἡσθρ . . . ἡσθρ)
οὐκ ἔσθρ (ἡσθρ).
[8² ἐνώπιον τ. θεοῦ ἐστήκασιν.] [A common Hebrew expression.]
8² ἐστάθη ἐπὶ τ. θυσιαστηρίου. Amos 9¹ τ. κύριον ἐφείστωτα ἐπὶ τ.
θυσιαστηρίου.
8⁴ ἀνέβη ὁ καπνὸς τῶν θυμιάματων. Ezek 8¹¹ ἡ ἀτμὶς τ. θυμιάματος
ἀνέβαινεν.
[8⁷ χάλαζα καὶ πῦρ μεμιγμένα.] [Ex 9²⁴ (see i. 233).]
9⁶ ζητήσουσιν . . . τ. θάνατον καὶ οὐ Job 3²¹ οἱ ὀνειρούται τ. θανάτου καὶ
μὴ εὐρωσιν αὐτόν. οὐ τυγχάνουσιν.
9⁷ τὰ ὁμοιώματα τ. ἀκρίδων ὁμοία Joel 2⁴⁻⁸ ὡς ὄρασις ἰσχυρῶν ἢ ὄρασις
ἰσχυροῦ ἡτοιμασμένοι εἰς πόλεμον. αὐτῶν . . . πατασσόμενοι εἰς
πόλεμον (i. 244).
9⁸ οἱ ὀδόντες αὐτῶν ὡς λέοντων. Joel 1⁶ (i. 245).
9⁹ φωνὴ ἀρμάτων ἰσχυρῶν . . . τρεχόν- Joel 2⁴⁻⁸ (i. 245).
των.
9²⁰ οὐτε βλέπειν . . . οὐτε ἀκούειν¹ Ps 113¹⁸⁻¹⁹ (113⁵⁻⁷) οὐκ ὀφθαλμοὶ . . .
οὐτε περιπατεῖν (οἱ under § 4). καὶ οὐκ ἀκούουσιν . . . καὶ οὐ
περιπατήσουσιν.
10¹ οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ ὡς στῆλοι πυρὸς. Dan 10⁶ (θ'. τὰ σκέλη. ο'. οἱ πόδες).
ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ βιβλαρίδιον. Ezek 2⁹ ἐν αὐτῇ (i.e. χειρὶ) κεφαλὴς
βιβλίου.
10² ὥσπερ λέων μυκάται. Hos 11¹⁰ ὡς λέων ἐρείζεται.
10²⁻⁶ ἤρεν² τ. χεῖρα αὐτοῦ τ. δεξιάν εἰς Dan 12⁷ (θ' ο' ὅς) ὤψωσεν τ. δεξιάν αὐτοῦ
τ. οὐρανὸν καὶ ὥμοσεν ἐν τ. ζῶντι εἰς τ. αἰῶνα. . . (>ο') εἰς τ. οὐρανὸν καὶ ὥμοσεν
ἐν τ. ζῶντι (τ. ζῶντα εἰς ο') τ. αἰῶνα.
10²⁰ ὅς ἐκτίσεν³ τ. οὐρανὸν καὶ τ. ἐν Ex 20¹¹ ο'. ἐποίησεν (ἡν) κύριος τ.
αὐτῷ καὶ τ. γῆν καὶ τ. ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ τ. θάλασσαν καὶ τ. ἐν αὐτῇ. See on οὐρ. καὶ τ. γῆν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν
14⁷ under II. αὐτοῖς: Neh 9⁶.
10⁷ τὸ μυστήριον τ. θεοῦ, ὡς εὐηγ- Amos 3⁷ ἐὰν μὴ ἀποκαλύψῃ παιδείαν
γελισεν τ. αὐτοῦ δούλους τ. προφή- (=שׁוֹר corrupt for שׁוֹר=τ. βουλήν
τας. αὐτοῦ θ' ἀντὶ τ. μυστηρίου in our text)
πρὸς τ. δούλους αὐτοῦ τ. προφήτας.
10⁹ τὸ βιβλαρίδιον καὶ λέγει μοι . . . Ezek 31¹⁻³ (i. 267-268).
μέλι.

¹ But Dan 5²⁸ was doubtless in the mind of our author: θ'. θεοὺς . . . οἱ οὐ βλέπουσιν καὶ οἱ οὐκ ἀκούουσιν, seeing that the preceding words in our author, τὰ εἰδῶλα τ. χρυσᾶ καὶ τ. ἀργυρᾶ, κτλ., are based on Dan 5²⁸.

² Both ο' and θ' read ὤψωσεν, but ο' reads τ. ζῶντα εἰς τ. αἰῶνα θεόν instead of the last five words in θ'. ἀίρειν is the usual rendering of חַי in the phrase י' חַי, but Daniel has here חַי.

³ Our author uses κτίσεν as a rendering of בָּנָה, but none of the O.T. versions do so. In 14⁷ he uses ποιῶν—the usual rendering. Hence 14⁷ is given under § 4. Observe that ο' > καὶ τ. θάλα.

⁴ The idea first suggested by Ezekiel is reproduced in the Pss. Solomon and the Little Apocalypse in the Synoptics. But in our text the idea is wholly transformed: see vol. i. 194 sqq. While the Pss. Solomon use σημεῖον (i.e. ση) our author uses σφραγίς (i.e. σφην). See later (p. lxxxv) on this verse in connection with Eph 4³⁰.

11² μήνας τεσσεράκοντα καὶ δύο.

11⁴ αἱ δύο εἰλαῖαι καὶ αἱ δύο λυχναὶ αἱ ἐνώπιον τ. κυρίου τ. γῆς ἐστῶτες.

11⁵ πῦρ ἐκπορεύεται ἐκ τ. στόματος αὐτῶν καὶ κατεσθίει.

11⁷ (13¹ 17⁸) τ. θηρίον τ. ἀναβαῖνον ἐκ τ. ἀβύσσου.

11⁷ (13²) ποιήσει μετ' αὐτῶν πόλεμον καὶ νικήσει αὐτούς.

11¹⁵ τ. κυρίου ἡμῶν καὶ τ. Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ, καὶ βασιλεύσει εἰς τ. αἰῶνας τ. αἰῶνων.

12³ ἔχων . . . κέρατα δέκα.

12⁴ σῦρει τ. τρίτον τ. ἀστέρων τ. οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἔβαλεν αὐτοὺς εἰς τ. γῆν.

12⁵ ἔτεκεν υἱόν, ἄρσεν.

12⁵ οὐδὲ τόπος εὐρέθη αὐτῶν.

12⁹ ὁ ὄφεις . . . ὁ πλανῶν.

13² τὸ θηρίον . . . ὅμοιον παρδάλει . . . ὡς ἄρκου . . . ὡς . . . λέοντος.

13⁷ ποιῆσαι πόλεμον μετὰ τ. ἁγίων καὶ νικήσαι αὐτούς. See above under 11⁷. Here our text agrees closely with θ'.

13⁸ (17⁸) γέγραπται . . . ἐν τ. βιβλίῳ τ. ζωῆς.

13⁹ τ. ἀρνίου τ. ἐσφαγμένου.

13¹⁰ εἰ τις εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν, | εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν ὑπάγει | εἰ τις ἐν μαχαίρῃ ἀποκτανθῇ | † αὐτὸν † ἐν μαχαίρῃ ἀποκτανθῇ. Our author combines the first two clauses in the Hebrew.

14³ φωνῇ . . . ὡς φωνὴν ὑδάτων πολλῶν. See on 1¹⁰ above.

14⁴ καὶ ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτῶν οὐχ εὐρέθη ψεύδος.

14⁵ ἔτεκεν, ἔπεσεν Βαβυλῶν.

14⁸ Βαβυλῶν . . . ἡ ἐκ τ. οὐνοῦ [τ. θυμοῦ] τ. πορνείας αὐτῆς πεπότηκεν πάντα τ. ἔθνη. See on 18² below.

Dan 7²⁰ 12⁷ (i. 279).

Zech 4² λυχνία χρυσῇ. 4³ δύο εἰλαῖαι. 4¹⁴ παρεστήκασιν κυρῶ πάσης τ. γῆς.

2 Sam 22⁹ πῦρ ἐκ τ. στόματος αὐτοῦ κατέβηται. Cf. Jer 5¹⁴ δέδωκα τ. λόγους μου εἰς τ. στόμα σου πῦρ . . . καὶ καταφάγεται.

Dan 7³ θ'. τέσσερα θηρία . . . ἀνέβαινον ἐκ τ. θαλάσσης.

Dan 7²¹ θ'. ἐπολεῖ πόλεμον μετὰ τ. ἁγίων καὶ ἔσχευεν πρὸς αὐτούς. ο'. πόλεμον συνιστάμενον πρὸς τ. ἁγίους καὶ τροπούμενον αὐτούς.

Ps 2² κατὰ τ. κυρίου καὶ κατὰ τ. Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ. 9²¹ (10¹⁶) βασιλεύσει κύριος εἰς τ. αἰῶνα καὶ εἰς τ. αἰῶνα τ. αἰῶνος.

Dan 7⁷ θ'. κέρατα δέκα αὐτῶν.

Dan 8¹⁰ (θ') ἔπεσεν (ἐρράχθη, ο') ἐπὶ τ. γῆν ἀπὸ τ. δυνάμεως τ. οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ τ. ἀστρῶν.

Is 66⁷ ἔτεκεν ἄρσεν (Mass. רצי בן).

Dan 2²⁰ (θ') τόπος οὐχ εὐρέθη αὐτοῖς. This clause is missing in ο'.

Gen 3¹ ὁ ὄφεις ἠπάτησέν με.

Dan 7⁸ θ' ο'. θηρίον ὡσεὶ παρδάλις (ο'. παρδάλις) . . . 7⁸ ὅμοιον ἄρκω (ο'. ὁμοίωσιν ἔχον ἄρκου) . . . 7⁸ ὡσεὶ λέαινα.

Dan 7²¹.

Dan 12¹ θ'. ὁ γεγραμμένος ἐν τ. βιβλίῳ.

Ps 68 (69)²⁰ ἐκ βιβλίου ζώων.

Is 53⁷ ὡς πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγῇ.

Jer 15³ ὅσοι εἰς θάνατον, εἰς θάνατον καὶ ὅσοι εἰς μάχαιραν, εἰς μάχαιραν . . . καὶ ὅσοι εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν, εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν. Cf. also 50 (43)¹¹ where the same Hebrew words are rendered for the most part by different Greek words.

Zeph 3¹³ οὐ λαλήσουσιν μάταια, καὶ οὐ μὴ εὐρέθῃ ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτῶν γλῶσσα δολία. The Seer's words are a compression of the last four words of the Hebrew, כִּי יִרְבִּי וְלִי מִפִּי בֹשֶׁט וְכִי יִרְבִּי וְכִי יִרְבִּי.

Is 21⁹ ο'. πέπτωκεν, πέπτωκεν (B). So also θ'.

14¹⁰ πίεται ἐκ τ. οἴνου τοῦ θυμοῦ τ. θεοῦ τ. κεκρασμένου ἀκράτου ἐν τ. ποτηρίῳ τ. ὀργῆς αὐτοῦ.

14¹⁴ ἐπὶ τ. νεφέλῃν καθήμενον. See 17^a in § 5 below.

[14¹⁸ πέμψον τὸ δρέπανόν σου καὶ θέρισον, ὅτι ἦλθεν ἡ ὥρα θερίσαι, ὅτι ἐξηράνθη ὁ θερσιμὸς τῆς γῆς.]

14¹⁸ πέμψον σου τ. δρέπανον τὸ ὀξύ, καὶ τρύγησον τ. βότρυας τ. ἀμπέλου τ. γῆς, ὅτι ἤμασαν αἱ σταφύλαι αὐτῆς.¹

14²⁰ (19¹⁸) ἐπατήθη ἡ ληρὸς.

15³ μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστὰ τ. ἔργα σου.

15² δίκαιαι καὶ ἀληθιναὶ αἱ ὁδοὶ σου (cf. 16⁷ 19²).

15⁶ ἐνδεδυμένοι † λίθον †.² But λίθον = ὄψ, which should here have been rendered βύσσινον. See vol. ii. 38. περμεζωμένοι περὶ τ. στήθη ζώνας χρυσᾶς. See on 1¹⁸ above.

15⁸ ἐγεμίσθη ὁ ναὸς καπνοῦ . . . καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐδύνατο εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τ. ναόν.

16² ἐγένετο ἔλκος κακὸν καὶ ποτηρὸν ἐπὶ τ. ἀνθρώπων.

Is 51¹⁷ ἡ πιούσα ἐκ χειρὸς κυρίου τ. ποτήριον τ. θυμοῦ αὐτοῦ. Ps 74 (75)⁹ ποτήριον ἐν χειρὶ κυρίου, οἶνου ἀκράτου πλήρες κεράσματος.³

Joel 3 (4)¹⁸ ἐξαποστείλατε δρέπανα ὅτι παρέστηκεν τρυγητός (לִשְׁבֹּץ יִצְרָן).⁴

Joel 3 (4)¹⁸. See preceding passage.

Is 63³ יִצְרָן יִתְרֵן הַיַּיִן : ο'. πλήρης κατα- πεπλημένης. ο'. ληνὸν ἐπάτησα. Lam 1¹⁸ ο'. ληνὸν ἐπάτησεν κύριος. Ps 110 (111)³ μεγάλα τ. ἔργα κυρίου. 138 (139)¹⁴ θαυμάσια τ. ἔργα σου. Ps 144 (145)¹⁷ δίκαιος κύριος ἐν πάσαις τ. ὁδοῖς αὐτοῦ. 118 (119)¹⁸¹ πᾶσαι αἱ ὁδοὶ σου ἀλήθεια.

Dan 10⁸ θ'. ἐνδεδυμένος βαδδελ.

Is 64⁶ ὁ οἶκος ἐπεπλήσθη καπνοῦ. Ex 40³⁰ (30) οὐκ ἔδυνάσθη Μωσῆς εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τ. σκηνὴν τ. μαρτυρίου . . . καὶ δόξης κυρίου ἐπλήσθη ἡ σκηνή.

Ex 9¹⁰ ἐγένετο ἔλκη . . . ἐν τ. ἀνθρώποις. Deut 28²⁸ ἔλκη πονηρῶ.

¹ Just as the interpolation 14¹⁸ refers only to the harvest of judgment—an idea which is not used metaphorically by our author (see ii. 19, 20 sqq.)—so 14¹⁸ refers only, and rightly, to the vintage of judgment.

² This tracing of 15⁶ to Dan 10⁸ rests on the supposition that λίθον is a corruption of λινον. But the use of this word is questionable in itself, and our author does not use it, but βύσσινον. See vol. ii. 38.

³ In Ps 75⁹ οἶνου ἀκράτου is a rendering of יִצְרָן יִתְרֵן where the Mass. punctuates differently. Cf. Jer 32¹ (25¹⁸) where we find τ. οἶνον τ. ἀκράτου. The two terms are brought together in Pss. Sol 8¹⁸ ἐκράσεν . . . οἶνον ἀκράτου. By our author, ο' and Pss. Sol יִצְרָן is taken as = "unmixed wine," but it is pointed יִצְרָן and rendered "(which) foams" by modern scholars.

In 14¹⁰ 16¹⁸ the cup is God's cup of judgment, whereas in 17⁴ 18⁶ (sources) the cup is in the hand of Babylon. The former refers to God's judgments, the latter to Babylon's corrupting of the world.

⁴ The Mass. יִצְרָן = θερισμός, whereas ο' presupposes יִצְרָן. These words are confused in Jer 48²¹ where some MSS read one and some the other. Possibly יִצְרָן in Is 16⁶ is also corrupt for יִצְרָן (= ο'). Thus in our text 14¹⁸ follows the Mass. יִצְרָן. But לִשְׁבֹּץ is only used here in O.T. of the ripening of grain, if indeed it is so used. In Gen 40¹⁰ it is used of vines, and so possibly it should be here. Thus יִצְרָן would be corrupt for יִצְרָן, and Joel 4¹⁸ would rightly relate only to the vintage (so R.V. in marg.), just as in 14¹⁸ of our text.

- 16⁹ πᾶσα ψυχὴ ζωῆς.
 16⁴ ἔρχετο τ. φάλαγγ αὐτοῦ εἰς τ. ποταμούς . . . καὶ ἐγένοντο αἷμα.
 16⁷ ἀληθῶς καὶ δικαίαι αἱ κρίσεις σου.
 16¹³ οἷς οὐκ ἐγένετο ἀφ' οὗ ἀνθρώποι ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ τ. γῆς.
 16¹⁹ δοῦναι αὐτῇ τ. ποτήριον τ. οἴνου τ. θυμοῦ τ. ὀργῆς αὐτοῦ.
 16²¹ χάλασα μεγάλη.
 17¹ τῆς καθήμενης ἐπὶ ὕδατων πολλῶν.
 17³ μεθ' ἧς ἐπόρνευσαν οἱ βασιλεῖς τ. γῆς.
 ἐμεθύσθησαν οἱ κατοικοῦντες τ. γῆς.
 17³ ἀπήνεγκέν με . . . ἐν πνεύματι.
 See 21¹⁰ below.
 17⁴ ποτήριον χρυσοῦν ἐν τ. χειρὶ αὐτῆς.
 17⁵ γέγραπται . . . ἐπὶ τὸ βιβλίον τῆς ζωῆς. See 13⁸ above.
 ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου. See 13⁸ above.
 17¹⁶ μισήσουσι τ. πόρνην καὶ ἡρμωμένην ποιήσουσιν αὐτὴν καὶ γυμνήν.
 18¹ ἡ γῆ ἐφωτίσθη ἐκ τ. δόξης αὐτοῦ.
 18³ ἔπεσαν ἔπεσαν, κτλ. See 14⁸ above.
 ἐγένετο κατοικητήριον δαιμονίων.
 18⁹ ἐκ τ. οἴνου τ. πορνείας αὐτῆς πεπότικεν πάντα τ. ἔθνη. This is without doubt the original reading and explains the later corruptions. See 14⁸ 17³.
 18⁹ οἱ βασιλεῖς τ. γῆς μετ' αὐτῆς ἐπόρνευσαν. See 17³ above.
 18⁹ ἐξέλθατε ἐξ αὐτῆς ὁ λαὸς μου.
 18⁹ ἐκολλήθησαν αὐτῆς αἱ ἁμαρτίαι ἄχρι τ. οὐρανοῦ.
 18⁹ ἀπόδοτε αὐτῇ ὡς καὶ αὐτὴ ἀπέδωκεν.
 ἐν τῷ ποτηρίῳ ᾧ ἐκέρασεν.
 18⁷ ὅτι ἐν τ. καρδίᾳ αὐτῆς λέγει ὅτι Κάθημαι βασίλισσα, καὶ χήρα οὐκ εἰμί, καὶ πένθος οὐ μὴ ἴδω.
 Gen 1²¹ πᾶσαν ψυχὴν ζῶων.
 Ex 7²⁰ ἐπάταξεν τὸ ὕδωρ . . . καὶ μετέβαλεν (but Mass. 187: = ἐγένετο) πᾶν τὸ ὕδωρ . . . εἰς αἷμα.
 Ps 18 (19)³⁰. See on 19³ below.
 Dan 12¹ θ'. οἷα οὗ γέγονεν ἀφ' ἧς γέγονται ἔθνος ἐν τῇ γῇ (ἐπὶ τ. γῆς, AK).¹
 Jer 32¹ (25¹⁸) Λάβε τ. ποτήριον τ. οἴνου τ. ἀκράτου. See on 14¹⁰ above.
 Ex 9²⁴ χάλασα πολλή.
 Jer 28 (51)¹⁵ κατασκευοντάς (= ἵνα κατασκευοῦσα, Q) ἐφ' ὅδασι πολλοῖς.
 Is 23¹⁷ ἔσται ἐμπόριον (πλην = πορνεύσει) πᾶσαις τ. βασιλείαις . . . τ. γῆς.
 Jer 28 (51)⁷ ποτήριον . . . Βαβυλῶν . . . μεθύσκον πᾶσαν τ. γῆν.
 Jer 28 (51)⁷ ποτήριον χρυσοῦν . . . ἐν χειρὶ κυρίου.
 Ezek 23³⁰ ποιήσουσιν ἐν σοὶ ἐν μίσει καὶ ἔσθ (ἵνα) γυμνῇ καὶ αἰσχύνουσα.
 Ezek 43³ ἡ γῆ ἐξέλαμπεν ὡς φέγγος ἀπὸ τ. δόξης, וַיִּבֹרֶךְ הַקֹּדֶם וַיִּכְלֹךְ.
 Is 13²¹ Possibly a combination of עָרְשָׁן . . . וַעֲשֵׂה or based on I Bar 4²⁶ κατοικηθήσεται ὑπὸ δαιμονίων.
 Jer 28 (51)⁷ ποτήριον χρυσοῦν Βαβυλῶν . . . μεθύσκον πᾶσαν τ. γῆν. ἀπὸ τ. οἴνου αὐτῆς ἐπίοσαν ἔθνη. 32¹ (25¹⁸) λάβε τ. ποτήριον τ. οἴνου . . . καὶ ποτιεὶς πάντα τ. ἔθνη. See note on ii. 14.
 Jer 51⁶⁶ Heb. עַד כְּנוּחַ יַמִּי. > ο'.
 Jer 28 (51)⁹ ἡγγικεν (וַיִּגַּע) εἰς οὐρανόν.
 Ps 136 (137)⁸ ἀνταποδώσει σοι . . . ὅ ἀνταπέδωκας ἡμῖν.
 See above on 14¹⁰.
 Is 47⁷⁻⁸ εἶπας Εἰς τ. αἰῶνα ἔσομαι ἀρχουσα . . . ἡ λέγουσα ἐν καρδίᾳ αὐτῆς . . . οὐ καθὼς χήρα οὐδὲ γνώσομαι ὀρφανείαν.

¹ Our text and θ' agree in adding the last three words ἐπὶ τ. γῆς and ἐν τ. γῇ. I am inclined to infer the existence of רָחַב in the Hebrew text of Dan 12¹ in the first cent. A.D.

- 18⁹ οἱ βασιλεῖς τ. γῆς οἱ μετ' αὐτῆς See 17³ 18³ above.
 πορνεύσαντες.
 18¹³ ψυχὰς ἀνθρώπων. Ezek 27¹³ ἐν ψυχαῖς ἀνθρώπων.
 18¹⁸ τίς ὁμοία τ. πόλει τ. μεγάλῃ. Ezek 27²⁰ θ'. τίς ὡς περ Τύρος;
 18¹⁹ ἔβαλον χοῦν ἐπὶ τ. κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν. Ezek 27²⁰ ἐπιθήσουσιν ἐπὶ τ. κεφαλῇ
 αὐτῶν γῆν.
 ἐκραξαν. Ezek 27²⁰ κεκράξονται.
 18²² φωνὴ . . . μουσικῶν . . . οὐ μὴ Ezek 26¹³ ἡ φωνὴ τ. ψαλτηρίων σου οὐ
 ἀκουσθῇ . . . ἔτι. μὴ ἀκουσθῇ ἔτι.
 18²³ ο. d 22⁵ b { φωνὴ νυμφίου καὶ νύμ- Jer 25¹⁰ φωνὴν νυμφίου καὶ φωνὴν
 23^a b { φης . . . καὶ φωνὴ νύμφης, † δαμὴν μύρου † καὶ φῶς
 μύλου . . . καὶ φῶς λύχνου. (Here φωνὴ μύλου in
 λύχνου. Apoc. is right = סוּחַ לִּיר).
 [18²³ οἱ ἔμποροὶ σου ἦσαν οἱ μεγισ- Is 23³ οἱ ἔμποροι αὐτῆς ἐνδοξοί, ἄρχοντες
 τῆς γῆς.
 19³ ἀληθινὰ καὶ δίκαια αἱ κρίσεις Ps 18 (19)¹⁰ τὰ κρίματα κυρίου ἀληθινὰ,
 αὐτοῦ. See 15³ 16⁷ above. δεδικαιωμένα ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό ('" נִשְׁפָּט
 יְהוָה יִשְׁפָּט נֶחֱמִי), Ps 118 (119)⁷² 127.
 19⁴ Ἀμήν, Ἀλληλουιά. Ps 105 (106)⁴⁸ γένοιτο.
 19⁵ ὡς φωνὴν ὄχλου πολλοῦ . . . ὡς Dan 10⁶ θ'. φωνὴ ὄχλου (ο'. φ.
 φωνῆν ὕδατων πολλῶν. See 1¹³ θορύβου).
 above.
 19⁶⁻⁷ ἐβασίλευσεν κύριος . . . χαίρωμεν Ps 96 (97)¹ ὁ κύριος ἐβασίλευσεν,
 καὶ ἀγαλλιώμεν. ἀγαλλιάσεται ἡ γῆ, εὐφρανθήτωσαν.
 19¹¹ εἶδον τ. οὐρανὸν ἠνεψυγμένον, καὶ Ezek 1¹ ἠνοιχθήσαν οἱ οὐρανοί, καὶ
 ἰδοῦ. εἶδον.
 ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ κρίνει. Is 11⁴ רַחֵם נַפְשִׁי. ο' presupposes a
 different text—κρίνει ταπεινὴ κρίσιν.
 19¹³ οἱ δὲ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ, κτλ. See 1¹⁴ Is 11⁴ πατάξει γῆν τ. λόγῳ τ. στόματος
 2¹³ above. αὐτοῦ.
 19¹⁶ ἐκ τ. στόματος αὐτοῦ ἐκπορεύεται Ps 2⁹ ποιμανεῖς αὐτοὺς ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ.
 ῥομφαία ὀξεῖα.¹ Cf. 1¹⁶.
 19^a ἐν αὐτῇ πατάξῃ τὰ ἔθνη. Is 63³. For diction, cf. Lam 1¹³.
 καὶ αὐτοὺς ποιμανεῖ αὐτοὺς ἐν ῥάβδῳ Is 63³. For diction, cf. Lam 1¹³.
 σιδηρᾷ.² Cf. 2²⁷ 12³. This line
 will be treated under § 4.
 πατεῖ τ. ληνὸν τ. οἴνου τ. θυμοῦ . . . τ. Ezek 39⁴. See ii. 138.
 θεοῦ. See on 14²⁰ above.
 19¹⁷⁻¹⁸ λέγων πᾶσι τ. ὀρνέοις . . . Ezek 39⁴ τὰ ἔθνη τὰ μετὰ σοῦ δοθή-
 Δεῦτε συνάχθητε εἰς τ. δεῖπνον . . . σονται εἰς πλήθιν ὀρνέων . . . κατα-
 τ. θεοῦ. 18 ἵνα φάγητε σάρκας βρωθήναι. 39²⁰ καὶ ἐμπλησθήσεσθε.
 βασιλέων . . . καὶ σάρκας ἰσχυρῶν. Dan 7³ θ'. ἐθρεύοντες ἕως θύου θρόνοι
 19²¹ πάντα τ. ὄρεα ἐχορτάσθησαν ἐκ τ. ἐτέθησαν. 7²³ τὸ κριτήριον ἐκάθισεν.
 σαρκῶν αὐτῶν. (+ τ. ο') ἀγίοις (+ τ. ο') ὑψίστου.
 20⁴ εἶδον θρόνους καὶ ἐκάθισαν ἐπ' Dan 7³ θ'. ἐθρεύοντες ἕως θύου θρόνοι
 αὐτοὺς καὶ κρίμα ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς. ἐτέθησαν. 7²³ τὸ κριτήριον ἐκάθισεν.
 (+ τ. ο') ἀγίοις (+ τ. ο') ὑψίστου.

¹ Cf. Heb. 4¹³ ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ . . . τομώτερος ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν μάχαιραν διστομον.

² These ideas of smiting the Gentiles with the word of His mouth (Is 11⁴) and of breaking them in pieces like potter's vessels (Ps 2⁹) have already been combined in Pss. Sol 17²³⁻²⁴ 20.

- 20¹¹ εἶδον θρόνον . . . καὶ τ. καθή-
μεσθ.
20¹² βιβλία ἠνοιχθησαν.
20¹³ ἄλλο βιβλίον ἠνοιχθη, ὃ ἐστὶν τ.
ζωῆς.
21⁵ ἡ σκηνὴ τ. θεοῦ μετὰ τ. ἀνθρώπων
καὶ σκηνώσει μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ αὐτοὶ
λαὸς αὐτοῦ ἔσονται.
21⁶ ἐξαλείψει πᾶν δάκρυον. See 7¹⁷
above.
21⁶⁻⁸ τὰ πρῶτα ἀπῆλθαν . . . ἰδοὺ
καινὰ ποιῶ.
21⁶ τῷ διψῶντι . . . δώσω ἐκ . . . τ.
ὕδατος τ. ζωῆς δωρεάν (22¹⁷).
21⁷ ἔσομαι αὐτῷ θεὸς καὶ αὐτὸς ἔσται
μοι υἱός.
21¹⁰ ἀπήνεγκέν με ἐν πνεύματι ἐπὶ
ὄρος . . . ὑψηλόν. Cf. 17³ above.
21¹² ὄνματα . . . τ. δώδεκα φυλῶν
υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ. 21¹² ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς
πυλῶνες τρεῖς καὶ ἀπὸ βορρᾶ πυλῶνες
τρεῖς, κτλ.
21¹² ἡ ἐνδύμνησις τ. τείχους αὐτῆς
ἱασπις.
21¹² ὁ θεμέλιος . . . ὁ δεύτερος σά-
φειρος.
21¹² (22⁵) ἡ πόλις οὐ χρεῖαν ἔχει τ.
ἡλίου οὐδὲ τ. σελήνης ἵνα φαίνωσιν
αὐτῇ, ἡ γὰρ δόξα τ. θεοῦ ἐφώτισεν
αὐτήν.
21¹⁴ καὶ περιπατήσουσιν τὰ ἔθνη διὰ τ.
φωτὸς αὐτῆς καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς τ. γῆς
φέρουσιν¹ τ. δόξαν αὐτῶν . . .
21¹⁵ καὶ οἱ πυλῶνες αὐτῆς οὐ μὴ κλεισ-
θῶσιν ἡμέρας . . .
21¹⁶ καὶ οἱ οἰκιστὴς τ. δόξαν . . . τ. ἔθνων
εἰς αὐτήν.
21¹⁷ οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθῃ . . . πᾶν κουνόν.
εἰ μὴ οἱ γεγραμμένοι ἐν τ. βιβλίῳ τ.
ζωῆς. See 13⁸ 17⁸ above.
- Dan 7⁹ θ' ο'. ἐκάθητο . . . ὁ θρόνος
αὐτοῦ > ο'.
Dan 7¹⁰ θ' ο'. βίβλοι ἠνεψύχθησαν.
Ps 68 (69)²⁰ βίβλου ζώντων.
Ezek 37²⁷, Lev 26¹¹.¹² See ii. 207.
Is 43¹⁸⁻¹⁹ μὴ μνημονεύετε τὰ πρῶτα,
καὶ τὰ ἀρχαῖα μὴ συλλογίζεσθε,
ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ποιῶ καινὰ. See ii. 203.
Is 55¹ οἱ διψῶντες, πορεύεσθε ἐφ' ὕδωρ,
καὶ ὅσοι μὴ ἔχετε ἀργύριον . . .
ἀγοράσατε.
2 Sam 7¹⁴ ἐγὼ ἔσομαι αὐτῷ εἰς πατέρα
καὶ αὐτὸς ἔσται μοι εἰς υἱόν.
Ezek 40¹⁻² ἤγαγέν με ἐν ὁράσει θεοῦ
. . . καὶ ἔθηκεν με ἐπ' ὄρος ὑψηλόν
(הַר גָּבֹהַ יְהוָה יְהוָה . . . יְהוָה).
Ezek 48³¹ αἱ πύλαι τ. πόλεως ἐπ'
ὀνόμασιν φυλῶν τ. Ἰσραὴλ· πύλαι
τρεῖς πρὸς βορρᾶν. 48³²⁻³⁴ καὶ τὰ
πρὸς ἀνατολὰς . . . πύλαι τρεῖς κτλ.
Is 54¹² θήσω τ. ἐπάλξεις σου ἱασπιν.
Is 54¹¹ τὰ θεμέλιά σου σάφειρον.
Is 60¹⁹ οὐκ ἔσται σοι ἐτι ὁ ἥλιος εἰς
φῶς ἡμέρας οὐδὲ ἀνατολὴ σελήνης
φωτιεῖ σου τ. νύκτα, ἀλλ' ἔσται . . .
ὁ θεὸς δόξα σου.
Is 60⁵ καὶ πορεύσονται . . . τῷ φωτί
σου . . . ἔθνη. 60¹¹ αἱ πύλαι σου
. . . ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς οὐ κλεισθή-
σονται, εἰσαγαγεῖν πρὸς σέ δύναμιν
ἐθνῶν καὶ βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν ἀγομέτους.¹
60⁵ † πλοῦτος . . . ἐθνῶν καὶ λαῶν
καὶ ἥξουσιν †.²
Is 52¹ οὐκέτι προστεθήσεται διελθεῖν
. . . ἀκάθαρτος. See ii. 173 sq.
Dan 12¹ θ'. ὁ γεγραμμένος ἐν τ. βιβλίῳ
ο'. ἐγγεγραμμένος ἐν τ. βιβλίῳ.

¹ In the Mass. as well as the LXX the text is clearly corrupt : *i.e.* "that men may bring unto thee the wealth of the nations and their kings led (by them)." As modern scholars recognize, οὐκ (= "led") is corrupt for οὐκίς = "leading." Hence instead of "and their kings led (by them)," render : "under the leadership of these kings." The kings lead and are not led by their people. Now apparently our author anticipated our modern scholars ; for he represents the kings as acting on their own initiative : "they bring the glory of the nations into it."

² Here the LXX is quite corrupt. 21¹⁶ is nearer the Mass. ἡ γὰρ οὐκίς ἡ γὰρ, "the wealth of the nations shall come unto thee." Our author either read οὐκίς; instead of οὐκίς, or followed the Mass. in 60¹¹.

22¹⁻² ποταμὸν ὕδατος ζωῆς . . . ἐκπορευόμενον ἐκ τ. θρόνου τ. θεοῦ. The idea is to be found in its developed form in 1 and 2 Enoch.

22³ ἐν μέσῳ . . . τ. ποταμοῦ ἐντευθεν καὶ ἐκείθεν ἐξόντων ζωῆς ποιοῦν καρποὺς δώδεκα, κατὰ μήνα ἕκαστον ἀποδιδόν τ. καρπὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τ. φύλλα τ. ξύλου εἰς θεραπείαν τ. ἐθνῶν.

22^{2a} πᾶν κατάθεμα οὐκ ἔσται ἔτι.
22⁴ ὁφίσσεται τ. πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ.

22⁵ οὐκ ἔχουσιν χρεῖαν φωτός, κτλ.
See 21^{2a} above.
κύριος ὁ θεὸς φωτίσει¹ ἐπ' αὐτοῦς.

22^{12a} ἰδοὺ ἔρχομαι ταχύ, καὶ ὁ μισθός μου μετ' ἐμοῦ.

22^{12b} ἀποδοῦναι ἑκάστῳ ὡς τ. ἔργον ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ.²

22¹⁷ οἱ διψῶν ἐρχέσθω . . . ὕδωρ ζωῆς δωρεάν. See 21⁶ above.

[22^{12b-19} ἐάν τις ἐπιθῇ ἐπ' αὐτά, ἐπιθήσει . . . καὶ ἐάν τις ἀφέλῃ, κτλ.]

Ezek 47¹ ὕδωρ ἐξεπορεύετο . . . ἀπὸ νότου ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον.³ Zech 14⁸ ἐξελεύσεται ὕδωρ ζῶν ἐξ Ἱερουσαλὴμ.

Ezek 47¹² ο'. ἐπὶ τ. ποταμοῦ ἀναβήσεται ἐπὶ τ. χεῖλους αὐτοῦ ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν . . . οὐδὲ μὴ ἐκλήπῃ ὁ καρπὸς αὐτοῦ τῆς καινότητος αὐτοῦ (ἸΨΨ') πρωτοβολήσῃ, ὅτι . . . ἔσται . . . ἀνάβασις αὐτῶν (ἡλῆ) εἰς ὑγίαιαν. Here the LXX has missed the sense and misrendered several times where our author has rightly reproduced it.⁴ None of the Greek renderings is so close to the Mass. as our author. See ii. 176-7.

Zech 14¹¹ ἀνάθεμα (ἁγ) οὐκ ἔσται ἔτι. Ps 16 (17)¹⁵ ἔγὼ πικρ. But ο' has ὁφθῆσθαι τ. προσώπῳ σου. Contrast Mass. and ο' in 83 (84)⁷.

Ps 117 (118)²⁷ θεὸς κύριος καὶ ἐπέφανεν ἡμῖν—an abbreviated form of the Aaronic blessing: see ii. 210-211.

Is 40¹⁰ Ἰδοὺ κύριος . . . ἔρχεται . . . ἰδοὺ ὁ μισθὸς αὐτοῦ μετ' αὐτοῦ. 62¹¹.

Prov 24¹³ ἀποδίδωσιν ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τ. ἔργα αὐτοῦ. Cf. Ps 61 (62)¹³ ἀποδώσεις ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τ. ἔργα αὐτοῦ.

Is 55¹ οἱ διψῶντες πορεύεσθε.

Deut 4³ οὐ προσθήσεσθε πρὸς τ. ῥῆμα. . . . καὶ οὐκ ἀφελείτε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ.

¹ In 18¹ our author renders πικρ of Ezek 43³ by ἐφύτισθη, just as he renders πικρ, Ps 117 (118)²⁷ by φωτίσει.

² Clem. Rom. *ad Corinth.* xxxiv. 3 has a close but independent parallel to 22^{12a}. ἰδοὺ ὁ κύριος καὶ ὁ μισθὸς αὐτοῦ (cf. Is 40¹⁰) πρὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ (cf. Is 62¹¹), ἀποδοῦναι ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ (cf. Pr 24¹³). Here Clement is a mosaic of the ο' of these three passages, but not so our author. The ο' of Is 62¹¹ is ἔχων τὸν ἑαυτοῦ μισθόν, καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ πρὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ. The order of the words, ὡς τ. ἔργον ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ, is not our author's: see p. clvii *ad fin.* The clause = ἡλῆ, ὡς here = "according as"—a classical meaning not elsewhere found in our author. But in our author's mind ὡς is the regular rendering in our author for שׁ in Hebrew (see vol. i. 35-36). The Hebrew particle has this meaning. Yet we should expect κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ (cf. 22¹³).

³ The throne of God in the Apocalypse is in the heavenly temple. But since there is no temple in the heavenly Jerusalem, only the throne of God is mentioned here.

⁴ R.V. of this passage shows how faulty the LXX is here. "By the river . . . on this side and on that side shall grow every tree . . . neither shall the fruit thereof fail: it shall bring forth new fruit every month . . . and the leaf thereof for healing."

§ 4. *Passages based on the Hebrew of the O.T. (or the Aramaic in Daniel) but influenced (in some cases certainly, in others possibly) by ο'.*

1^a ἀπὸ ὃ ὢν.

1^{ba} ὁ μάρτυς ὁ πιστός.

1^{bb} ὁ πρωτότοκος τ. νεκρῶν καὶ ὁ ἀρχὼν τ. βασιλείων τ. γῆς.

2^{ba} ἀποκτενῶ ἐν θανάτῳ.

2^{bb} δώσω αὐτῷ ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ τ. ἐθνῶν.

2⁷ καὶ ποιμανεῖ αὐτοὺς ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ, ὡς τ. σκευὴ τ. κεραμικᾷ συντρίβεται.

3^a οὐ μὴ ἐξαλείψω τ. ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐκ τ. βιβλίου¹ τ. ζωῆς.

3^b ἐγὼ ἡγάπησά σε.

4³ (7¹⁰ 19¹) ἐπὶ τ. θρόνον καθήμενος.

[5^a θυμιαμάτων, αἱ εἰσὶν αἱ προσευχαί.

5^b (14^a) ἔδουσιν ὡδὴν καινὴν.

[6^a ἀποκτεῖναι ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ καὶ ἐν λιμῷ καὶ ἐν θανάτῳ καὶ ὑπὸ τ. θηρίων τ. γῆς.]

6¹⁰ ἕως πότε . . . οὐ κρίνεις καὶ ἐκδικεῖς τ. αἷμα ἡμῶν ἐκ τ. καταικύντων ἐπὶ τ. γῆς; cf. 19^a.

6¹⁴ ὁ οὐρανὸς ἀπεχωρίσθη ὡς βιβλίον † ἐλισσόμενον †.

7¹⁴ ἐπλυναν τ. στολὰς αὐτῶν . . . ἐν τ. αἵματι. Cf. 22¹⁴.

9² ἀνέβη καπνὸς . . . ὡς καπνὸς καμίνου.

ἐσκοτώθη ὁ ἥλιος.

11⁶ πατάξει τ. γῆν ἐν πάσῃ πληγῇ.

11¹¹ πνεῦμα ζωῆς ἐκ τ. θεοῦ εἰσῆλθεν ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἔστησαν² ἐπὶ τ. πόδας αὐτῶν.

11^{17a-18a} ἐβασίλευσας καὶ τ. ἐθνη ὠργίσθησαν.

Ex 3¹⁴ ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ ὢν.

Ps 88 (89)²⁰ ὁ μάρτυς ἐν οὐρανῷ πιστός.³

Ps 88 (89)²⁰ κατὰ πρωτότοκον θῆσθαι αὐτόν, ὑψηλὸν παρὰ τ. βασιλεῦσιν τ. γῆς.

Ezek 33²⁷ θανάτῳ ἀποκτενῶ (Mass. ימוֹ יִבְיָב).

Ps 2^{a-9} δώσω σοι ἐθνη τ. κληρονομίαν σου . . . ποιμανεῖς αὐτοὺς ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ, ὡς σκευὸς κεραμῆως συντρίψει αὐτούς. See vol. i. 75-77 and Ps. Sol 17²⁴.

Ex 32²²⁻²³ ἐξάλειψόν με ἐκ τ. βιβλίου σου. Ps 68 (69)²⁰ ἐξαλειφθήτωσαν ἐκ βιβλίου ζώντων. See i. 84.

Is 43^a ἐγὼ σε ἡγάπησα.

Is 6¹ τ. κύριον καθήμενον ἐπὶ θρόνου. 1 Kings 22¹⁹ θεὸν . . . καθήμενον ἐπὶ θρόνου αὐτοῦ.

Ps 140^a ἡ προσευχή μου ὡς θυμίαμα.

Ps 143 (144)^b ὡδὴν καινὴν ἔσομαι σοι. Is 42¹⁶.

Ezek 14²¹ ῥομφαίαν καὶ λιμὸν καὶ θηρία πονηρὰ καὶ θάνατον (יָצַר).

2 Kings 9⁷ ἐκδικήσεις τ. αἷματα τ. δοῦλων μου . . . ἐκ χειρὸς Ἰεζάβελ.

Is 34^a ἐλιγνέσεται ὡς βιβλίον ὁ οὐρανός.

Gen 49¹¹ πλυνεῖ ἐν αἵνῳ τ. στολὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν αἵματι.

Ex 19¹⁸ ἀνέβαιναν ὁ καπνὸς ὡς καπνὸς καμίνου.

Joel 2¹⁰ ὁ ἥλιος καὶ ἡ σελήνη συσκοτήσουσιν.

1 Sam 4^a οἱ θεοὶ οἱ πατάξαντες τ. Αἰγυπτῶν ἐν πάσῃ πληγῇ (. . . יִצְדֹק).

Ezek 37¹⁰ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς αὐτοὺς τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ . . . ἔστησαν ἐπὶ τ. πόδας αὐτῶν.

Ps 98 (99)¹ κύριος ἐβασίλευσεν ὄργιζεθώσαν λαοί.

¹ Here and in 20¹⁸ our author appears to use βιβλίος owing to ο' in the first passage and θ' in his second. For, when writing independently, he uses βιβλίον, even when using the phrase τὸ βιβλίον τ. ζωῆς, 13^b 21²⁷ (cf. 17^a). In all βιβλίον occurs 23 times (3 times in an interpolation).

² Our author uses ἐστάθην (8^a 12¹⁸) as the aorist of ἵστημι. Chapter 11 is a source, and the use of ἔστησαν in it may be due to ο'.

³ The ideas in the Apoc. 1^{ba} and Ps 88 (89)²⁰ are wholly dissimilar, but the dependence in case of the diction is clear.

11^{18a} τ. δοῦλοι σου τ. προφήταις καὶ τ. ἀγίοις καὶ τ. φοβουμένοις τ. ὀνομά σου τ. μικροῦς καὶ τ. μεγάλους.

12¹ σημείον . . . γυνή . . . ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα καὶ κρᾶζει ὠδίνουσα . . . τεκεῖν.¹

12²⁰ ποιμαίνειν πάντα τ. ἔθνη ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ.

12¹³ εὐφραίνεσθε οὐρανοί.

14⁷ τ. ποιήσαντι τ. οὐρανὸν καὶ τ. γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν. Contrast 10⁶ under § 3 above. On this phrase see Acts 4²⁴ 14¹⁵.

14¹¹ ὁ καπνὸς . . . εἰς αἰῶνας αἰώνων ἀναβαίνει . . . ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός.

15⁸ ᾄδουσιν [τ. ᾠδὴν Μωυσέως τ. δοῦλου τ. θεοῦ].

15⁴ δοξάσει τ. ὄνομα σου.

15⁴ πάντα τ. ἔθνη ἤξουσιν καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν ἐνώπιόν σου.

15⁸ περιεζωσμένοι περὶ τ. στήθη ζῶνας χρυσᾶς.

16⁸ δίκαιος εἶ . . . ὅσιος.

αἷμα . . . πῦρ.

17¹⁸ καὶ τ. σάρκας αὐτῆς φάγονται.

19² ἐξεδίκησεν τ. αἷμα τ. δοῦλων αὐτοῦ ἐκ χειρὸς αὐτῆς. See on 6¹⁸ above.

19² ὁ καπνὸς αὐτῆς ἀναβαίνει εἰς τ. αἰῶνας. See on 14¹¹ above.

19⁸ αἰνεῖτε τ. θεῷ ἡμῶν, πάντες οἱ δοῦλοι αὐτοῦ, οἱ φοβούμενοι αὐτῶν, οἱ μικροὶ καὶ οἱ μεγάλοι.

19¹⁵ ἵνα ἐν αὐτῇ πατάξῃ τὰ ἔθνη· καὶ αὐτοὶ ποιμανεῖ αὐτοὺς ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ. See 2²⁷ above.

20⁸ ἐπὶ τ. πλάτος τ. γῆς.

κατέβη πῦρ ἐκ τ. οὐρανοῦ καὶ κατέφαγεν. (This could be registered under § 3, since the Hebrew could hardly be rendered differently.)

21¹ οὐρανὸν καίνων καὶ γῆν καιρῆν.

21² (21¹⁰) τ. πόλιν τ. ἀγίαν· Ἱερουσαλήμ.

21¹⁵ ἰδοὺ ἔρχομαι ταχύ, καὶ ὁ μισθός μου μετ' ἐμοῦ. Already registered under § 3 above.

Amos 3⁷ τ. δοῦλους αὐτοῦ τ. προφήταις. Ps 113²¹ (115¹⁵) τ. φοβουμένους τ. κύριον τ. μικροῦς μετὰ τ. μεγάλων.

Is 7¹⁴ σημείον· ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἔξει (KA λήμψεται, B). 26¹⁷ ἡ ὠδίνουσα ἐγγίξει τεκεῖν, ἐπὶ τῇ ὠδίνι αὐτῆς ἐκέραιεν.

See on 2²⁷ above.

Is 49¹³ εὐφραίνεσθε οὐρανοί. Cf. 44²⁵. Ex 20¹¹ (quoted on 10²⁰ under § 3 above).

Neh 19⁶ ἐποίησας τ. οὐρανὸν . . . τ. γῆν . . . τ. θαλάσσας.

Is 34¹⁰ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας . . . καὶ . . . εἰς τ. αἰῶνα χρόνον καὶ ἀναβήσεται ὁ καπνὸς αὐτῆς.

Ex 14²¹ Μωυσὴ τ. θεράποντι αὐτοῦ.

Ex 15¹ ᾤσεν Μωυσῆς . . . τ. ᾠδὴν ταύτην.

Ps 85 (86)⁸ δοξάσουσιν τ. ὄνομα σου.

Ps 85 (86)⁹ πάντα τ. ἔθνη . . . ἤξουσιν καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν ἐνώπιόν σου.

See on 1¹⁵ under § 3.

Ps 144 (145)¹⁷ δίκαιος κύριος . . . καὶ ὅσιος.

Is 49²⁵ πίονται . . . τὸ αἷμα αὐτῶν.

Is 49²⁵ φάγονται . . . τ. σάρκας αὐτῶν.

Ps 134 (135)^{11, 20} αἰνεῖτε τ. ὄνομα κυρίου, αἰνεῖτε δοῦλοι κύριον³ . . . οἱ φοβούμενοι τ. κύριον. See on 11¹⁸ above.

Is 11⁴ καὶ πατάξει γῆν τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ.

Hab 1⁸ ἐπὶ τὰ πλάτη (τὸ πλάτος—A) τ. γῆς.

2 Kings 1¹⁰ ο' exactly as in our text.

Is 65¹⁷ ἔσται γὰρ ὁ οὐρανὸς καίνων καὶ ἡ γῆ καιρῆν.

Is 52¹ Ἱερουσαλήμ, πόλις ἡ ἀγία. Cf. Dan 9²⁴ θ'.

Is 40¹⁰ ἰδοὺ κύριος κύριος . . . ἔρχεται . . . ἰδοὺ ὁ μισθὸς αὐτοῦ μετ' αὐτοῦ.

¹ Possibly this passage should have been given under § 3.

² Our author rightly follows the Hebrew here, כִּנִּי׳ ׀ַרָּב, against ο'.

§ 5. *Passages based on the Hebrew of the O.T. (or the Aramaic of Daniel), but influenced (in some cases certainly, in others probably) by a later form of ο', such as is preserved in Theodotion θ'.*

1¹ & δεῖ γενέσθαι.

1⁸ (5¹⁰ 20⁶) ἐποίησεν ἡμᾶς βασιλείαν
ιερείς τ. θεῶν.

1^{7a} ἰδοὺ ἔρχεται μετὰ ¹ τ. νεφελῶν.

1^{17b} (2⁸ 22¹⁸) Ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ
ἔσχατος.

1¹⁸ & μέλλει γίνεσθαι μετὰ ταῦτα.

3⁷ ὁ ἔχων τ. κλεῖν . . . ὁ ἀνοίγων καὶ
οὐδεὶς κλείσει καὶ κλείων καὶ οὐδεὶς
ἀνοίγει.

3^{3a} ἤξουσιν καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν ἐνώπιον
τ. ποδῶν σου. See on 15⁴ under
§ 4.

4¹ & δεῖ γενέσθαι μετὰ ταῦτα. See on
1¹⁰ above.

9³⁰ τὰ δαιμόνια καὶ τ. εἰδωλα ² τ. χρυσᾶ
καὶ τ. ἀργυρᾶ καὶ τ. χαλκᾶ καὶ τ.
λίθινα καὶ τ. ξύλινα, ἃ οὐτε βλέπειν
δύναται οὐτε ἀκούειν οὐτε περι-
πατεῖν.

10⁶ ὤμοσεν ἐν τ. ζῶντι εἰς τ. αἰῶνας.

Dan θ'. 2³⁰. 20. 44 & δεῖ γενέσθαι.³

Ex 19⁶ θ'. βασιλεία ἱερείς, which =
מלכות כהנים. But the Mass. has
"כ מלכות, and also ο'. βασιλειον
ιεράτευμα. See vol. i. 16.

Dan 7¹³ θ'. ἰδοὺ μετὰ τ. νεφελῶν . . .
ἐρχόμενος = Mass. הנה יבא על המלך. ο'.
ἰδοὺ ἐπὶ τ. νεφελῶν . . . ἔρχετο.

Is 48¹² (cf. 44⁶) ἤρακα καὶ ἔκτισα καὶ
Is 48¹² θ'. Ἐγὼ πρῶτος καὶ ἐγὼ
ἔσχατος. ο'. Ἐγὼ εἰμι πρῶτος καὶ
ἐγὼ εἰμι εἰς τ. αἰῶνα.

Dan 2²⁰ θ'. τί δεῖ γενέσθαι μετὰ ταῦτα
> ο'.

Is 22²² θ'. δώσω τ. κλεῖδα οἴκου Δαβὶδ
. . . καὶ ἀνοίξει καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ὁ
ἀποκλείων καὶ κλείσει καὶ οὐκ ἔσται
ὁ ἀνοίγων. ο'. δώσω τ. δόξαν Δαυὶδ
. . . καὶ ἄρξει, καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ὁ ἀντι-
λέγων, καὶ κλείσει καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ὁ
ἀνοίγων.

Is 60¹⁴ θ'. καὶ πορεύσονται . . . παροξυ-
νάντων . . . καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν
ἐπὶ τ. ἔχρη τ. ποδῶν σου. ο' om.
last eight words.

Dan 5²² θ' (> ο'). τ. θεοὺς τ. χρυσοῦς
καὶ ἀργυροῦς⁴ καὶ χαλκοῦς καὶ
σιδηροῦς καὶ ξυλίνους καὶ λιθίνους,
οἳ οὐ βλέπουσιν καὶ οἳ οὐκ ἀκούουσιν
(ο' < entire passage). Cf. Ps 113
(114)¹²⁻¹⁵ τ. εἰδωλα . . . οὐκ ὀφθαλμοῖς
. . . οὐκ ἀκούσονται . . . οὐ περι-
πατήσουσιν.

Dan 12⁷ θ'. ὤμοσεν ἐν τ. ζῶντι τ.
αἰῶνα.

¹ Our author knows only εν, as does θ', whereas ο' presupposes ην. In 14¹⁴ ἐπὶ τ. νεφέλῃ καθήμενος does not presuppose ην, for καθήμενος requires ἐπὶ here. Thus εν is presupposed by μετὰ in Rev 17, Mk 14⁶² ἐρχόμενος μετὰ τ. νεφ.: by ἐν in Mk 13²⁸ ἐρχόμενος ἐν νεφ., Lk 21²⁷: whereas Matt 24³⁰ 26⁶⁴ ἐρχόμενος ἐπὶ τ. νεφ. presuppose ο' and ην. See vol. i. 18.

² This combination of demons and idols is first found in 1 En 99⁷.

³ ο' has this phrase also in 3³⁰. 20; but since there is no other passage in our author based on Daniel that agrees with ο' against θ', and many that agree with θ' against ο', we conclude that where they agree, as here, our author is influenced by a version of the character of θ'.

⁴ The Mass. here trs. χρυσοῦς καὶ ἀργυροῦς. But, since θ' and Peshitto here, as well as all the authorities for the same list of substances in 5⁴, support the order χρ. καὶ ἀργ., there can be no doubt that the Mass. is wrong here and that our author and θ' attest the true order in 5²². Our author is following 5²² here, as the concluding clauses prove.

- 12¹⁶ καιρὸν καὶ καιροὺς καὶ ἡμῶν Dan 12⁷ θ' ο'. καιρὸν καὶ καιροὺς (AQF) καὶ ἡμῶν καιροῦ. Cf. 7²⁶.
 13⁵ στόμα λαλοῦν μεγάλα. Dan 7⁸ θ' ο'. στ. λαλ. μεγ.
 13⁷ ποιῆσαι πόλεμον μετὰ τ. ἀγίων. Dan 7²¹ θ'. ἐπολεῖ πόλεμον μετὰ τ. ἀγίων. ο'. πόλεμον συνιστάμενος πρὸς τ. ἀγίους.
 13¹⁶ ὅσοι ἔαν μὴ προσκυνήσουσιν τ. εἰκόνα. Dan 3⁵ θ' ο'. ὅς ἂν μὴ (+ πεσῶν ο') προσκυνήσῃ (τ. εἰκόνα).
 14⁵ Βαβυλὼν ἡ μεγάλη. Dan 4²⁷ θ' ο'. Βαβ. ἡ μεγ.
 15²⁻⁴ ὁ βασιλεὺς τ. ἐθνῶν· τίς οὐ μὴ φοβηθῇ; Jer 10⁷ θ' (> ο'). τίς οὐ μὴ φοβηθῇ σεται, βασιλεὺ τ. ἐθνῶν;
 20¹¹ τόποι οὐχ εὐρέθη αὐτοῖς (cf. 12⁶). Dan 2²⁶ θ'. τόποι οὐχ εὐρέθη αὐτοῖς. ο'. ὥστε μηδὲν καταλειφθῆναι ἐξ αὐτῶν.
 20¹⁸ εἰ τις οὐχ εὐρέθη ἐν τ. βιβλίῳ¹ τ. ζωῆς γεγραμμένους. Dan 12¹ θ'. πᾶς (+ ὁ εὐρεθείς AQ) ὁ γεγραμμένος ἐν τ. βιβλίῳ. ο'. ὅς ἂν εὐρεθῇ ἐγγεγραμμένος ἐν τ. βιβλίῳ.
 22¹⁰ μὴ σφραγίσῃς τ. λόγους . . . τ. βιβλίου τούτου. Dan 12⁴ θ'. σφράγισον τ. βιβλίον. ο'. σφράγισαι τ. βιβλίον. 12⁹ θ'. ἐσφραγισμένοι οἱ λόγοι. ο'. ἐσφραγισμένα τὰ προστάγματα.

§ 6. *Phrases and clauses in our Author which are echoes of O.T. passages.*

- 2²⁰ τὴν γυναῖκα 'Ιεζάβελ. 1 Kings 20 (21)²⁸ 'Ιεζάβελ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ.
 5⁶ ὁ λέων ὁ ἐκ τ. φυλῆς 'Ιούδα. Gen 49⁹ σκύμνος λέωντος, 'Ιούδα.
 ἡ βίβα Δαυεὶδ (cf. 22¹⁰). Is 11¹ ἐκ τ. βίβης 'Ιεσσαί.
 9⁶ ἐξῆλθον ἀκρίδες εἰς τ. γῆν. Ex 10¹³ ἀναβήτω ἀκρίς ἐπὶ τ. γῆν.
 9¹⁴ τ. ποταμῷ τ. μεγάλῳ Εὐφράτῃ. Gen 15¹⁰ τ. ποτ. τ. μεγ. Εὐφ.
 9²¹ φόνων . . . πορνείας . . . κλεμμάτων. Ex 20¹⁵ (Mass., but different order in ο').
 φαρμάκων . . . πορνείας. 2 Kings 9²² αἱ πορνεῖαι 'Ιεζάβελ . . . καὶ τ. φάρμακα αὐτῆς.
 10¹¹ δεῖ σε πάλιν προφητεῦσαι ἐπὶ λαοῖς καὶ ἔθνεσιν . . . καὶ βασιλεῦσιν. Jer 1¹⁰ ἰδοὺ καθέστακά σε . . . ἐπὶ ἔθνη καὶ βασιλείας.
 11¹ κάλαμος . . . μέτρησον τ. ναόν. Ezek 40³ ἐν τ. χειρὶ αὐτοῦ ἦν . . . κάλαμος μέτρον. 41¹³ διεμέτρησεν κατέναντι τ. οίκου.
 11² ἐδόθη τ. ἔθνεσιν καὶ τ. πόλιν τ. ἀγίαν πατήσουσιν. Zech 12² θήσομαι τ. 'Ιερουσαλὴμ λίθον καταπατούμενον. Dan 9²⁴ (θ') τ. πόλιν τ. ἀγίαν.
 11⁶ πνευματικῶς Σόδομα. Is 1¹⁰ Israel addressed as "Sodom."
 11¹⁰ δῶρα πέμψουσιν ἀλλήλοις. Esth 9¹⁹ ἀποστέλλοντες μερίδας ἑκαστος τῷ πλησίον.
 φόβος . . . ἐπέπεσον ἐπὶ. Frequent in the O.T.
 11¹² ἀνέβησαν εἰς τ. οὐρανόν. 2 Kings 2¹¹ ἀνελήμφθη . . . εἰς τ. οὐρανόν.
 11¹² ἔδωκαν δόξαν τ. θεῷ (cf. 14⁷). Josh 7¹⁰, Jer 13¹⁶ etc.
 τ. θεῷ τ. οὐρανοῦ (cf. 16¹¹). Dan θ'. 2¹². 10²⁷; θ' ο'. 2⁴⁴.
 11¹⁸ βασιλεύσει εἰς τ. αἰῶνας τ. αἰώνων. Ps 97⁷ (10¹⁶) βασιλεύσει κύριος εἰς τ. αἰῶνα.

¹ See note on 3⁵ under § 4. θ' explains our author's use of βιβλος here instead of his own word βιβλίον.

14⁷ φοβήθητε τ. θεόν.

14¹⁰ πυρί και θείω.

15¹ πληγὰς ἐπτά.

16¹ ἐκχέετε τ. φιδάλας τ. θυμοῦ τ. θεοῦ.

16¹⁰ ἐγένετο ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ ἐσκοτωμένη.

16¹³ ἐξηράνθη τ. ὕδωρ αὐτοῦ.

18⁹ κλαύουσιναι και κόψονται.

18¹⁴ σου τῆς ἐπιθυμίας τῆς ψυχῆς.

18²¹ Suggested by

20⁹ τ. πόλιν τ. ἡγαπημένην.

21⁴ οὔτε πένθος οὔτε κραυγή οὔτε πόνος οὐκ ἔσται ἔτι.

21¹⁰ τ. δόξαν τ. θεοῦ.

21¹⁶ ἡ πόλις τετραγώνος κείται.

Eccles 12¹³.

Gen 19²⁴.

Lev 26²¹ πληγὰς ἐπτά.

Jer 10²⁶ ἔκχεον τ. θυμόν σου ἐπὶ ἔθνη.

Ex 10²¹ γενηθήτω σκότος ἐπὶ γῆν Αἰγύπτου.

Ex 14²¹ ἐποίησεν τ. θάλασσαν ξηράν.

2 Sam 1¹³ ἐκόψατο . . . και ἐκλαυσαν.

Deut 12¹⁸. 20. 21, Ps 20 (21)³ etc.

Jer 28 (51)²⁰ λίσσον . . . ῥίψει και ἐρείς ὁδὸς καταδύσεται βαθυλῶν.

Ps 77 (78)⁶⁸ τ. ὅρος τ. Σιὼν ἠγάπησεν.

86 (87)¹³ ἀγαπᾷ κύριος τ. πόλιν Σιὼν.

Is 35¹⁰ ἀπέδρα ὁδὸν και λύπη και στεναγμός.

Is 58⁸.

Ezek 48¹⁶ where the measures of the city show that it was τετραγώνος.

§ 7. Passages dependent on or parallel with passages in the Jewish Pseudepigrapha.

1¹³ ὅμοιον ἰδὼν ἀνθρώπου. See on 14¹⁴ below.

2⁷ δώσει αὐτῷ φαγεῖν ἐκ τ. ξύλου τ. ζωῆς.

2¹⁷ ὄρομα καινόν.

4¹ και ἰδὼν θύρα ἡνεωγμένη ἐν τ. οὐρανῷ.

4⁶ (15³) θάλασσα ὑάλινη.

6¹¹ ἵνα ἀναπαύσονται . . . ἕως πληρωθῶσιν . . . οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μέλλοντες ἀποκτείνεσθαι.

6¹² ὁ ἥλιος ἐγένετο μέλας . . . και ἡ σελήνη δλη ἐγένετο ὡς αἷμα.

T. Lev 18¹¹ δώσει τ. ἀγίοις φαγεῖν ἐκ τ. ξύλου τ. ζωῆς. See vol. i. 54.

T. Lev 8¹⁴ ἐπικληθήσεται αὐτῷ ὄνομα καινόν.

1 En 14¹⁵ και ἰδὼν ἄλλην θύραν ἀνεωγμένην (i.e. in heaven): T. Lev 5¹.

2 En 3³ "They showed me a great sea" (i.e. in the first heaven). Cf. T. Lev 2⁷.

In 1 En 47 the end will come when the number of the martyrs is complete exactly as in our text. 47³⁻⁴ "I saw the Head of Days when He seated Himself upon the throne of His glory. . . . And the hearts of the holy were filled with joy, Because the number of the righteous had been offered."¹

Ass. Mos. 10⁵ Sol non dabet lumen et in tenebras convertet se cornua lunae . . . et (luna) tota convertet se in sanguinem.²

¹ Here the martyrs are regarded as an offering to God just as in our text 14⁴ (ἀπαρχὴ τ. θεῷ). See vol. i. 174.

² Ezek. 32⁷ (ὁ. ἡ σελήνη οὐ δώσει τὸ φῶς αὐτῆς) and Joel 2³¹ (3⁴) (ὁ. ὁ ἥλιος μεταστραφήσεται εἰς σκότος και ἡ σελήνη εἰς αἷμα) are the sources of Ass. Mos 10⁵. Hence the latter passage should be read as in my edition, (sol) in tenebras convertet se, et luna non dabit lumen et tota convertet se in sanguinem. The tota appears in this connection only in this passage and in our text. See vol. i. 180.

- 7¹ τέσσαρας ἀγγέλους . . . ἐπὶ τ. τέσσαρας γωνίας τῆς γῆς, κρατοῦντας τ. τέσσαρας ἀνέμους τ. γῆς.
[8² ὡς ὅρος μέγα πυρὶ καίμενον.]¹
- 9¹ ἀστέρη ἐκ τ. οὐρανοῦ πεπτωκῶτα εἰς τ. γῆν, καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ἡ κλεῖς τ. φρέατος, κτλ.²
- 9³⁰ ἵνα μὴ προσκυνήσουσιν τ. δαιμόνια καὶ τ. εἰδωλα.³
- 14¹⁰ βασανισθήσεται ἐν πυρὶ . . . ἐνώπιον τ. ἀγγέλων.
- 14¹⁴ ὅμοιον υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου.⁴
- 17¹⁴ (Cf. 19¹⁶) Κύριος κυρίων ἐστὶν καὶ βασιλεὺς βασιλέων.
- 19¹⁵ ἐκ τ. στόματος αὐτοῦ ἐκπορεύεται βομφαία ὀξεῖα, ἵνα ἐν αὐτῇ πατάξῃ τὰ ἔθνη· καὶ αὐτὸς ποιμαίνει αὐτοὺς ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ.
- 20⁹ τὸν Γῶγ καὶ Μαγῶγ.
- 20¹³ ὁ θάνατος καὶ ὁ ἔθης ἔδωκαν τ. νεκροὺς τ. ἐν αὐτοῖς.
- 22² τ. θρόνον τ. θεοῦ καὶ τ. ἀρλίου.
- See vol. i. 204, 192 (note), where this conception is shown to be in 1 Enoch.
- 1 En 18¹⁸ ὡς ὄρη μεγάλη καίμενα : 21⁸ ὁμοῦλοι ὄρεσιν μεγάλαις καὶ ἐν πυρὶ καίμενοι.
- 1 En 86¹ "Behold a star fell from heaven and it arose" etc.
- 1 En 99⁷ "Who worship stones . . . impure spirits and demons."
- 1 En 48⁹ "As straw in the fire, so shall they burn before the face of the holy."
- 1 En 46¹ which first applies to *the Messiah*, this phrase which in Dan 7¹⁸ = "the saints." 4 Ezra 13² where the Syriac presupposes *ὁμοῖον υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου*. See vol. ii. 20.
- 1 En 9⁶ (G s³) Κύριος τ. κυρίων καὶ βασιλεὺς τ. βασιλευόντων (E = βασιλέων).
- Pss. Sol 17^{26-27, 28} quoted in vol. ii. 136 where already Is 11⁴ and Ps 2⁹ are applied in the same Ps. to the Messiah.
- See vol. ii. 188.
- 1 En 51¹ "Sheol also shall give back that which it has received, and hell shall give back that which it owes." See vol. ii. 194 sqq.
- 1 En 62^{2, 5}. See vol. ii. 175 sq. The throne is the throne of God and of the Son of Man.

§ 8. *Passages in some cases directly dependent on and in others parallel with earlier books of the N.T. Our author appears to have used Matthew, Luke, 1 Thessalonians, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Colossians, Ephesians and possibly Galatians, 1 Peter and James. The possibility of his having had one or more other books of the N.T. is not excluded.*

¹ The diction is almost identical, but the ideas are quite different. In 1 En the stars are really spirits or angels undergoing punishment. In this interpolated passage 87-12 the "burning mountain" in 8² and "the burning star" in 8¹⁰ are purely physical things. Contrast our author's use in 9¹.

² The parallel is good. The star in each case is an angel, and in each case falls from heaven. A parallel is found also in Is 14¹³ ἐξέπευσεν ἐκ τ. οὐρανοῦ ὁ ἐὼσφόρος.

³ Combined worship of demons and idols first mentioned in 1 En 99⁷.

⁴ The fact that the expression ὁμοῖος υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου occurs in 4 Ezra 13² shows that it may have been more current in certain circles than is generally believed. On the other hand, it is simply the apocalyptic form of ὁ υἱὸς τ. ἀνθρώπου.

1¹ δεῖ γενέσθαι.

1² μακάριος . . . καὶ οἱ ἀκούοντες τ.
λόγον . . . καὶ τηροῦντες.

ὁ γὰρ καιρὸς ἐγγύς.

1⁴ χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη.

1⁸ ὁ πρωτότοκος τ. νεκρῶν.¹

1⁹ τῷ ἀγαπῶντι ἡμᾶς.

1⁶ βασιλείαν, ἱερεῖς τ. θεῷ.

1⁷ ἰδοὺ ἔρχεται μετὰ τ. νεφελῶν, καὶ
ὄψεται αὐτὸν πᾶς ὀφθαλμὸς καὶ
ὅστινες αὐτὸν ἐξεκέντησαν, καὶ
κόψονται ἐπ' αὐτὸν πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ
τ. γῆς.²

1⁷ ναί, ἀμήν.

1¹⁸ ἡ ὕψις αὐτοῦ ὡς ὁ ἥλιος φαίνει.

1¹⁸ νεκρὸς καὶ ἰδοὺ ζῶν.

2⁷ ὁ ἔχων οὐδὲ ἀκουσάτω³ (seven times).

2⁸ οὐδὰ σου . . . τ. πτωχείαν, ἀλλὰ
πλούσιος εἶ.

2¹⁰ τ. στέφανον τ. ζωῆς.⁴

2²⁰ πλανᾷ τ. ἐμὸν δούλου πορευθεῖσαι
καὶ φαγεῖν εἰδωλόθιτα.

2²⁶ οὐ βάλλω ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἄλλο βάρος· πλὴν
ὁ ἔχετε κρατήσατε.⁵

2²⁴ τ. βαθέα τ. Σατανᾶ.

3³ εἰδὼν οὖν μὴ γρηγορήσης, ἦξω ὡς
κλέπτης καὶ οὐ μὴ γνῶς ποίαν ὥραν
ἦξω ἐπὶ σέ.

16¹⁵ ἰδοὺ ἔρχομαι ὡς κλέπτης· μακάριος
ὁ γρηγορῶν.⁶

Matt 24⁶, Luke 21⁹.

Luke 11³⁰ μακάριοι οἱ ἀκούοντες τ.
λόγον τ. θεοῦ καὶ φυλάσσοντες.⁷

Matt 26¹⁸ ὁ καιρὸς μου ἐγγύς ἐστίν.
Col 1⁸ χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη and eight
other Pauline epp. Not earlier
than N.T. apparently.

Col 1¹⁸ πρωτότοκος ἐκ τ. νεκρῶν.

Gal 2³⁰ τοῦ υἱοῦ τ. θεοῦ τοῦ ἀγαπῆ-
σαντός με.

1 Pet 2⁸ βασιλεῖον ἱεράτευμα.

Matt 24³⁰ τότε κόψονται πᾶσαι αἱ
φυλαὶ τ. γῆς καὶ ὄψονται τ. υἱὸν τ.
ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενον ἐπὶ τ. νεφελῶν
τ. οὐρανοῦ.

2 Cor 1²⁰ τὸ ναί . . . τὸ ἀμήν.

Matt 17³ ἐλαμψεν τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ
ὡς ὁ ἥλιος.

2 Cor 6⁶ ἀποθνήσκοντες καὶ ἰδοὺ ζῶμεν.

Matt 11¹⁵ 13⁹, Luke 8⁸ 14²⁵ ὁ ἔχων
ὅτα ἀκούτω: Mark 4²³ 23 ὅς (εἴ τις)
(4²³) ἔχει ὅτα ἀκούειν ἀκούτω.

2 Cor 6¹⁰ ὡς πτωχοὶ πολλοὺς δὲ πλουτι-
ζοντες. Jas 2⁵ τ. πτωχοὺς τ. κόσμου
πλουσίους ἐν πίστει.

Jas 1¹² τ. στέφανον τ. ζωῆς.

Acts 15²⁸ ἔδοξεν . . . ἡμῖν μὴδὲν
πλέον ἐπιτιθεσθαι ὑμῖν βάρος πλὴν
. . . ἀπέχεσθαι εἰδωλοθύτων . . . καὶ
πορνείας.

1 Cor 2¹⁰ τ. βάθος τ. θεοῦ.

Matt 24⁴² γρηγορεῖτε οὖν, ὅτι οὐκ οἴδατε
ποίᾳ ἡμέρᾳ ὁ κύριος ὑμῶν ἔρχεται.

24⁴² ἐκεῖνο δὲ γινώσκετε, ὅτι εἰ ἦδει ὁ
οἰκοδεσπότης ποῖα φυλακῇ ὁ κλέπτης

¹ Peculiar to Paul and our author in this sense.

² The combination of Dan 7¹⁸ and Zech 12^{10, 12} is first found in the N.T. and is peculiar to Matt. and our author. This combination is not found in the parallel passages of Mark 13²⁶, Luke 21²⁷, which omit the quotation from Zech. Further, the phrase πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τ. γῆς is peculiar to our text and Matt 24³⁰, and the meaning assigned to κόψονται ("mourn for themselves") is peculiar to our author and Matt 24³⁰. On the other hand, our author keeps to the Hebrew in rendering μετὰ τ. νεφελῶν, whereas Matt 24³⁰ reads ἐπὶ τ. νεφ. as ο'. Observe that our author has ἐπ' αὐτόν (so Heb. and LXX), but not Matt.

³ Our author's use of this phrase clearly goes back to our Lord, and his form of it is closer to that in Matthew and Luke than to that in Mark.

⁴ Jas 1¹² contains the earliest instance of the phrase. Cf. T. Benj. 4¹ στεφάνου δόξης.

⁵ Our author was clearly acquainted with the Apostolic edict, but that he also used Acts is doubtful.

⁶ The dependence of 3³ 16¹⁵ on Matt 24^{42, 43, 44} is obvious.

⁷ φυλάσσειν is a Lucan word: cf. Luke 18³¹, Acts 7³³ 16⁴ 27³⁴, whereas our author does not use φυλάσσειν at all, but uses τηρεῖν in the same sense.

- 3⁸ δέδωκα ἐνώπιόν σου θύραν ἡνευγμένην.
 3⁹ ὁμολογήσω τ. ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐνώπιον τ. πατρὸς μου καὶ ἐνώπιον τ. ἀγγέλων αὐτοῦ.
 3¹⁴ ἡ ἀρχὴ τ. κτίσεως τ. θεοῦ.
 3¹⁷ πλοσίβεις εἰμι . . . καὶ οὐκ οἶδας ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ . . . πτωχός. See on 2⁸ above.
 3²¹ δώσω αὐτῷ καθίσαι μετ' ἐμοῦ ἐν τ. θρόνῳ μου, ὡς . . . ἐκάθισα μετὰ τ. πατρὸς μου ἐν τ. θρόνῳ αὐτοῦ.
 5⁵ μὴ κλαίει.
 6⁴ λαβεῖν τ. εἰρήνην ἐκ τ. γῆς.
 6²⁻¹⁷ 7¹ Subject-matter of the Seals suggested by the Little Apocalypse.¹
 6¹⁸ ὥς ποτε . . . οὐ . . . ἐκδικεῖς τὸ αἷμα ἡμῶν.
 6¹²⁻¹³ ὁ ἥλιος ἐγένετο μέλας ὡς σάκκος τρίχινος καὶ ἡ σελήνη ὅλη ἐγένετο ὡς αἷμα, καὶ οἱ ἀστέρες τ. οὐρανοῦ ἔπεσαν εἰς τ. γῆν.²
 6¹²⁻¹⁶ οἱ βασιλεῖς τ. γῆς . . . καὶ πᾶς δοῦλος καὶ ἐλεύθερος ἐκρυψαν ἑαυτοὺς εἰς τ. σπήλαια καὶ εἰς τ. πέτρας τ. ὀρέων· καὶ λέγουσιν τ. ὄρεσιν καὶ τ. πέτραις Πέσατε ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ κρύψατε ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ προσώπου, κτλ.³
 6¹⁷ τίς δύναται σταθῆναι.
 7³ ἄχρῃ σφραγίσωμεν τοὺς δούλους τοῦ θεοῦ.
 ἔρχεται, ἐγγηγόρησεν ἄν καὶ οὐκ ἂν εἴασεν διωρυχθῆναι τ. οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ.
 4⁶ Μακάριος ὁ δούλος ἐκεῖνος. 1 Thess 5³ ἡμέρα κυρίου ὡς κλέπτῃς . . . ἔρχεται.
 1 Cor 16³ θύρα γάρ μοι ἀνέψαγεν. 2 Cor 2¹³ θύρας μοι ἀνεψυγμένης.
 Matt 10²³ ὁμολογήσω κἀγὼ ἐν αὐτῷ ἔμπροσθεν τ. πατρὸς μου (contrast Luke 12⁸ ἔμπροσθεν τ. ἀγγέλου τ. θεοῦ).
 Col 1¹⁶ ὅς ἐστιν ἡ ἀρχή. 1¹⁵ πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως.
 Contrast Col 1¹⁷ τ. πλοῦτος τ. δόξης τ. μυστηρίου . . . ὅς ἐστιν Χ. ἐν ὑμῖν.
 Col 3¹ τὰ ἄνω ζητεῖτε, οὐ ὁ Χ. ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιῇ τ. θεοῦ καθήμενος. Eph 2⁶ συνεκάθισεν ἐν τ. ἐπουρανίοις ἐν Χ. I. Luke 7¹³ (8²³) μὴ κλαίει.
 Matt 10³⁴ μὴ νομίσητε ὅτι ἦλθον βαλεῖν εἰρήνην ἐπὶ τ. γῆν· οὐκ ἦλθον βαλεῖν εἰρήνην ἀλλὰ μάχαιραν.
 Matt 24⁶⁻⁷. 24²⁹ and parallels in Luke 21^{8-12a}. 22²⁵⁻²⁶. See vol. i. 158 sqq.
 Luke 18⁷. 8 ὁ θεὸς οὐ μὴ ποιήσῃ τὴν ἐκδίκησιν τ. ἐκλεκτῶν αὐτοῦ, . . . ποιήσει τ. ἐκδίκησιν αὐτῶν ἐν τάχει.
 Matt 24²⁹ ὁ ἥλιος σκοτισθήσεται, καὶ ἡ σελήνη οὐ δώσει τ. φέγγος αὐτῆς καὶ οἱ ἀστέρες πεσοῦνται ἀπὸ τ. οὐρανοῦ. So Mark 13²⁴⁻²⁵ save that for last four words it reads ἔσονται ἐκ τ. οὐρ. πίπτοντες. Luke 21²⁶ ἔσονται σημεῖα ἐν ἡλῳ καὶ σελήνῃ καὶ ἀστροῖς.
 Luke 23³⁰ τότε ἄρξονται λέγειν τ. ὄρεσιν Πέσατε ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ τ. βούροις Καλύψατε ἡμᾶς.
 Luke 21²⁶ ἀγρυπνεῖτε . . . ἵνα κατισχύσητε . . . σταθῆναι ἔμπροσθεν τ. υἱοῦ τ. ἀνθρώπου.
 Eph 4³⁰ ἐσφραγίσθητε εἰς ἡμέραν ἀπολυτρώσεως.⁴

¹ Our text seems to presuppose the use of Luke and Matthew in the enumeration of the seven evils following on the opening of the Seals, or else of the Little Apocalypse behind the three Gospels. See vol. i. 158-160.
² The parallelism of 6¹²⁻¹³ with Matt 24²⁹ is very close, but not with Luke. It is not, however, dependent directly on the former.
³ There is a remote parallelism with Luke, but not with Matthew.
⁴ The meaning of σφραγίσω, 7³⁻⁵, may be partly due to Eph 4³⁰ 1¹⁹: cf. 2 Cor 1²². In fact, in Eph 4³⁰ the sealing gives the faithful assurance of their spiritual preservation to the day of redemption, and this thought is allied to

- 7¹⁷ τὸ ἀρνίον . . . ποιμανεῖ αὐτοὺς.
 9²⁰ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων (20⁸).
 11⁸ προφητεύουσιν ἡμέρας χιλίας
 διακοσίας ἐξήκοντα.
 11⁸ κλείσαι τ. οὐρανόν, ἵνα μὴ δεθῇ
 βροχὴ τ. ἡμέρας τ. προφητείας αὐτῶν.
 11¹⁸ ἡ βασιλεία τ. κόσμου.
 12⁸ ὁ Σατανᾶς . . . ἐβλήθη εἰς τ. γῆν.
 13⁸ τ. ἀρνίου τ. ἐσφαγμένου ἀπὸ κατα-
 βολῆς κόσμου.
 13¹¹ θῆριον (i.e. ὁ ψευδοπροφήτης, 16¹³
 19²⁰) . . . εἶχεν κέρατα δύο ὅμοια
 ἀρνίῳ καὶ ἐλάλει ὡς δράκων.
 14⁴ οἱ ἀκολουθοῦντες τῷ ἀρνίῳ ὅπου ἂν
 ὑπάγει.
 14⁷ τ. ποιήσαντι τ. οὐρανὸν καὶ τ. γῆν
 καὶ τ. θάλασσαν.¹
 14¹⁸ οἱ ἐν κυρίῳ ἀποθνήσκοντες.
 17¹⁴ κύριος κυρίῳ ἐστὶν καὶ βασιλεὺς
 βασιλέων.³
 17¹⁴ κλητοὶ καὶ ἐκλεκτοὶ καὶ πιστοί.
 16¹⁹ (14⁸ 17⁸ etc.) Βαβυλῶν ἡ μεγάλη.
 18⁴ ἐξέλθατε ἐξ αὐτῆς . . . ἵνα μὴ συν-
 κοινωνήσητε ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις.
 18²⁴ αἶμα προφητῶν καὶ ἁγίων εὐρέθη
 καὶ πάντων τ. ἐσφαγμένων ἐπὶ τ.
 γῆς.
 19⁹ χαίρωμεν καὶ ἀγαλλιώμεν.³
 19⁹ μακάριοι οἱ εἰς τ. δεῖπνον τ. γάμου
 . . . κεκλημένοι.
 21⁴⁴ τὰ πρῶτα ἀπῆλθαν· ἰδοὺ καινὰ
 ποιῶ πάντα.
 21¹⁸ ἀπήνεγκέν με ἐν πνεύματι ἐπὶ ὄρος
 μέγα καὶ ὑψηλόν, καὶ ἔδειξέν με.
 22²¹ ἡ χάρις τ. κυρίου Ἰησοῦ μετὰ
 πάντων τὸ ἅγιον.
 1 Pet 2²⁵ τ. ποιμένα . . . τ. ψυχῶν ὑμῶν.
 Luke 18¹¹.
 Luke 4²⁸ ἐκλείσθη ὁ οὐρανὸς ἔτη τρία
 καὶ μῆνας ἑξ. Jas 5¹⁷ οὐκ ἐβρέξεν
 ἐπὶ τ. γῆς ἐνιαυτοὺς τρεῖς καὶ μῆνας
 ἑξ.
 Matt 4⁸ τ. βασιλείας τ. κόσμου.
 Luke 10¹⁸ ἐθελῶν τ. Σατανᾶν ὡς
 ἀστραπὴν ἐκ τ. οὐρανοῦ πεσοῦντα.
 1 Pet 1¹⁸⁻²⁰ ἁμνοῦ . . . προεγνω-
 σμένου μὲν πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου.
 Matt 7¹⁸ τ. ψευδοπροφητῶν, οἵτινες
 ἔρχονται πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐν ἐνδύμασι
 προβάτων ἔσωθεν δὲ εἰσὶν λύκοι
 ἀρπαγες.
 Luke 9⁷ ἀκολουθήσω σοι ὅπου ἂν
 ἀπέρχῃ. Cf. Mk 2¹⁴ 10²¹.
 Acts 4²⁴ 14¹⁸ ὁ ποιήσας (ὅς ἐποίησεν,
 14¹⁸) τ. οὐρανὸν καὶ τ. γῆν καὶ τ.
 θάλασσαν.
 1 Thess 4¹⁶ οἱ νεκροὶ ἐν Χριστῷ.
 1 Tim 6¹⁵ ὁ βασιλεὺς τ. βασιλευνόντων
 καὶ κύριος τ. κυριευόντων.
 Matt 20¹⁸ 22¹⁴ πολλοὶ γὰρ εἰσιν
 κλητοὶ, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἐκλεκτοί.
 1 Pet 5¹⁸ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι (= Rome as in
 Apoc.).
 2 Cor 6¹⁷ ἐξέλθατε ἐκ μέσου αὐτῶν.
 Eph 5¹¹ μὴ συνκοινωνεῖτε τ. ἔργοις
 . . . τ. σκότους.
 Luke 11²⁰ ἵνα ἐκγρηθῇ τ. αἶμα πάντων
 τ. προφητῶν τὸ ἐκκεχυμένον ἀπὸ
 καταβολῆς κόσμου.
 Matt 5¹³ χαίrete καὶ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε.
 Luke 14¹⁸ ἐπολεῖ δεῖπνον μέγα . . . καὶ
 ἀπέστειλεν . . . τοῖς κεκλημένοις.
 2 Cor 5¹⁷ τὰ ἀρχαῖα παρῆλθεν, ἰδοὺ
 γέγονεν καινὰ.
 Matt 4⁸ παραλαμβάνει αὐτὸν . . . εἰς
 ὄρος ὑψηλὸν λίαν, καὶ δείκνυσιν αὐτῷ.
 Some form of this grace is found at
 the close of the Pauline Epp. and
 Hebrews, and in them only in the
 N.T. Cf. Eph 6²⁴ ἡ χάρις μετὰ
 πάντων τ. ἀγαπώντων τ. κύριον
 ἡμῶν Ἰ. Χ., Col 4¹⁸ ἡ χάρις μεθ' ὑμῶν.

that of our author, according to whom the faithful are secured, not against physical evils, but against their spiritual enemies. These latter recognize this divine mark on the faithful and cannot injure them.

¹ On the O.T. originals of this passage see 10^{8b} above under § 3, and 14⁷ under § 4. It will be seen that 14⁷ is closer verbally to Acts 4²⁴ than to any of the O.T. passages.

³ See list of passages influenced by Pseudepigrapha.

³ The thought in both passages is not unrelated. The words in Matt. come in at the close of the Beatitudes which promise that the righteous shall inherit the earth. 19⁷ in our author represents in vision the fulfilment of this promise.

VIII.

UNITY OF THE APOCALYPSE.

§ 1. *Unity of thought and dramatic development.*—When the interpolations of the editor are removed and the dislocations of the text set right (see p. lvii sqq.), the unity of thought and development in the Apocalypse is immeasurably greater than in any of the great Jewish apocalypses of an earlier or contemporary date. In fact, the order of development is at once logical and chronological save where our author deliberately, as in 7⁹⁻¹⁷ 10-11¹³ 14¹⁻¹¹ 14. 18-20, breaks with the chronological order and in 7⁹⁻¹⁷ 14¹⁻¹¹ 14. 18-20 adopts the logical, that he may show the blessed future in store for those that were faithful in the tribulations which are recounted in the text immediately preceding these sections. The dramatic movement of the book is independent of all these sections. But the superiority of the Apocalypse to other apocalypses in this respect is not merely relative but absolute, as a short study of the Plan of the Apocalypse (see p. xxiii sqq.) will abundantly prove.

Smaller unities¹ maintained and developed within the Apocalypse might be brought forward, such as: (a) the Seven Beatitudes, 1³ 16¹⁵ (which is to be restored after 3^{2b}) 14¹³ 19^{2a} 22¹⁴ 20⁶ 22⁷. (b) The judgment demanded by the souls under the altar is dealt with in various stages of fulfilment in 8³⁻⁴ 9¹³ 14¹⁸ 16⁷ (which with 16^{6b-6} is restored in this edition to its original context after 19⁴). (c) The promises of the re-evangelization of the heathen world in 11¹⁵ 14⁶⁻⁷ 15⁴ are fulfilled in

¹ In respect to the angels sent to instruct the Seer with the revelation of God, there is no unity observed in the Apocalypse. Our author apparently set out with the intention of committing this revelation to one angel. To this intention he holds fast (as I now see) in 1¹. 10-11 4¹ 10⁴. In 10¹¹ it is possible that λέγουσιν is an oversight for λέγει, which 025 Tyc Pr gig vg^{dfv} s arm bo eth attest. But the adoption of sources (11¹⁻¹² 12-13. 17-18), where this angelic guide is not mentioned, interfered with his original purpose, and hence there is no reference to him till 19^{2a} 22⁹. But even in 1-10 various other heavenly beings instruct the Seer—one of the Elders in 5⁶ 7¹³⁻¹⁷, the Cherubim in 6¹. 2. 2. 7. This fact prepares us for the intervention of one of the Seven Angels of the Bowls in 17¹ 21⁶. 10 22¹. But there is a special fitness in this intervention. These angels have to execute judgment on the world now subject to the Antichrist, and so it is one and the same angel that shows the Seer the destruction of Rome (17¹⁻¹⁰), the capital of the Antichrist on earth, and that shows the city that is to replace it—the Heavenly Jerusalem coming down to be the capital of Christ's kingdom on earth for 1000 years (21²-22². 14-15. 17 20⁶⁻⁶).

But the above phenomena are not inconsistent with unity of authorship, though on revision the author would, no doubt, have removed some of the incongruities. In other apocalypses there are several angelic guides. Thus in Dan 10¹⁶ sqq. one of the holy watchers, 8¹⁶ sqq. Gabriel, and possibly in 10¹ sqq. Many angels act in this capacity in 1 Enoch 21-36: two angels in 2 Enoch.

21⁹—22². 14-15. 17 when restored to their right context immediately after 20⁸.

§ 2. *Unity of style and diction.*—The grammar and the style of our author are unique, as the Grammar which I give, pp. cxvii-clix, amply proves. This unity is discoverable in every part of the Apocalypse save in the sources which our author has taken over in a Greek form (such as 11¹⁻¹⁸ 12. 17. 18; see p. lxii sqq.), and even in these the hand of our author is constantly manifest, as he edits them to serve his main purpose. Moreover, in the introduction to every chapter (save in the case of the sources) its essential affinities of diction and idiom with the rest of the book are given almost in full.

This unity, therefore, does not exclude the use of visions of his own of an earlier date or of sources.

A few examples of the essential unity of diction between different parts of the Apocalypse may here be added.

(a) Chaps. 1-3 and 20⁴-22.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1 ¹ δείξει τοῖς δοῦλοις αὐτοῦ ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐν τάχει. | 22 ⁸ δείξει τοῖς δοῦλοις αὐτοῦ ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐν τάχει. |
| 1 ⁸ μακάριος ὁ ἀναγινώσκων καὶ οἱ . . . τοὺς λόγους τῆς προφητείας . . . τηροῦντες. | 22 ⁷ μακάριος ὁ τηρῶν τοὺς λόγους τῆς προφητείας. |
| 1 ¹⁷ ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος. | 22 ¹³ ἐγὼ . . . ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος. |
| 2 ⁷ τὸ πνεῦμα λέγει. | 22 ¹⁷ τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ ἡ νυμφὴ λέγουσιν. |
| 2 ¹¹ τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ δευτέρου. | 21 ⁸ ὁ θάνατος ὁ δεύτερος (cf. 20 ⁸). |
| 2 ²⁰ τὸν ἀστέρα τὸν πρωϊνόν. | 22 ¹⁶ ὁ ἀστήρ . . . ὁ πρωϊνός. |
| 3 ¹¹ ἔρχομαι ταχύ. | 22 ¹³ Ἰδοὺ ἔρχομαι ταχύ. |
| 3 ¹² τῆς καινῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ, ἡ καταβαίνουσα ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μου. | 21 ³ Ἱερουσαλὴμ καινὴν . . . καταβαίνουσαν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ. |

(b) Chaps. 1-3 and 4-20⁸.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1 ¹ δείξει . . . ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι. | 4 ¹ δείξω σοι ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι. |
| 1 ⁶ ἐποίησαν ἡμᾶς βασιλείαν, ἱερεῖς τῷ θεῷ. | 5 ¹⁰ ἐποίησας αὐτοὺς τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν βασιλείαν καὶ ἱερεῖς. |
| 1 ¹⁰ ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι. | 4 ² ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι. |
| 1 ¹² ὅμοιον υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου. | 14 ¹⁴ ὅμοιον υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου. |
| 1 ¹³ περιεβύσμενον πρὸς τοῖς μαστοῖς ζῶντι χρυσᾷ. | 15 ⁸ περιεβύσμενοι περὶ τὰ στήθη ζῶντας χρυσᾶς. |
| 1 ¹⁴ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς φλόξ πυρός. | 19 ¹² οἱ δὲ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς φλόξ πυρός. |
| 2 ⁷ τὸ πνεῦμα λέγει. | 14 ¹³ λέγει τὸ πνεῦμα. |
| 2 ¹⁰ πολεμήσω μετ' αὐτῶν. | 13 ⁴ πολεμήσαι μετ' αὐτοῦ: cf. 17 ¹⁴ . |
| 2 ²¹ μετανοήσαι ἐν. | 9 ²⁰ . 21 16 ¹¹ . |
| 2 ²² ἐν θανάτῳ (= "by pestilence"). | 6 ⁸ ὁ θάνατος. |
| 2 ²⁷ ποιμανεῖ (= "shall break"). | 19 ¹⁰ (12 ⁹). |
| 3 ⁷ ὁ ἅγιος ὁ ἀληθινός, where ἀληθινός (= "faithful"). | 6 ¹⁰ . |
| 3 ⁹ ἤξουσιν καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν ἐνώπιον τῶν ποδῶν σου. | 15 ⁴ ἤξουσιν καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν ἐνώπιόν σου. |
| 3 ¹⁰ τῆς οἰκουμένης ὅλης. | 12 ⁹ 16 ¹⁴ . |
| 3 ¹⁰ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς (in a technical sense). | 6 ¹⁰ 8 ¹² 13 ⁸ . |

The above examples could be increased indefinitely. But there is still weightier evidence. The recurrence of idioms—in many cases idioms *unique and peculiar* to our author's style—throughout the Apocalypse, from the earliest chapters to the last, presents still stronger proofs of the unity of authorship. Since these are recorded in the introduction to each chapter and summarized in the Grammar, I shall not dwell further on them here.

§ 3. *But this unity in the dramatic movement of the Apocalypse does not necessitate the assumption that all and every part of the Apocalypse is our author's own creation. As a matter of fact this is not the case. Our author has, as we have seen elsewhere, used sources.*—These sources, together with earlier visions of his own, he has re-edited and brought in the main into harmony with their new contexts. But the work of editing has not been thorough. Certain incongruities survive in the incorporated sections, which our author would no doubt have removed if he had lived to revise his work. Traces of an earlier date and often expectations of an earlier generation still survive. Thus in vol. i. 43-47 I have shown that our author wrote the Seven Epistles under Vespasian, when the Church had no apprehension of a universal martyrdom of the faithful, but expected to survive till the Second Advent of Christ. By various additions and changes this expectation is changed for the expectation that pervades the rest of the book, and the letters to the Seven Churches are transformed into letters to entire Christendom.¹ But traces of

¹ Their inclusion in this work has given them this new meaning. The fact that there are seven letters and only seven, suggests that the Seer is now addressing himself—not merely to Seven Churches out of the many others to which he could have written with authority, nor yet to all the Churches of the province of Asia, but—through these Seven Churches to all the Churches of Christendom. The approaching struggle, as the entire Apocalypse presupposes, is not between the Christian Churches of a single province and the Empire, but between Christendom and the Antichrist impersonated in the Empire and its head, though the storm is threatening to break first on the Churches of Asia.

This suggestion gains support from the following considerations. Seven is a sacred number with our author and is capable of a symbolic meaning. That the Seven Churches embrace all the Churches, appears to follow from 1¹²⁻¹⁸ combined with 1¹⁶⁻²⁰. In 1¹² seven candlesticks and only seven are visible, and in 1¹⁶ seven stars and only seven stars. Now, since from 1²⁰ we learn that the seven candlesticks are the Seven Churches—*i.e.* the Churches in their actual condition—and that the stars are the angels of the Seven Churches—*i.e.* the Churches as they should be ideally, and since in 1¹⁸ the Son of Man stands in the midst of these Churches, and holds in His hands the seven stars or the ideals they have to achieve, the natural conclusion is that it is all the Churches of Christendom in the midst of which Christ stands, and not an insignificant group, and that the stars which He holds in His right hand are the ideals which they are summoned through His help to realize. As all Christians, according to the rest of the Apocalypse, are to share in the

earlier date survive. As I have elsewhere shown, these letters came from our author and from none other.

Again in 4¹⁻³ our author re-edits a vision of his own, 4^{2b-3}. 5-8acde. See vol. i. 104-106 and the commentary *in loc.* In the course of incorporation certain infelicities have been incurred. It is said of the Seer in 4^{2a} ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι—a phrase which denotes the state of trance as in 1¹⁰. But according to 4¹ he was already in this state, as the words μετὰ ταῦτα εἶδον show. See vol. i. 109-111, 106-107. Again 4⁴ is a later addition from our author's hand; but the grammar is wrong, and the subject-matter does not harmonize well with the context. The Apocalypse is clearly a first sketch and needed revision: see vol. i. 115-116.

In 7¹⁻⁸ our author makes use of traditional material, but the language is his own. See vol. i. 191-199. The four angels and the four winds, which are here introduced and introduced in terms that lead us to expect their subsequent appearance in the way of judgment (7⁸ μὴ ἀδικήσῃτε τὴν γῆν . . . ἄχρι σφραγίσωμεν, κτλ.), are not directly referred to again.

In 11¹⁻¹⁸ our author has made use of two sources (11¹⁻² 11⁸⁻¹³), both written before 70 A.D., in which, if the text is taken literally, the historic Jerusalem is supposed to be standing (11²⁻⁸), and the Temple to be inviolable (11¹). These references have been taken literally by many scholars as determining the date of the whole Apocalypse, especially by those who accept its *absolute* unity and its composition by one author. But to construe such statements literally implies a complete misconception of our author's attitude to the earthly Jerusalem. Our author could not possibly have regarded the earthly Jerusalem as τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἀγίαν (11²). Such a definition he reserves for the New Jerusalem, the eternal abode of the saints (21²), and the Jerusalem coming down from heaven to be the seat of the Messianic kingdom for 1000 years (21¹⁰). This latter he calls also τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἡγαπημένην (20⁹). But for him the actual city is that ἥτις καλεῖται πνευματικῶς Σόδομα καὶ Αἴγυπτος ὅπου καὶ ὁ κύριος αὐτῶν ἐσταυρώθη (11⁸). But our author has re-edited this section by the addition of 11⁴ (f. 8bc. 9a and the recasting of 11⁷, according to his own thought and in his own diction, and thus the inviolable security which the Jews attached to the Temple is reinterpreted by our author as meaning *the spiritual security of the Christian community despite the attacks of Satan and the Antichrist*. But such spiritual security does not exclude martyrdom, as 11⁸⁻¹⁸ makes clear. See

coming tribulation, they are all here addressed in these letters. After the first chapter the numeral is dropped and our author speaks only in his later additions to the letters (2⁷. 11. 17. 20 3⁶. 12. 22 (see vol. i. p. 45) of αἱ ἐκκλησίαι. The larger thought of all the Churches seems to be here before him.

vol. i. 269-270. 11¹⁻¹⁸ has so far as possible to be reinterpreted from the later standpoint of the Apocalypse as a whole. But in some cases this is hardly possible.

12 is a source, or rather a combination of two sources, which our author has borrowed in its Greek form and re-edited. Thus we find in 12¹ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς where our author would have used ἐπὶ τ. κεφαλᾶς: in 12⁹ ἐπὶ διαδήματα instead of διαδήματα ἐπτά: in 12⁷ τοῦ before the infinitive—not elsewhere in J^{ap}: in 12¹² οὐρανοί instead of οὐρανέ: in 12¹⁴ ἀπὸ προσώπου = "because of." Contrast 6¹⁶ 20¹¹. Hence I here withdraw the thesis maintained in vol. i. 300 sqq. § 3, that our author translated this source himself. See also p. clviii n.

12¹³⁻¹⁶, though full of significance in their original context and at their original date, do not admit of interpretation from the standpoint and date of our author's work (see vol. i. 330).

In 17-18 our author has edited two sources already existing in a Greek form (see p. lxiii sq., vol. ii. 56-58, 88 sqq.). But traces of the original date of their composition survive in 17¹⁰⁻¹¹ and 18⁴. See vol. ii. 59 sq., 93. Another trace of 18 being a source survives in 18², where it is stated that Rome has become κατοικητήριον δαιμονίων καὶ φυλακῆ . . . παντός ὀρνέου ἀκαθάρτου, whereas our author himself in 19⁸ represents the smoke of her burning as ascending age after age to the end of the world.

Such incongruities as the above do not affect the main movement of thought and development in the book. Without the sources, in which these incongruities occur, the book would suffer irreparably. These sources, with the exception of 10-11¹⁸ which is a proleptic digression, form organic members of the whole. The survival, therefore, of such incongruities requires the hypothesis that our author not only used sources but also did not live to revise his work.

IX.

DATE OF THE APOCALYPSE.

The date of J^{ap} can be established by external and internal evidence.

§ 1. *External evidence.*—This evidence almost unanimously assigns J^{ap} to the last years of Domitian. But some ancient, but not the earliest, authorities assign it to the reigns of Claudius, Nero, or Trajan. This may be in part due to the survival in the sources used by our author of statements and situations presupposing an earlier date than that of Domitian. That these survivals explain the great divergence of scholars of the past fifty

years on the dating of the Apocalypse, we shall see when we turn to the internal evidence.

The Trajan date.—To return, however, to the three dates just mentioned, *i.e.*, the reigns of Claudius, Nero, and Trajan, we shall treat first of the last. This dating is found only in very late authorities. Theophylact on Matt. 20²²: Ἰωάννην δὲ Τραϊανὸς κατεδίκασε μαρτυροῦντα τῷ λόγῳ τῆς ἀληθείας. *Synopsis de vita et morte prophetarum* (attributed to Dorotheus): ὑπὸ δὲ Τραϊανοῦ βασιλέως ἐξωρίσθη ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Πάτμῳ . . . μετὰ δὲ τὴν τελευταίην Τραϊανοῦ ἐπάνεισιν ἀπὸ τῆς νήσου . . . εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ λέγονσιν μὴ ἐπὶ Τραϊανοῦ αὐτὸν ἐξορισθῆναι ἐν Πάτμῳ ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ Δομετιανοῦ.¹ These statements appear, as Swete suggests (*Introd.* p. c), to have arisen mainly from a misunderstanding of such words as those in Irenaeus, ii. 22. 5, παρέμεινε γὰρ αὐτοῖς (ὁ Ἰωάννης) μεχρὶ τῶν Τραϊανοῦ χρόνων, or those cited below from Origen on Matt. tom. xvi. 6.

The Claudian and Neronic dates.—11¹⁻² and 6⁹ of the Apocalypse, if taken literally, refer to Jerusalem and the Temple as still standing, and the martyrdoms under Nero (64–68 A.D.). Other sources, though less clearly, postulate a Neronic date. Hence it is not difficult to understand the assignment of the banishment of John to the reign of Nero in the title prefixed to both the Syriac versions of the Apocalypse and by Theophylact (*Praef. in Ioann.*). I do not see, however, how we are to explain the Claudian date (41–54 A.D.), which is maintained by Epiphanius (*Haer.* li. 12, μετὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς Πάτμου ἐπάνοδον, τὴν ἐπὶ Κλαυδίῳ γενομένην καίσαρος: li. 33, αὐτοῦ δὲ προφητεύσαντος ἐν χρόνοις Κλαυδίου καίσαρος ἀνωπάτω, ὅτε εἰς τὴν Πάτμον νήσον ὑπήρξεν).

The Domitianic date.—The earliest authorities are practically unanimous in assigning the Apocalypse to the last years of Domitian. Melito of Sardis (160–190 *floruit*) may possibly be cited as upholding the Domitianic date, as he wrote a commentary on J^{sp} and addressed a protest to Marcus Aurelius declaring that Nero and Domitian had at the instigation of certain malicious persons slanderously assaulted the Church (Eus. iv. 26. 9: cf. Lact. *De Mort. Persecutorum*, 3).

Irenaeus (*Adv. Haer.* 180–190). In his account of the persecution of Christians by Domitian, Eusebius (iii. 18. 3) quotes the following words from Irenaeus: εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ ἀναφανδὸν ἐν τῷ νῦν καιρῷ κηρύττεσθαι τοῦνομα αὐτοῦ, δι' ἐκείνου ἂν ἐρρήθῃ τοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν ἐωρακότος. οὐδὲ γὰρ πρὸ πολλοῦ χρόνου ἐωράθη, ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας γενεᾶς, πρὸς τῷ τέλει τῆς Δομετιανοῦ ἀρχῆς. This passage is found in Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* v. 30. 3, almost exactly as quoted in Eusebius.

¹ The above two quotations are drawn from Swete, *Introd.* p. c.

Clement of Alexandria. In his *Quis Dives*, 42, we find: τοῦ τυράννου τελευτήσαντος ἀπὸ τῆς Πάτμου τῆς νήσου μετῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐφέσον.

Origen (185-253). In *Mt.* xvi. 6 (Lommatzsch, iv. p. 18), ὁ δὲ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς, ὡς ἡ παράδοσις διδάσκει, κατεδίκασε τὸν Ἰωάννην μαρτυροῦντα διὰ τὸν τῆς ἀληθείας λόγον εἰς Πάτμον τὴν νῆσον. Neither in Clement nor Origen is Domitian's name given, but it may be presumed that it was in the mind of these writers. Victorinus (*circa* 270), Eusebius, and Jerome are quite explicit. Victorinus in his *In Apoc.* 10¹¹ writes: "Hoc dicit propterea quod quando haec Ioannes vidit, erat in insula Patmos, in metallum damnatus a Domitiano Caesare. Ibi ergo vidit Apocalypsin. Et cum jam senior putaret se per passionem accepturum receptionem, interfecto Domitiano, omnia iudicio ejus soluta sunt. Et Ioannes, de metallo dimissus, sic postea tradidit hanc eandem quam acceperat a Deo Apocalypsin." Also on 17¹⁰ "Unus exstat sub quo scripta est Apocalypsis, Domitianus scilicet." Eusebius, *H.E.* iii. 18. 1: Ἐν τούτῳ κατέχει λόγος τὸν ἀπόστολον ἅμα καὶ εὐαγγελιστὴν Ἰωάννην ἐν τῷ βίῳ ἐνδιατριβοντα, τῆς εἰς τὸν θεῖον λόγον ἐνεκεν μαρτυρίας, Πάτμον οἰκεῖν καταδικασθῆναι τὴν νῆσον. iii. 20. 9: Τότε δὴ οὖν καὶ τὸν ἀπόστολον Ἰωάννην ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὴν νῆσον φυγῆς τὴν ἐπὶ Ἐφέσου διατριβὴν ἀπειληθέναι ὁ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἀρχαίων παραδίδωσι λόγος. iii. 23. 1: Ἀπόστολος ὁμοῦ καὶ εὐαγγελιστὴς Ἰωάννης τὰς αὐτόθι διεῖπεν ἐκκλησίας, ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὴν νῆσον μετὰ τὴν Δομετιανοῦ τελευτὴν ἐπανελθὼν φυγῆς. Jerome (*De viris illustr.* 9): "Quarto decimo anno post Neronem persecutionem movente Domitiano in Patmos insulam relegatus scripsit Apocalypsim . . . interfecto autem Domitiano et actis ejus ob nimiam crudelitatem a senatu rescissis sub Nerva principe redit Ephesus."

§ 2. *Internal evidence.*—To the cursory reader the internal evidence as to the date is hopelessly confusing. But this evidence is confusing not only to the cursory reader, but also to the earnest student, as the history of the interpretation of J^{ap} clearly shows. The students of J^{ap} fall into three groups on this question. (1) Those who assign it to the reign of Nero after the Neronian persecution, 64-68 A.D., such as Baur, Reuss, Hilgenfeld, Lightfoot, Westcott, Selwyn, B. W. Henderson. (2) Those who place it under Vespasian, as B. Weiss, Düsterdieck, Bartlett, Anderson Scott. (3) Those who maintain the Domitianic date.

For these three datings internal evidence is undoubtedly forthcoming. Our author has used sources, and several of these were written under Nero, or at all events before the fall of Jerusalem, as the reader will see under the section *Greek and Hebrew Sources and their Dates*, p. lxii sqq. But such a date cannot be maintained in the face of 17¹⁰⁻¹¹ (see vol. ii. 59-60,

69-70) and 184, both of which postulate a Vespasianic date. Hence such statements as clearly presuppose a Neronian date (*i.e.*, in 11¹⁻¹⁸ 12 (?). 13¹⁻⁷. 10) are simply survivals in the sources used by our author.

Hence it appears that the Apocalypse was written either under Vespasian or under Domitian. The external evidence is, as we have already seen, unanimous in favour of the latter as against the former. We have now to discuss the bearing of the internal evidence on this question. This evidence, which is clearly in favour of the Domitianic date, is as follows.

(a) *The use of earlier N.T. Books.*—See pp. lxxxiii-lxxxvi. There it is shown that our author most probably used Matthew and Luke. If this is so, it makes the Vespasianic date impossible, unless these Gospels were written before 70 or 75 A.D.

(b) *The present form of the Seven Letters, although in their original form of Vespasianic date, point to a Domitianic.*—The Church of Smyrna did not exist in 60-64 A.D.—at a time when St. Paul was boasting of the Philippians in all the Churches. Cf. Polycarp (*Ad Phil.* xi. "Beatus Paulus . . . gloriatur in omnibus ecclesiis, quae solae tunc Dominum cognoverant; nos autem nondum cognoveramus"). But though Polycarp's letter tells us that the Church of Smyrna was not founded in 60-64 A.D., he gives no hint as to when it was founded. Hence several years may have elapsed after that date before it was founded. When, however, we turn to Rev 2⁸⁻¹¹ we find that our text presupposes a Church poor in wealth but rich in good works, with a development of apparently many years to its credit. This letter, then, may have been written in the closing years of Vespasian (75-79) but hardly earlier. But if the present writer's hypothesis (see vol. i. 43-46) is correct, then the Seven Letters, all of which probably belong to the same period, were re-edited; for whereas they speak generally of local persecutions, there is not a hint, save in 3¹⁰, of the universal martyrdom that is taught or implied in the rest of the book. Nor again is there a single clear reference to the imperial cult of the Caesars, unless possibly in 3¹⁰. (See vol. i. 43-46.) The Letters, therefore, in their original form, acquaint us with the experiences and apprehensions of the Churches in Vespasian's reign. But what worlds divide their original outlook from that of the Book in which they are incorporated! The natural conclusion, therefore, is that though our author wrote the Letters in the reign of Vespasian, he re-edited them in the closing years of Domitian for incorporation in his Book.

(c) *The imperial cult as it appears in J^{ap} was not enforced until the reign of Domitian.*—There is no evidence of any kind to prove that the conflict between Christianity and the imperial cult had

reached the pitch of antagonism that is presupposed in the J^{ap} before the closing years of Domitian's reign. In the reign of Vespasian the Christians, as Moffatt (*Introd.*³ 504) writes, "seem to have enjoyed a comparative immunity . . . and our available knowledge of the period renders it unlikely (cf. Linsenmayer's *Bekämpfung des Christentums durch den römischen Staat*, 1905, 66 f.) that anything occurred either under him or Titus to call forth language so intense as that of the Apocalypse." Moreover, Vespasian did not take his claims to divinity seriously. But Domitian insisted on the public recognition of these claims, and in the last year of his reign he began to persecute the Church in the capital of the Empire. Thus in Rome he had his own cousin Flavius Clemens executed, and his niece Flavia Domitilla and others banished for their faith to the island of Pontia. Eusebius (*H.E.* iii. 18. 4) states that there were many others.¹ Now, if Christians of the highest rank were exposed to martyrdom in Rome, what would be expected in Asia Minor, where the cult of the Emperor had been received with acclamation as early as the reign of Augustus, and had by the time of Domitian become the one religion of universal obligation in Asia, whereas the worship of the old Greek divinities only took the form of local cults? Compliance with the claims of the imperial cult was made the test of loyalty to the Empire. In the earlier days, Christians had been persecuted for specific crimes, such as anarchy, atheism, immorality, etc. But in the latter days of Domitian the confession of the name of Christ (cf. J^{ap} 2⁸. 18 3⁸ 12¹¹ 20⁴) was tantamount to a refusal to accede to the Emperor's claims to divinity, and thereby entailed the penalty of death (13¹⁸). Now, with the insight of a true prophet John recognized the absolute incompatibility of the worship of Christ and the worship of the Emperor, even if this worship were conceived merely as a test of loyalty to the Empire. Therein he penetrated to the eternal issues underlying the conflict of his day, and set forth for all time the truth that it is not Caesar but Christ, not the State but the Church that should claim the absolute allegiance of the individual. Nay more: the prophet maintains that the conflict between the claims of Christianity and the absolutism of the State can never be relinquished till the State itself, no less than the individual, tenders its submission and becomes an organ of the will of the Lord and of His Christ (11¹⁶).

(d) *The Nero-redivivus myth appears implicitly and explicitly in several forms in our text, the latest of which cannot be earlier than the age of Domitian.*

The Jewish source lying behind 17¹²⁻¹⁷ was probably written

¹ On the persecution under Domitian, see Lightfoot, *Clem. Rom.* i. i. 104-115.

in the reign of Titus. It embodies the expectation that the living Nero will return from the East at the head of the Parthian hosts—an expectation to be found in the Sibylline Oracles of this period (see vol. ii. 81). Another phase of this myth which appears in our text (in 11⁷), but with which we are not here concerned, is dealt with in vol. ii. 83. But the last phase of this expectation attested in our text is given in 13 and 17. At this stage there is a fusion of the Nero myth with those of the Antichrist and Beliar. The expectation of a living Nero returning from the East has been abandoned. Nero is now a demon from the abyss, combining in his own person the characteristics of Beliar and the Antichrist. This phase of the myth belongs to the last decade of the 1st century. For this form of the myth, see vol. ii. 84–87.¹ I do not see how it is possible to assign 13 and 17 *in their present form* to the reign of Vespasian, though the sources behind both these chapters were mainly of a Vespasianic date, and in part of that of Titus.

Before we leave this section it will be well to touch again on the interpretation of 17¹⁰⁻¹¹. Bousset (p. 416) has rightly protested against the identification of Domitian with the eighth head. This is done by some commentators, but can only be done by misinterpreting the text or misunderstanding the nature of Christian apocalyptic. Some, who accept the Vespasianic date, are guilty of the first offence; others, who accept the Domitianic date, are guilty of both.

Let us consider the latter offence first—that which consists in misunderstanding Christian apocalyptic. If we accept the Domitianic date and assume absolute unity of authorship, we must conclude that the writer “transfers himself in thought to the time of Vespasian, interpreting past events under the form of a prophecy, after the manner of apocalyptic writers” (Swete). Such a procedure belongs to Jewish apocalyptic *but not to Christian*, till we advance well into the 2nd century. Those who urge the Vespasianic date are not guilty of this misconception, but the Apocalypse does not admit of the Vespasianic date. Hence, if we accept the Domitianic date, 17¹⁰⁻¹¹ must be regarded as a survival from sources belonging to the time of Vespasian and Titus. In its present context, therefore, 17¹⁰⁻¹¹ does not admit of precise interpretation. For Domitian cannot be identified with Nero redivivus. This brings us to the first offence.

Domitian cannot be identified with Nero redivivus. Not a single phrase descriptive of the latter can be rightly applied to Domitian, if we accept the Domitianic date as the evidence requires. Nero redivivus is described in 17⁸ as τὸ θηρίον . . .

¹ A critical study of all the forms assumed by the Antichrist myth is given in vol. ii. 76–87.

ἦν καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν καὶ μέλλει ἀναβαίνειν ἐκ τῆς ἀβύσσου, καὶ εἰς ἀπώλειαν ὑπάγει, and again ὅτι ἦν καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν καὶ πάρεσται. So again in 17¹¹, where it is further added that he ἐκ τῶν ἐπτά ἐστίν. See also 11⁷. Another description is given in 13⁸ καὶ μίαν ἐκ τῶν κεφαλῶν αὐτοῦ ὡς ἐσφαγμένην εἰς θάνατον, καὶ ἡ πληγὴ τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ ἐθεραπεύθη. Cf. 13¹⁴. Now I have shown in vol. ii. 71 : (α) Domitian cannot be described as οὐκ ἔστιν, seeing that ἔστιν must be affirmed of him. (β) Pre-existence cannot be ascribed to him, as the clause δ ἦν would require. (γ) It cannot be said of him that he is ἐκ τῶν ἐπτά. (δ) It is impossible to connect μίαν ἐκ τῶν κεφαλῶν ὡς ἐσφαγμένην (13⁸) with Domitian. (ε) It cannot be maintained of Domitian, who is already seated on the throne of the Beast, that μέλλει ἀναβαίνειν ἐκ τῆς ἀβύσσου. (ζ) There is no ground for making Domitian the leader of the Parthian hosts against Rome, as Nero redivivus is represented in 17¹²⁻¹³ 17. 16, and fighting against the Lamb, 17¹⁴. (η) Nor can we conceive Domitian in 19¹¹⁻¹⁹ as mustering the nations to battle against the Word of God in the Messianic war that prepares the way for the Messianic kingdom.¹

It is not an actual Roman emperor, but a supernatural monster from the abyss that is to play the part of the Nero redivivus, and that in the immediate future.

X.

CIRCULATION AND RECEPTION.

§ 1. *There are most probable but no absolutely certain traces of J^{ap} in the Apostolic Fathers.*—In the Shepherd of Hermas, *Vis.* ii. 2. 7, there is a very probable connection with our author.² Thus μακάριοι ὑμεῖς ὅσοι ὑπομένετε τὴν θλίψιν τὴν ἐρχομένην τὴν μεγάλην : iv. 2. 5, θλίψεως τῆς μελλούσης τῆς μεγάλης, and in iv. 3. 6, τῆς θλίψεως τῆς ἐρχομένης μεγάλης, all but certainly recall Rev 7¹⁴ τῆς θλίψεως τῆς μεγάλης, and 3¹⁰ τῆς ὥρας . . . τῆς μελλού-

¹ If it were possible to ascribe the Apocalypse to the reign of Vespasian the objections given in β, γ, δ above would be fatal to the identification of Domitian with Nero redivivus. ζ and η would also stand in the way.

² The fact that Hermas used the same imagery as J^{ap} may be rightly used as evidence that he knew it. Thus the Church, *Vis.* ii. 4, is represented by a woman (cf. J^{ap} 12¹ 249); the enemy of the Church by a beast (*θηρίον*), *Vis.* iv. 6-10, J^{ap} 13 : out of the mouth of the beasts proceed fiery locusts, *Vis.* iv. 1, 6, J^{ap} 9² : whereas the foundation stones of the Heavenly Jerusalem bear the names of the Twelve Apostles, J^{ap} 21¹⁴, and those who overcome are made pillars in the spiritual temple, J^{ap} 3¹², in Hermas the apostles and other teachers of the Church form the stones of the heavenly tower erected by the archangels, *Vis.* iii. 5. 1. The faithful in both are clothed in white and are given crowns to wear, J^{ap} 6¹¹ etc., 2¹⁰ 3¹¹ ; Hermas, *Sim.* viii. 2. 1, 3.

σης ἔρχεσθαι, i. 1. 3, πνεῦμα . . . ἀπήνεγκέν με διὰ ἀνοδίας, is reminiscent of 17⁸ ἀπήνεγκέν με εἰς ἔρημον ἐν πνεύματι. Barn. xxi. 3, ἐγγὺς ὁ κύριος καὶ ὁ μισθὸς αὐτοῦ, seems to suggest some dependence on Rev 22^{10, 12} ὁ καιρὸς γὰρ ἐγγύς ἐστιν . . . ἰδοὺ ἔρχομαι ταχύ καὶ ὁ μισθός μου μετ' ἐμοῦ. (See, however, Is 40¹⁰.) Barn. vii. 9, ἐπειδὴ ὄψονταί αὐτὸν τότε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τὸν ποδὴρην ἔχοντα . . . καὶ ἐροῦσιν Οὐχ οὗτός ἐστιν ὃν ποτε ἡμεῖς ἐσταυρώσαμεν, has affinities with Rev 17¹³ ὄψεται αὐτὸν πᾶς ὀφθαλμὸς καὶ οἵτινες αὐτὸν ἐξεκέντησαν . . . ἐνδεδυμένον ποδὴρην. (See, however, *N.T. in the Apostolic Fathers*, p. 16.) But as for the passages in Ignatius, *Ad Phil.* vi. 1 (see vol. i. 92) has nothing to do with Rev 3¹², nor *Ad Eph.* xv. 3, ἴνα ὤμεν αὐτοῦ ναοί, καὶ αὐτὸς ἦ ἐν ἡμῖν θεός, with Rev 21³: nor does Barn. vi. 13, λέγει δὲ Κύριος Ἰδοὺ ποιῶ τὰ ἔσχατα ὡς τὰ πρῶτα, reflect Rev 21⁶ Ἰδοὺ καινὰ ποιῶ πάντα (see vol. ii. 203): for the sense is absolutely different. Nor should we connect Clem. Rom. *Ad Cor.* xxxiv. 3 (see p. lxxvii, footnote) with Rev 22¹².

§ 2. *In the 2nd cent. J^{ap} was all but universally accepted in Asia Minor, Western Syria, Africa, Rome, South Gaul.*

In Asia Minor.—Papias was the first, according to Andreas in the prologue to his Commentary on J^{ap}, to attest, not its apostolic authorship, but its credibility. (Περὶ μέντοι τοῦ θεοπνεύστου τῆς βίβλου περιττὸν μηχανεῖν τὸν λόγον ἡγούμεθα, τῶν μακαρίων Γρηγορίου . . . καὶ Κυρίλλου, προσέτι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀρχαιοτέρων Παπίου, Εἰρηναίου, Μεθοδίου καὶ Ἰππολύτου προσμαρτυρούντων τὸ ἀξιώπιστον.) Eusebius, however, never definitely says that J^{ap} was known to Papias (*H.E.* iii. 39). The statement, however, in iii. 39. 12 which he attributes to Papias, seems to be an echo of J^{ap} (χιλιάδα τινὰ φησιν ἐτῶν ἵσσεσθαι μετὰ τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν, σωματικῶς τῆς Χριστοῦ βασιλείας ἐπὶ ταυτησὶ τῆς γῆς ὑποστησომένης). But Eusebius proceeds to say that this statement of Papias was due to his misunderstanding of certain apostolic statements (ἀποστολικὰς . . . διηγήσεις), which he took literally instead of figuratively.

Melito, bishop of Sardis (160–190 A.D. fl.), wrote a commentary (Τὰ περὶ τοῦ διαβόλου καὶ τῆς ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰωάννου), Eus. iv. 26. 2: Jerome, *De vir. illustr.* 9, understands this title to refer to two distinct books. This work of Melito is noteworthy, since Sardis was one of the Seven Churches. Justin, who lived at Ephesus (*circ.* 135) before he went to Rome, is the first to declare that J^{ap} was written by John, one of the apostles of Christ: *Dial.* lxxxi. 15, παρ' ἡμῖν ἀνὴρ τις, ᾧ ὄνομα Ἰωάννης, εἰς τῶν ἀποστόλων τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐν ἀποκαλύψει γενομένη αὐτῷ χίλια ἔτη ποιήσει ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ τοὺς τῷ ἡμετέρῳ Χριστῷ πιστεύσαντας προεφήμεσε: cf. also *Apol.* i. 28 (which refers to Apoc. 12⁹); Eus. iv. 18. 8. Irenaeus maintained the apostolic authorship of all the Johannine

writings in the N.T., but the evidence for his views has to be drawn from the great work which he wrote as bishop of Lyons: see below. Apollonius, a writer against the Montanists in Phrygia (*circ.* 210 A.D.), used J^{ap} of John as an authority in his controversy (Eus. v. 18. 14).

In Western Syria.—Theophilus, bishop of Antioch in the latter half of the 2nd century, cites J^{ap} in a treatise against Hermogenes (Eus. iv. 24), ἐν ᾧ ἐκ τῆς ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰωάννου κέχρηται μαρτυρίας.

In South Gaul.—Irenaeus, who defended the apostolic authorship of all the N.T. Johannine writings, carried with him to Gaul the views that prevailed in Asia Minor; and there, as Bishop of Lyons (177–202 A.D.), he wrote his great work, *Against all Heresies*. In this work he uses such expressions as Ioannes in Apocalypsi, iv. 14. 2, 17. 6, 18. 6, 21. 3, v. 28. 2, 34. 2. Ioannes Domini discipulus in Apocalypsi, iv. 20. 11, v. 26. 1; in Apocalypsi videt Ioannes, v. 35. 2; per Ioannis Apocalypsin, i. 26. 3. See Zahn, *Gesch. N.T. Kanons*, i. 202, note 2. At a slightly earlier date, 177, the Churches of Vienne and Lyons addressed an epistle to the Churches in Asia and Phrygia (Eus. v. 1. 10, 45 (where τῇ παρθένῳ μητρὶ = the Christian Church), 55, 58) in which reference is made to Apoc. 14⁴ 12¹ 19⁹ 22¹¹, the last being introduced by the N.T. formula of Canonical Scripture—ἵνα ἡ γραφὴ πληρωθῇ.

In Alexandria.—Clement follows the general tradition of the Church, and cites J^{ap} as scripture, *Paed.* ii. 119 (τὸ συμβολικὸν τῶν γραφῶν), and the work of John the apostle, *Quis dives*, 42, *Strom.* vi. 106–107 (see Zahn, *Gesch. d. N.T. Kanons*, i. 205). Origen accepts John the Apostle as the author of the J^{ap}, the Gospel, and the first Epistle (*In Ioann.* tom. v. 3; Lommatzsch, i. 165; Eus. vi. 25. 9). The upholders of Millenarianism in Egypt, against whom Dionysius wrote, appealed to the Apocalypse (Eus. vii. 24).

In Rome.—On the very probable use of our author by Hermas we have adverted above. Of this work the Muratorian Canon writes: "Pastorem vero nuperrime temporibus nostris in urbe Roma Hermas conscripsit." But whether Hermas used our author or not, this Canon implies that J^{ap} was universally recognized at Rome: "Iohannes enim in apocalypsi, licet septem ecclesiis scribat, tamen omnibus dicit," while a few lines later, according to the most natural restoration of the text, he states that the Apocalypse of Peter had not such recognition. Hippolytus (190–235 fl.), in his *Περὶ τοῦ Ἀντιχριστοῦ* (ed. Achelis, 1897), constantly quotes the Apocalypse. He speaks of it as ἡ γραφή (chap. 5) and its author ἀπόστολος καὶ μαθητὴς τοῦ Κυρίου (36). See Zahn, i. 203 (note).

In Carthage.—In this Church, which was the daughter of the Roman Church, J^{ap} enjoyed an unquestioned authority at the close of the 2nd century. Tertullian cites quotations from eighteen out of its twenty-two chapters. He knows of only one John, the Apostle, and he is unacquainted with any doubts of its canonicity save on the part of Marcion. He names it the instrumentum Joannis (*De Resurrectione*, 38) and the instrumentum apostolicum (*Pud.* 12). See Zahn, i. 111, 203 sq. The Acts of Perpetua and Felicitas show many traces of dependence on our author, as § 4, “circumstantes candidatos milia multa”: § 12, “introeunt vestierunt stolas candidas . . . et audivimus vocem unitam dicentium Agios agios agios sine cessatione . . . et vidimus in medio loco sedentem quasi hominem canum . . . et in dextra et in sinistra seniores viginti quattuor.” See Zahn, i. 203 sq.

Thus throughout the Christian Church during the 2nd cent. there is hardly any other book of the N.T. so well attested and received as J^{ap}.

§ 3. *There were, however, two distinct protests against its Johannine authorship and validity in the 2nd century.*—(a) The first of these came from Marcion. He rejected it on the ground of its strongly Jewish character (*Tert. Adv. Marc.* iv. 5), and he refused to recognize John as a canonical writer (iii. 14, “Quodsi Ioannem agnitum non vis, habes communem magistrum Paulum”).

(b) The more important attack came from the Alogi—the name given to them by Epiphanius (*Haer.* li. 3).¹ This sect (*Haer.* li. 33) rejected both the Gospel and Apocalypse and attributed them to Cerinthus. They objected to the sensuous symbolism of the book, and urged that it contained errors in matters of fact, seeing that there was no Church at Thyatira. Since Epiphanius draws most probably upon Hippolytus (190–235) for his information, we have in Epiphanius a nearly contemporaneous account of these opponents of J^{ap}.

With these Alogi, as Zahn urges (i. 223–227, 237–262, ii. 967–973), the sect mentioned by Irenaeus (iii. 11. 9) is to be identified. This sect was anti-Montanist. It rejected the Johannine books because of the support they gave—the Gospel through the doctrine of the Spirit and the Apocalypse through its prophetic character—to this Montanist party. Caius, a Roman Churchman, though not one of the Alogi, also rejected J^{ap} in a manifesto (*circa* 210 A.D.) against Proclus the Montanist on the ground of its marvels and its sensuous doctrine of the Millennium, and ascribed it to Cerinthus (*Eus. H.E.* iii. 28. 1–2). There is no conclusive evidence that Caius and his school rejected the Gospel.

¹ Τί φάσκουσι τοίνυν οἱ Ἄλογοι· ταύτην γὰρ αὐτοῖς τίθημι τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν.

The writing of Caius was answered by Hippolytus¹ (215 A.D.) in a work entitled *Κεφάλαια κατὰ Γαίου καὶ ἀπολογία ὑπὲρ τ. ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰωάννου*, fragments of which have been preserved in a Commentary of Bar-Salibi (Gwynn, *Hermathena*, vi. 397-418, vii. 137-150). From this date forward no Western Churchman seriously doubted J^{ap}. In Africa, Cyprian repeatedly makes use of it.

§ 4. *The question of the authenticity of J^{ap} reopened by Dionysius of Alexandria, bishop of Alexandria, 247-265 A.D.*—Fragments of this scholarly and temperate criticism of the Apocalypse (*Περὶ Ἑπαγγελιῶν*) are preserved in Eusebius (vii. 24-25). This book was written as a refutation of a work by Nepos, an Egyptian bishop, entitled *Ἐλεγχος Ἀλληγοριστῶν*, which sought to prove that the promises made to the saints in the Scriptures were to be taken literally in a Jewish sense and particularly with regard to the Millennium (Eus. vii. 24). In his refutation of this book Dionysius advances many grounds to prove that J^{ap} was not written by the author of the Gospel and 1 John. He admits its claim to have been written by a John, but not by the Apostle. Some of the arguments we have given elsewhere (see p. xl).

If modern scholars had followed the lines of criticism laid down by Dionysius their labours would have been immeasurably more fruitful.

§ 5. *J^{ap} rejected for some time by the Syro-Palestinian Church and by the Churches of Asia Minor.*—The criticism of Dionysius in discrediting the apostolic authorship of J^{ap} discredited also its canonicity. Eusebius (260-340 A.D.) evidently agreed with the conclusions of Dionysius. Seeking to carry further the conclusions of that scholar, he suggests that J^{ap} was written by John the Elder of whom Papias wrote (Eus. iii. 39. 6). He is doubtful (iii. 24. 18, 25. 4) whether to reckon it among the accepted (*ὁμολογούμενα*) or the rejected (*νόθα*). Some years later Cyril of Jerusalem (315-386) not only excluded it from the list of canonical books, but also forbade its use in public and private. After enumerating the books of the N.T. in which the Apocalypse is not mentioned, he proceeds to say (*Catech.* iv. 36, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ, πάντα ἔξω κείσθω ἐν δευτέρῳ. καὶ ὅσα μὲν ἐν ἐκκλησίαις μὴ ἀναγινώσκονται, ταῦτα μὴδὲ κατὰ παντὸν ἀναγίνωσκε).

The influence of Dionysius' criticism spread also to Asia Minor. Thus J^{ap} does not appear in Canon 60 of the Synod of Laodicea (*circa* 360), nor in Canon 85 of the *Apost. Constitutions*

¹ Another work of Hippolytus in defence of the Johannine writings may be inferred from the list of works engraven on the back of the chair on which the statue of the bishop was seated: ὑπὲρ τοῦ κατὰ Ἰωάννην εὐαγγελίου καὶ ἀποκαλύψεως. See Lightfoot, *St. Clement*, i. ii. 420.

(Zahn, ii. 177 sqq., 197 sqq.), nor in the list of Gregory of Nazianzus (*ob.* 389). Amphilocheius of Iconium (*ob.* 394) states that J^{ap} is rejected by most authorities (οἱ πλείους δὲ γὰρ νόθον λέγουσιν).

The school of Antioch did not look with favour on J^{ap}. Chrysostom (*ob.* 407) represented this school in Constantinople. Theodore (350–428) carried with him the views of this school to Mopsuestia in Cilicia, and Theodoret (386–457) to the east to Cyrrhus. None of the three appears to have mentioned it.

Other lists from which it is excluded are the so-called Synopsis of Chrysostom, the List of 60 Books, and the Chronography of Nicephorus.

§ 6. *Quite independently of the criticism of Alexandria, J^{ap} was either ignored or unknown in the Eastern-Syrian and Armenian Churches for some centuries.*—The Apocalypse formed no part of the Peshitto Version of the N.T. which was made by Rabula of Edessa, 411 (Burkitt, *St. Ephraem's Quotations*, p. 57). The gap was afterwards supplied by a translation in 508 by Polycarpus for Philoxenus of Mabug, and by that of Thomas of Harkel, 616. On these the reader should consult Gwynn, *The Apocalypse of John in Syria*, pp. xc–cv, and Bousset's *Offenbarung*, 26–28. But it took centuries for J^{ap} to establish itself in the Syrian Churches. Junilius (*De partibus divinae legis*, i. 4), who reproduces the lectures of Paul of Nisibis, writes (551 A.D.), “De Ioannis apocalypsi apud Orientales admodum dubitatur.” Jacob of Edessa (*ob.* 708) cites it as Scripture, and yet Bar Hebraeus (*ob.* 1208) regards it as the work of Cerinthus or the other John. In the Armenian Church it first appears as a canonical book in the 12th century (Conybeare, *Armenian Version of Revelation*, p. 64).

§ 7. *J^{ap} was always accepted as canonical in the West, and this same attitude towards it was gradually adopted by the Eastern Churches.*—In the Church of the West, notwithstanding the attacks of Gaius and the rejection of its apostolic authorship by Dionysius, writers were unanimous after the elaborate defence by Hippolytus of the canonicity of J^{ap}. Only Jerome takes up a doubtful attitude towards it; for, while in *Ep. ad Dardanum*, 129, he appears inclined to accept it, elsewhere (*In Ps.* 149) he ranks it in a class midway between canonical and apocryphal. J^{ap} found a succession of expounders in Victorinus of Pettau (*ob.* 303), Tyconius, Primasius, and is duly recorded in all the Western lists of the canonical books.

In Alexandria, Athanasius (293–373) recognized its Johannine authorship and canonicity, and in due course the Greek commentaries of Oecumenius, Andreas, and Arethas.

Thus throughout the world the full canonicity of the Apocalypse was accepted in the 13th century save in the

Nestorian Church. With the views of later times the present work is not here concerned. For these, readers may consult Bousset, *Offenbarung*, 19-34; or the present writer's *Studies in the Apocalypse*, 1-78.

XI.

OBJECT OF THE SEER AND HIS METHODS—VISION AND REFLECTION.

§ 1. *The object of the Seer* is to proclaim the coming of God's kingdom on earth, and to assure the Christian Church of the final triumph of goodness, not only in the individual or within its own borders, not only throughout the kingdoms of the world and in their relations one to another, but also throughout the whole universe. Thus its gospel was from the beginning at once individualistic and corporate, national and international and cosmic. While the Seven Churches represent entire Christendom, Rome represents the power of this world. With its claims to absolute obedience, Rome stands in complete antagonism to Christ. Between these two powers there can be no truce or compromise. The strife between them must go on inexorably without let or hindrance, till the kingdom of the world has become the kingdom of the Lord and of His Christ. This triumph is to be realized on earth. There is to be no legislation, no government, no statecraft which is not finally to be brought into subjection to the will of Christ. J^{ap} is thus the Divine Statute Book of International Law, as well as a manual for the guidance of the individual Christian. In this spirit of splendid optimism the Seer confronts the world-wide power of Rome with its blasphemous claims to supremacy over the spirit of man. He is as ready as the most throughgoing pessimist to recognize the apparently overwhelming might of the enemy, but he does not, like the pessimist, fold his hands in helpless apathy, or weaken the courage of his brethren by idle jeremiads and tears. Gifted with an insight that the pessimist wholly lacks, we can recognize the full horror of the evils that are threatening to engulf the world, and yet he never yields to one despairing thought of the ultimate victory of God's cause on earth. He greets each fresh conquest achieved by triumphant wrong, with a fresh trumpet call to greater faithfulness, even when that faithfulness is called to make the supreme self-sacrifice. The faithful are to follow whithersoever the Lamb that was slain leads, and for such, whether they live or die, there can be no defeat, and so with song and thanksgiving he marks each stage of the world strife which is carried on ceaselessly and inexorably till, as in

1 Cor 15²⁴⁻²⁷, every evil power in heaven, or earth, or under the earth is overthrown and destroyed for ever.

§ 2. *Methods of the Seers generally—psychical experiences and reflection or reason.*—Prophecy and apocalyptic for the most part use the same methods for learning and teaching the will of God. The knowledge of the prophet as of the Seer came through dreams, visions, trances, and through spiritual, and yet not unconscious, communion with God—wherein every natural faculty of man was quickened to its highest power. When we wish to distinguish the prophet and the seer, we say that the prophet *hears* and announces the word of God, whereas the seer *sees* and recounts his vision. But this definition only carries us but a little way, for these phenomena are common to both. Hence we must proceed further, and deal with the means which the seer uses in order to set forth his message. These are *psychical experiences, and reflection or rather reason embracing the powers of insight, imagination, and judgment.*

Psychical experiences.—These consist of (a) dreams; (b) dreams combined with translation of the spirit; and (c) visions.

(a) *Dreams.*—*Dreams conveying a revelation.*—Dreams play a great rôle in Jewish apocalypses. They are found in Dan 2¹ 4⁶ 7¹; in 1 Enoch 83-90, 2 Enoch 1³ etc.; Test. Naph. 5¹ 6¹ 7¹; 4 Ezra 11¹ 12⁸ 13¹.¹⁸ Such dreams are assigned to a divine source and are regarded as conveying revelations of God. Now such dreams are in many of these passages called visions: cf. Dan 4⁶ 7¹ 8¹⁻¹⁴; 1 Enoch 83-90, where the two dreams 85¹ are called two visions in 83²; Test. Levi, where the vision of 8¹ is called a dream in 8¹⁸; Test. Naph., where what is called dreams in 7¹ is called visions in 5¹; 4 Ezra, where what is called dreams in 11¹ 13¹ is called visions in 12¹⁰ 13²¹ 25 14¹⁷. In 2 Bar. the Seer seems to have waking visions, except in 36¹ 53¹.

Now in these apocalypses dreams and visions are equally authoritative sources of divine knowledge as well as in the O.T. Cf. 1 Sam 28⁶ 15, Deut 13¹⁻³, Jer 23²⁶⁻³² 27⁹ 29⁸, Joel 2²⁸. But it is remarkable that dreams fall into the background in the 1st cent. A.D. in Christian literature.¹ Thus the Hebrew Test. Naph. (date uncertain) 2¹ 4¹ 7¹⁻⁵ speaks only of visions, and in 3¹⁸ treats a dream as no true source of divine knowledge. See my edition of the *Test. XII Patriarchs*, pp. 221-223. In the N.T. dreams are not divine means of revelation unless in Matt 1²⁰ 2¹²⁻¹³ 10 22 27¹⁹. Hence it is only visions that are recounted

¹ This is not the case in the Talmud. Belief in dreams was the rule, and disbelief the exception. Cf. Berakhoth 55-58, Sanh. 30^a, Ber 28^a, Hor 13^b. Sirach, on the other hand, declares that dreams are vanity, 31 (34)¹⁻⁸. See *Jewish Encyc.* iv. 654 sqq.

in the Apocalypse. It is not even said that the Seer fell asleep and saw a vision. It is simply said, "I saw." In 4 Ezra, on the other hand, sleep precedes the visions in 11¹ 13¹ and in 2 Bar 36¹ 53¹, though in other sections this element of the dream is wholly wanting.

(b) *Dreams combined with a translation of the spirit of the Seer.*—Test. Levi 2⁵⁻⁹ 5¹⁻⁷. This combination reappears in Hermas, *Vis.* i. 1. 3, ἀφύπνωσα καὶ πνεῦμά με ἔλαβεν καὶ ἀπήνεγκέν με δι' ἀνοδίας τινος.

(c) *Visions.*—In these the ordinary consciousness seems to be suspended, and sensible symbols appear to be literally seen with another faculty. These visions fall into three classes.

(a) *Visions in sleep.*—All the dreams mentioned in i. (a) above which are called visions by the writers could be brought under this head. Cf. Test. Lev 8¹⁻¹⁸.

(β) *Visions in a trance.*—Cf. Ezek 1¹, Test. Jos 19¹, 2 Bar 22¹ 55¹⁻³ 76¹, Acts 10¹⁰, Apoc 1¹⁰ ^{αα}α (ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι) and *passim* where καὶ εἶδον is used. Yet the latter may be otherwise explained, as we shall see.

(γ) *Visions in which the spirit is translated.*—Ezek 3¹² 14⁸, Dan 8¹⁻², 1 Enoch 71¹⁻⁵, 2 Enoch 3¹, 2 Bar 6³ ^{αα}α, Asc. Is 6-11, Apoc. 4¹ 17⁸ 21¹⁰. St. Paul (2 Cor 12³) does not know whether in his vision he has experienced an actual translation of the spirit or not.¹

(δ) *Waking visions.*—Daniel seems to experience a trance when awake in 10⁶, Stephen in Acts 7⁵⁵, Zacharias in Luke 1¹¹⁻²⁰. The fundamental ideas underlying some of the shorter or even of the more elaborate visions in our author may belong to this category, such as 1¹⁰⁻²⁰ 4¹⁻⁸ 7⁹⁻¹⁷ 8³⁻⁵ 14¹⁴ 18-20 15²⁻⁴ 20¹¹⁻¹⁵ 21^{5a} 4d. 5b. 1-4abc 22⁸⁻⁶.

§ 3. *Value of such psychical experiences depends not on their being actual experiences, but on their source, their moral environment, and their influence on character.*²—Of the reality of such psychical experiences no modern psychologist entertains a doubt. The value, however, of such experiences is not determined by their reality, but by facts of a wholly different nature. Real psychical experiences were not confined to Israel. They were familiar at the oracular shrines of the ethnic religions. The most

¹ For similar psychical experiences in heathenism, cf. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, 5, 9 sq. etc.; Dieterich, *Eine Mithras-Liturgie*.

² See on the whole question of this chapter, Joyce, *The Inspiration of Prophecy*, 1910; Gunkel, *Die Wirkungen des heiligen Geistes*, 1899; Weinle, *Die Wirkungen des Geistes und der Geister*, 1899.

celebrated of these was the ancient world Oracle at Delphi. This Oracle exerted generally a good influence on Hellenic life. But the hope of continuous progress by such agencies among the Greeks was foredoomed from the outset owing to two causes—the first being their association with polytheism and other corrupt forms of religion, and the second being the failure of Hellas to respond to the moral claims as it had done to those of the intellect. But it was otherwise in Israel, where seers such as Samuel prepared the way for the prophet, and moral and religious claims received a progressive and ever deepening response. Now prophet and seer alike had dreams, visions, and trances, and these psychical experiences in Israel were distinguished from those of the heathen seers not by their greater reality, for they were in the main equally *real* in both cases, but by quite a different standard, i.e. *by the source from which they sprang, the environment in which they were produced, and the influence they exercised on the will and character.* In all these respects prophecy and apocalyptic were duly authenticated in the O.T. as they are in the N.T.

§ 4. *Literal descriptions of such experiences hardly ever possible. The language of the seer is symbolic.*—In regard, therefore, to the visions recounted by our author and other O.T. and N.T. visionaries, the main question is the character of the religious faith they express and the religious and moral duties they enforce. Whether they are literal descriptions of actual experiences is a wholly secondary question. A literal description would only be possible in the case of the simplest visions, in which the things seen were already more or less within the range of actual human experience, as, for instance, in Amos 8:1-3 "Thus the Lord God showed me: and behold a basket of summer fruit. And he said, Amos, what seest thou? And I said, A basket of summer fruit." Cf. Jer 1:11 sq. 18 sqq. But in our author the visions are of an elaborate and complicated nature, and the more exalted and intense the experience, the more incapable it becomes of literal description. Moreover, if we believe, as the present writer does, that behind these visions there is an actual substratum of reality belonging to the higher spiritual world, then the seer could grasp the things seen and heard in such visions, only in so far as he was equipped for the task by his psychical powers and the spiritual development behind him. In other words, he could at the best only partially apprehend the significance of the heavenly vision vouchsafed him. To the things seen he perforce attached the symbols more or less transformed that these naturally evoked in his mind, symbols that he owed to his own waking experience or the tradition of the past; and the sounds he heard naturally clothed

themselves in the literary forms with which his memory was stored. Thus *the seer laboured under a twofold disability. His psychical powers were generally unequal to the task of apprehending the full meaning of the heavenly vision, and his powers of expression were frequently unable to set forth the things he had apprehended.*

In the attempt to describe to his readers what was wholly beyond the range of their knowledge and experience, the seer had thus constant recourse to the use of symbols. Hence in his literary presentment of what he has seen and heard in the moments of transcendent rapture, the images he uses are symbolic and not literal or pictorial. In fact, symbolism in regard to such subjects is the only language that seer and layman alike can employ. The appeal of such symbolism is made to the religious imagination. In this way it best discloses the permanent truth of which it is the vehicle and vesture.

§ 5. *Highest form of spiritual experience.*—There is a higher form of spiritual experience than either that of the prophetic audition or the prophetic vision. In this higher experience the divine insight is won in a state of intense spiritual exaltation, in which the self loses immediate self-consciousness without becoming unconscious, and the best faculties of the mind are quickened to their highest power. Therein the soul comes into direct touch with truth or God Himself. The light, that in such high experience visits the wrestling spirit, comes as a grace, an insight into reality, which the soul could never have achieved by its own unaided powers, and yet can come only to the soul that has fitted itself for its reception. In such experience the eye of the seer may see no vision, the ear of the seer hear no voice, and yet therein is spiritual experience at its highest. Such experiences must ever be beyond the range of literal description. They can only be suggested by symbols. They cannot be adequately expressed by any human combination of words or sounds or colours. At the same time such spiritual experiences of the seer have their analogies in those of the musician, poet, painter, and scholar.

§ 6. *Reason embracing the powers of insight, imagination, and judgment.*—In the manifold experiences enumerated in § 2, 4-5, the use of the reason is always presupposed, but as the secondary and not the primary agent in action, save perhaps in § 5. Under this heading, however, we deal rather with the normal use of the reason, while the seer makes (a) an arrangement of the materials so as to construct a divine *théodicée* or philosophy of religion; (b) in his creation of allegories; (c) in the adaptation of traditional materials to his own purpose and their reinterpretation; (d) in the conventional use of the phrase "I saw."

(a) *Arrangement of materials.*—Now, whereas the collected

works of a prophet do not necessarily and in point of fact never show strict structural unity and steady development of thought, it is otherwise with the seer, and above all other seers with the work of our author, which exhibits these characteristics in an unparalleled degree. The reader has only to consult the Plan of the Book (pp. xxiii-xxviii) to be assured of this fact. The work of the artist and thinker is seen not only in the perfectness of the form in which many of the visions are recorded, but also in the skill with which the individual visions are woven together in order to represent the orderly and inevitable character of the divine drama. For not a single vision, save the three that are proleptic, can be removed from the text without inflicting irreparable damage on the whole work. The philosophical and dramatic character of J^{ap} is due to the Seer as a religious thinker. On the other hand, the individual visions, where these are not freely constructed or borrowed from sources, are due to his visionary experiences. Apocalyptic, and not prophecy, was the first to grasp the great idea that all history, alike human, cosmological, and spiritual, is a unity.

(b) *Allegories freely constructed.*—The seers make use not infrequently of allegory. Allegories are generally freely constructed and figurative descriptions of real events and persons. With this form of literature we might compare Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*. Their object is to lay bare the eternal issues that are at stake in the actual conflicts of the day. Dan 11, 1 Enoch 85-90, 2 Bar lii-lxxiv, 4 Ezra 11-12, are undoubtedly freely invented allegories.

The work of the seer is not affected injuriously by his adoption of this literary form in order to publish his message to the world. The question of importance is *not the form in which it is conveyed, but the nature of the religious conviction which has therein found expression*. The Seven Seals and the Seven Bowls may in part be ranked under this division and in part under the next.

(c) *Adaptation of traditional material.*—Our Seer had many sources at his disposal, and he has freely laid them under contribution, re-editing and adapting them to their new contexts. If we admit his right to construct allegories freely to convey his message to the Church, he had the same right to use traditional material for the same purpose. In fact, all the Jewish writers of apocalypses did so. The sealing of the 144,000, 7⁴⁻⁸, and the Heavenly Jerusalem, 21⁹-22² 14-15, 17, are constructed and re-written largely out of pre-existing material, but their meaning is in the main transformed. In not a few cases the sources have not been wholly adapted to the contexts into which they have been introduced by the Seer. See p. lxii sqq.

(d) *Conventional use of the phrase "I saw."*—Just as the prophet came to use the words "thus saith the Lord," even when there was no actual psychical experience in which he heard a voice, so he came to use the words "I saw" when there was no actual vision. The same conventional use of both these phrases belongs to apocalyptic as well as to prophecy. They serve simply to express the divine message with which the prophet or the seer is entrusted. How far this use prevails in J^{ap} would be difficult to determine. We might, however, place The Letters to the Seven Churches under this category. These letters, if the present writer's hypothesis is correct, were written by our author during the reign of Vespasian. They are assigned to Christ in our text in the words τὸ πνεῦμα λέγει (27. 11. 17 etc.). This is quite in keeping with the usage of the N.T. For the words of the prophets practically claim a divine authority. Cf. Acts 5¹⁻⁹, 1 Cor 5⁴⁻⁵, 1 Tim 1²⁰. Such words are not merely men's words; cf. τὰδε λέγει τὸ πνεῦμα, Acts 21¹¹, as Agabus declares, also 7⁵⁶. In 1 Tim 4¹ the words τὸ πνεῦμα ῥητῶς λέγει are equivalent to "a certain prophet has said." In these expressions the person of the prophet is ignored. Now our author claims to belong to the fellowship of the prophets, and he can rightly use the phrase τὸ πνεῦμα λέγει to express his convictions as a prophet.

XII.

SOME DOCTRINES OF OUR AUTHOR.

The chief theme of the Apocalypse is not what God in Christ has done for the world, but what He will yet do, and what the assured consummation will be. It is therefore the Gospel of faith and hope, and seeks to inspire the Churches anew in these respects; for that the end is nigh. As it sets forth its theme, it instructs, though incidentally, and its teaching is always fresh and in some respects unique.

§ 1. *The doctrine of God.*—If the doctrine of God were drawn only from the direct statements which the Apocalypse makes on this subject, though in some respects it would transcend the level reached in the O.T. (as in its teaching on God's fatherhood, etc.), in many others (such as His infinite mercy and forgiveness) it would fall far short of it. Many scholars have emphasized this peculiarity of the Apocalypse, and insisted accordingly on the Jewish character of its doctrine of God. But to draw such a conclusion betrays a total misapprehension of the question at issue. The Christian elements are not dwelt upon because they can all be inferred from what the Book teaches regarding the

Son; for all that the Son has and is is derived from the Father. Hence the conception of the Father under this heading must be completed from that of the Son in the next. The conception is on the whole severely monotheistic.

(a) First as regards the ethical side, God is holy, righteous, and true. He alone is holy (*μόνος ὁσιος*, 15⁴ 16⁶: cf. 4⁸ 6¹⁰); He is the True One, 6¹⁰ (*ἀληθινός* = *ἀληθής* in our author), who keepeth covenant; with this truthfulness is associated His righteousness in judgment, 15³ 16⁷ 19^{1, 2}. From these spring His wrath against sin, 6¹⁷ 11¹⁸ 19¹⁵; and His avenging of all the wrongs done on the earth, 6¹⁰ 19². He is the Judge of all the dead, 20¹¹⁻¹⁵.

(b) The gracious attributes of God are not brought forward, but are rather to be inferred from the fact that He is called the Father of Jesus Christ, 1⁶ 2²⁷ 3^{5, 21} 14¹, and the Father also of all such as conquer, 21⁷, and will dwell with them and be their God for ever, 21⁸. Herein is the consummation of all the world's travail. The divine world is to come into the world of history and realize itself there, seeing that all things come from God and end in God. But this idea belongs in part to (c).

(c) God is everlasting and omnipotent. First, as everlasting, He is designated as *ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος*, 1⁴ 4⁸; *ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν*, 11¹⁷ 16⁵ (see vol. i. 10 sq.); *ὁ ζῶν εἰς τ. αἰῶνας τ. αἰῶνων*, 4⁹ 10⁶ 15⁷. Next, He is omnipotent. Our author's favourite expression for this idea is *κύριος* (> 16¹⁴ 19¹⁵) *ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ*, 4⁸ 11¹⁷ 15³ 16^{7, 14} 19^{6, 15} 21²²; He is also designated *ὁ δεσπότης*, 6¹⁰; *ὁ κύριος* (+ *ἡμῶν*, 11¹⁵), 11¹⁵ 14¹ 5¹⁵; *κύριος ὁ θεός*, 22⁵; *ὁ κύριος καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν*, 4¹¹. But though omnipotent, His omnipotence is ethically and not metaphysically conceived. It is not unconditioned force. That He possesses such absolute power is an axiom of the Christian faith, but He will not use it, since such use of it would compel the recognition of His sovereignty, not win it, would enslave man, not make him free. Hence the recognition of this sovereignty advances *pari passu* with the advance of Christ's Kingdom on earth, and each fresh advance is followed by thanksgivings in heaven; for the perfect realization of God's Kingdom in the world is the one divine event to which the whole creation moves, 4¹¹ 5¹⁸ 7¹² 11¹⁵.

(d) He is the Creator, 4¹¹ 14⁷. Yet see § 2 (c) on the creative activity of Christ.

(e) He is the Judge of all the dead, 20¹¹⁻¹⁵.

§ 2 *Jesus Christ*.—The teaching of our author on this subject is very comprehensive. Only the main points of it can be dealt with under the following heads, which are not always logically distinct. (a) The Historical Christ. (b) The Exalted Christ. (c) The Unique Son of God. (d) The Great High Priest. (e) The Pre-existent Christ. (f) The Divine Christ.

(a) *The Historical Christ.*—He is most frequently designated by His personal name "Jesus," 1⁹ 12¹⁷ 14¹³ etc., occasionally by the originally official name "Christ," 11¹⁵ 12¹⁰ 20^{4, 6}, and by the combination of the two, 1¹ 2⁶ 22²¹. He is of Israelitish birth, being the Root of David, the Lion of the tribe of Judah, 5⁶, and born in the midst of the Jewish theocracy, 12¹⁻³ 5, *i.e.* the *γυνή περιβεβλημένη τὸν ἥλιον*. That there is no reference here to the Virgin Birth is clear from the fact that our author is here using a Jewish source, which naturally represented the Messiah as one born naturally in the midst of the community. Besides, "the woman" has other children (12¹⁷ τῶν λοιπῶν τοῦ σπέρματος αὐτῆς). Thus the faithful are sons of this woman as Jesus is. On the other hand, they *become* sons of God, 21⁷, which Jesus *is* originally and uniquely (1⁶ 2²⁷ 3⁵ 21 14¹). He has twelve apostles, 21¹⁴; His crucifixion in Jerusalem is referred to, 11⁵; His resurrection, 1⁵ 18, and ascension, 3²¹ 12⁵.

(b) *The Exalted Christ.*—Nowhere in the N.T. is the glory of the exalted Christ so emphasized. He is said to be "Like a Son of Man," 1¹⁸ 14¹⁴—an apocalyptic expression first applied to the Messiah in 1 Enoch 46¹, denoting a supernatural Being in dignity above the angels. He is described as the Faithful Witness, the Sovereign of the dead, the Ruler of the living, 1⁵; as the resurrection and the life, and so the exclusive Mediator of salvation (ἔχω τὰς κλείς τοῦ θανάτου καὶ τοῦ ἔδου, 1¹⁸). He is the Supreme Head of the Church, the Centre of all its life (ἐν μέσῳ τῶν λυχνιῶν, 1¹⁸ 21) and the Master of its destinies (ἔχων ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ ἀστέρας ἑπτὰ, 1¹⁶), chastening its individual members and judging them from love and in love, 3¹⁰; promising them that conquer in the coming tribulation every blessing of the Kingdom of God, 2⁷ 11. 17. 20-26 3⁵ 12. 21; embracing them in a perfect fellowship, 3²⁰, and glorifying all who depart in this fellowship with the beatitude pronounced by God Himself, 14¹³. And even over those who are without the borders of the Church, He exercises a silent yet real sway, which more and more will come into manifestation and break in pieces the hostile peoples, 2²⁷ 12⁵ 19¹⁵; for He is "King of kings and Lord of lords," 17¹⁴ 19¹⁶. And to Him is committed the Messianic judgment, 1⁷ 14¹⁴ 18-20 19¹¹⁻²¹ 20⁷⁻¹⁰ 22¹².

(c) *As Unique Son of God, Pre-existent and Divine.*—Whereas the faithful *become* sons of God, 21⁷, He *is* Son of God essentially, 1⁶ 2¹⁸ 27 3⁵ 21 14¹. He is "the Word of God," 19¹³, "the Holy, the True," 3⁷, even as God is, 6¹⁰; "the First and the Last," 1¹⁷ 2⁸ 22^{18b}; "the Alpha and the Omega, the Beginning and the End," 22¹³—titles that are used by God of Himself in 21⁶ as denoting the source and goal of all things. In the light of these words we can rightly interpret 3¹⁴ ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κτίσεως τοῦ θεοῦ. This does

not mean the first *κρίσις* of God (as in Prov 8³²), but the active principle in creation—the *αίτία* or cause. The words, "I am He that liveth and was dead, and behold I am alive for evermore, 1¹⁷⁻¹⁸, recall to some extent the divine name "which is, and which was, and which is to come," 1⁴ 4⁸. He sits with God on His throne, 3²¹ 7¹⁷ 12⁵, "the throne of God and the Lamb, 22¹⁻³. The divine worship offered to Christ in 5¹² is described in the same terms as that offered to God in 4¹⁰, and the same hymn of praise is sung in honour of both Christ, 5¹², and God, 7^{10,1} and during the Millennial reign the saints minister to Him as to God, 20⁶. Many designations which belong alone to God in the O.T. are freely used of Christ. He is described in 1^{14,15} in terms used of the Ancient of Days in Dan 7⁹. He searcheth the heart and the reins, 2²⁸, as God in Jer 17¹⁰, Ps 7¹⁰. His are the seven eyes that are sent out into all the earth, 5⁶, as are those of Yahweh, Zech 4¹⁰: as Yahweh's garments in Is 63¹⁻²; His are sprinkled with blood, 19¹⁸; and as Yahweh in Deut 10¹⁷, He also is Lord of lords, 17¹⁴. Our author thus appears to co-ordinate God and Christ. Yet the relation is one rather of subordination than of equality. He never goes so far as the author of the Fourth Gospel. He does not state that God and Christ are one, nor does he ever call Him God. And yet He is to all intents and purposes God—the eternal Son of God, and the impression conveyed is that in all that He is, and in all that He does, He is one with the Father, and is a true revelation of God in the sphere of human history. Only in three definite respects is He represented as second to the Father. First, absolute existence is not attributed to Him as to the Father—the idea conveyed by the words, ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος, 1⁴ 4⁸ (11¹⁷ 16⁶). Yet see 1¹⁷ 2⁸ 22¹⁸ above. Next, the final judgment belongs to the Father alone, 20¹¹⁻¹⁵. Thirdly, though He is the active principle in creation, 3¹⁴, it is the Father who is the Creator, 4¹¹ 14^{7,8}.

¹ Our author is deeply conscious of the impassable gulf that separates the creature and the Creator, and the mediating angel sternly refuses such worship on the ground that it is due to God alone, 22⁹.

² It must not be overlooked that Christ's fitness to undertake the shaping of the world's destinies is attributed to His faithfulness unto death. He had earned it by His self-sacrifice:

"Worthy art thou to take the book
And to open the seals thereof;
For thou wast slain,
And hast redeemed unto God with thy blood
Men of every tribe and tongue and people and nation,
And hast made them unto our God a kingdom and priests,
And they shall reign upon the earth," 5⁹⁻¹⁰.

Again in 2²⁶⁻²⁸ Christ promises to make those that conquer rulers over the heathen—even as He too had received this power from His Father, and in 3²¹

(d) *As Great High Priest: Lamb of God.*—It is probable that Christ is represented as a priest in 1¹⁸ where He is "clothed with a garment down to the foot." But this idea is wholly overshadowed by another, expressed by the designation "the Lamb," where Christ is not the Priest but the Lamb slain. This designation occurs twenty-eight times in our author in reference to Christ. But in this phrase two ideas quite distinct are combined,¹ the most prominent one—a Christian development—is that of the Lamb as a victim—ἀρνίον . . . ὡς ἐσφαγμένον, 5⁶. 12¹¹ 13⁸ and elsewhere. The second idea—derived from 1 Enoch and Test. XII Patr.—is that of a lamb who is a leader—either a spiritual leader, as in 7¹⁷ 14¹⁻⁴, cf. 1 Enoch 89⁴⁵ where Samuel is so symbolized, or a military leader, 5⁶, i.e., a lamb "with seven horns and seven eyes," that is, a Being of transcendent power and knowledge: the Messiah is so symbolized in 1 Enoch 90³⁸, Test. Jos 19^{8.9}. This conception, which is borrowed in the main from Jewish Apocalyptic, comes to the front in 17¹⁴, where it is foretold that the ten Parthian kings will war with the Lamb and the Lamb will overcome them—τὸ ἀρνίον νικήσεται αὐτούς (cf. Test. Jos. 19⁸, in footnote 2 below, for the same words applied to the Jewish Messiah).

But these two ideas are merged together by our author, as we see in 5⁶. The Lamb is at once the triumphant Messiah, leading His people to victory, and the suffering Messiah who lays down His life for His people. This latter conception is non-Jewish.² But after the death of Christ this fact was soon

to make them share in His throne even as His Father had made Him to share in His throne because of His having proved a conqueror.

¹ See *Expositor*, 1910, vol. x. 173-187, 266-281. Spitta, *Streitfragen der Geschichte Jesu: Das Johannes-Evangelium als Quelle der Geschichte Jesu*, 1910. I have strengthened the evidence adduced by Spitta by further facts from 1 Enoch and the Testaments in the next note.

² This usage is well attested in 1 Enoch, where, 89⁴⁸ (161 B.C.), Samuel as a leader is called a lamb, and likewise David and Solomon, 89⁴⁸. 49, before they were anointed kings. All the faithful in the early Maccabean period are also called lambs, 90⁴⁸. 8, but all these are without horns. In 90⁴⁸. 12, however, there arise "horned lambs," and Judas Maccabaeus is such a lamb "with a great horn." Thus "the horned lamb" is a symbol for the leader of the Jewish Theocracy. But it is also used of the Messiah in 1 Enoch 90³⁸ and in the Test. Joseph 10⁸ (109-107 B.C.), where the words, προῆλθεν ἀμνός, καὶ . . . πάντα τὰ θηρία ὀμνῶν κατ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐνέκησεν αὐτὰ ὁ ἀμνός, refer to one of the Maccabees, most probably to John Hyrcanus. Now, since the author of the Testaments regarded John Hyrcanus as the Messiah (see my edition of *Test. XII Patr.* pp. xcvi-viii, Reub 6¹⁻¹², Levi 8¹⁴ 18, Jud 24¹⁻³, Jos 10⁸⁻⁹), it follows that the term "lamb," or more particularly "horned lamb," was in apocalyptic writings a symbol for the Messiah. In our author the former appears in 17¹⁴, the latter in 5⁶. In 13¹¹ the second Beast assimilates itself to the horned lamb, i.e., to the Messiah: see vol. i. 358.

³ See Dalman, *Der leidende und der sterbende Messias der Synagoge im ersten nachchristlichen Jahrtausend*, 1888.

explained, as already foretold under the influence of such a passage as Is 53⁷ "As the lamb that is led to the slaughter, and as a sheep that before her shearers is dumb, yea, he openeth not his mouth." In Acts 8³²⁻³³ this passage is interpreted of Christ.

Under the designation "the Lamb," therefore, there lies the ideas of sacrifice and triumphant might. Out of love to man and with a view to redeem him, Jesus sacrifices Himself (1⁵ τῷ ἀγαπῶντι ἡμᾶς καὶ λύσαντι ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν καὶ ἐποίησεν ἡμᾶς βασιλείαν, ἱερεῖς τῷ θεῷ: 5⁹ ἐσφάγης καὶ ἡγόρασας τῷ θεῷ ἐν τῷ αἱματί σου ἐκ πάσης φυλῆς . . . καὶ ἐποίησας αὐτοὺς τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν βασιλείαν καὶ ἱερεῖς). The conquest of sin is only to be achieved through self-sacrifice. Nothing but the self-sacrifice of holy love can overcome the principle of selfishness and sin that dominates the world. The Lamb who conquers is the Lamb who has given Himself up as a willing sacrifice. But the principle of love going forth in sacrifice is older than the world, 13⁸—the Lamb was slain from its foundation. And he who would follow Christ must conquer in like fashion (3²¹ ὁ νικῶν δώσω αὐτῷ καθίσαι μετ' ἐμοῦ ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ μου, ὡς κἀγὼ ἐνίκησα καὶ ἐκάθισα μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς μου ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ αὐτοῦ). The aim of Christ's work is not the cancelling of guilt, but the destruction of sin in the sinner, his spiritual deliverance and redemption. Only by His life and death can He win man from sin: this is the cost incurred. Hence the figure of purchase is used 5⁹ 14³, but there is no suggestion of a ransom paid to God or a lower being.

Hence, since the Lamb as the Redeemer stands in the midst of the throne of God, 5⁶ 7¹⁷, and the throne of God is His throne, 22¹⁻³, everything that is affirmed of the Son is to be affirmed of the Father. The Son is a revelation of the Father on the stage of the world's history. Hence, as the Father is supreme in power, He is supreme in love going forth in sacrifice. Thus the principle of self-sacrificing love belongs to the essence of the Godhead. God's almightiness is not only a moral force, as we have already seen (see § 1 (c) *ad fin.*), but a redemptive one, which can only realize itself in moral and spiritual victory. Thus divine omnipotence and divine love and self-sacrifice are indissolubly linked together for the world's redemption—from eternity and for evermore.

§ 3. *The Spirit*.—There is no definitely conceived doctrine of the Spirit in our author. In 1⁴ the editor sought to introduce the doctrine of the Trinity by inserting καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπὶ τὰ πνευμάτων τῶν ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου αὐτοῦ: see vol. i. 11-13. But such a grotesque conception has no place in our author. In the words τὸ πνεῦμα λέγει the Spirit of Christ is meant in 2⁷. 11. 17. 29 3⁶. 13. 23; for in all the seven Epistles the Speaker is Christ.

The same is true in 14¹³ 22¹⁷. See vol. ii. 179; vol. i. Introd. xi. § 6 (d).

§ 4. *Doctrine of Works*.—The necessity of works is strongly enforced in our author, since men's works follow with them, and men are judged according to their works, 20¹² 22¹², which are recorded in the books, 20¹².¹ These doctrines imply man's free will and self-determination. On the other hand, the term "book of life," 13⁸ 17⁸, seems to express divine predestination. But this is not necessarily so. It need express nothing more than God's omniscience from the beginning of the world. The words *κλητοί, ἐκλεκτοί καὶ πιστοί*, 17¹⁴, set forth God's share and man's share in man's salvation: the call (*κλησίς*) remains ineffective without faith (*πίστις*)—a word which in our author means faithfulness or fidelity in 2¹⁹ 13¹⁰, and can also be so in 2¹⁸ 14¹².

But what does our author mean by "works"? These are not observances of the Mosaic Law, since our author never mentions it and nowhere admits of any obligation arising from it. Nor does it mean isolated fulfilments even of the commandments of God or of Christ. They stand for the moral character as a whole, and are not in their essence outward at all though they lead of necessity to outward acts. But, so far as they issue in outward acts, they are regarded by our author simply as the manifestation of the inner life and character. That this is our author's teaching will be seen from the two following passages. In 2² the "works" of the Church of Ephesus are defined as consisting in "labour and endurance." The first of these is certainly manifest. In 2¹⁹ we have a very instructive definition, *οἰδᾶ σου τὰ ἔργα καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην καὶ τὴν πίστιν καὶ τὴν διακονίαν καὶ τὴν ὑπομονήν*. The first *καὶ* is used, of course, *expegetically*. "Love, faith, service, and endurance" define the *ἔργα*. See vol. i. 371 sqq. In 3² watchfulness is enjoined, and 2¹⁰ faithfulness unto death. The "works of Jesus," 2²⁶, are those which originate in faithfulness to Jesus.

The righteous acts of the martyrs not to be identified with their white garments.—The righteous acts of the saints are thus, according to our author, the manifestation of the inner life and character—the character a man takes with him when he leaves this life. From this it follows that the clause *τὸ γὰρ βύσσινον τὰ δικαιώματα τῶν ἁγίων ἐστίν*, in 19⁸, misrepresents the teaching of our author and is an intrusion. For neither the righteous acts nor the character of the martyrs form the garment of their souls, seeing that the souls of the martyrs in heaven, 6¹¹, are described as lacking such garments for a time, though they

¹ In 2²⁸ the judgment is not eschatological, but that which takes place in this world.

possess righteous acts and righteous character in a supereminent degree: see *Intro.* vol. i. 184-188. Hence the garments cannot be identified *with the righteousness which they take with them*, 14¹⁸, *but with the spiritual bodies which are assigned by God to them*, which in 6¹¹ (note) and 3⁵ (note) are described as white garments. Faith has an heroic quality in our author. It leads to endurance, 2¹⁹, to faithfulness in persecution, 2¹⁸ 13¹⁰, even when this ends in death, 2¹⁰ 14¹⁸. In 2¹⁸ 14¹⁸ *πλοῦς* is followed by an objective genitive, in 2¹⁹ 13¹⁰ by a subjective. In the latter case it means "fidelity" or "faithfulness." In fact it could be so rendered in all four passages.

§ 5. *The first Resurrection, the Millennium, and the second Resurrection.*—Since these subjects are so fully dealt with in the Commentary, I shall content myself with summarizing the results arrived at there.

The first Resurrection.—Only the martyrs share in the first resurrection, 20⁴⁻⁶. These reign with Christ for 1000 years in the Jerusalem that, coming down from heaven, 21⁹⁻²² 14¹⁵ 17, forms the seat of the Millennial Kingdom (see vol. ii. 184). To them is committed the re-evangelization of the world, 21²⁴ 22¹⁴ 17, which is promised in 11¹⁵ 14⁶⁻⁷ 15⁴. Into the Holy City pour the nations of the earth, and are healed of their spiritual diseases, 21²⁴⁻²⁷. Without this city are sorcerers and fornicators and murderers, 22¹⁵. At the close of this kingdom the unrepentant nations rebel afresh and are destroyed, and thereon follows the final judgment. See vol. ii. 182 sqq.

The second Resurrection.—The former heaven and earth vanish before the final judgment. Only the dead arise for judgment by God. These are the righteous who had not suffered martyrdom, and the wicked. The former come forth from the "treasuries" or "chambers," 20^{18a}, the latter from Hades. From our author's teaching elsewhere we are to infer that the righteous are clothed in spiritual bodies but that the wicked are disembodied, vol. i. 98. Since this body appears to be the main organ by which the soul expresses itself or receives impressions in the world of thought and righteousness, the wicked have thus involuntarily but inevitably ostracized themselves from this world. Selfishness and sin have brought about their natural penalty, the isolation of every sinner, and finally his destruction in the lake of fire. See vol. i. 184-188, ii. 193-198.

Judgment.—The judgment of all the living on the earth is committed to Christ, from the Seven Seals onwards to the destruction of Gog and Magog. The Messianic judgment deals with the living: God's judgment with all the dead, save the martyrs who, having attained to the first resurrection, are not subject to the second death, 20⁶, and such others as during the

Millennial Reign enter the city and eat of the tree of life, 22¹⁴. All the remaining righteous coming forth from the "treasuries"¹ and the wicked from Hades² receive their final award.

XIII.

A SHORT GRAMMAR OF THE APOCALYPSE.

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¹ See the necessary emendation of the text, vol. i. 194-198.

² Hades means only the abode of unrighteous souls in our author: see vol. i. 32, vol. ii. 197 *ad fin.* On the "Abyss" see vol. i. 239-242.

§ 1. *Noun, Adjective, and Verb forms.*

(i.) *Nouns*.—Words ending in *-pā* form their gen. and dat. in *-ρης, ρη*, as *μαχαίρης*, 13¹⁴.¹ *μαχαίρη*, 13¹⁰ (¹⁴). On the various theories as to the origin of this late change, see Thackeray, *Gr.* 141, where also he states that in the LXX out of 79 examples of *μάχαιρα* in the gen. and dat. the *η* forms are certainly original in only 2. *-ρης* forms become practically universal under the Early Roman Empire.

(ii.) *Adjectives*.—*χρυσᾶν*, ANC (for *χρυσῆν*), 1¹⁸, is formed on the analogy of *ἀργυρᾶν*. The contracted form *χρυσούς* occurs always (15 times) in our author, elsewhere in the N.T. 3 times. The best uncials are only at variance in 2¹. On the other hand, *βαθέα* (*βάθη*, κ 025), 2²⁴, is original.

(iii.) *Verbs*.—(a) *Irregular or unusual forms*.—Present. *δύνη*, 2² (only once so in LXX) for *δύνασαι*, presupposes *δύνομαι* (see Thackeray, *Gr.* 218). It is found in the poets and in prose writers from Polybius onward. *ἀφείς*, 2²⁰, and *ἀφίονσιν*, 11⁹, presuppose *ἀφίω* (which is found in Eccles 2¹⁸) and not *ἀφίημι*. Schmiedel suggests a present *ἀφίέω* (Thackeray, 251). *διδῶ*, 3⁹, and *ἀποδιδούν*, 22², presuppose *διδῶ*, but *διδόασιν*, 17¹⁸, *δίδωμι*. In like manner *ἀπολλύων*, 9¹¹ (so also Jer. 23¹ BA, Sir 20²²), presupposes *ἀπολλύω* as *δεικνύοντος* does *δεικνύω* (cf. Ex 25⁸; Thackeray, 245). All these instances but the first show the transition from forms in *-μι* to *-ω* forms.

(b) *Imperfect and Aorists with α instead of ε forms, or ending in -α or -αν*.—*εἶχαν*, 9⁸ (κA). *ἀπῆλθα*, 2¹⁰ (A: *-θον*, κC 025. 046). *ἀπῆλθαν*, 21¹ (AN: *-θον*, 046. *-θεν*, 025); *ἀπῆλθαν*, 21⁴ (A: *-θεν*, κ 046). *ἀφήκας*, 2⁴ (AN^c. 025. 046: *-κες*, κ^cC). *εἶδα*, 17⁶ (AN (*ἴδα*): *εἶδον*, 025): (ε)ἴδα, 17⁸ (A: *εἶδον*, κ 025). *πέσατε*, 6¹⁶ (A 025): *ἐξέλθατε*, 18⁴ (AN). See Thackeray, *Gr.* 211–212.

(c) *Perfects with termination -ες (2nd sing.) for -ας, κεκοπιάκες*.—(a) 2³ (AC); *πέπτωκες*, 2⁶ (κ. *-κας*, AC 046). It is rare in the LXX (Thackeray, *Gr.* 215) and in the papyri. See Robertson, *Gr.* 337. I have generally with A adopted the *-ας* form. (β) *Perfects ending in -αν* † *πέπτωκαν* †, 18⁸ (AC. *πεπτώκασιν*, κ 046: *πέπτωκαν* 025: *πεπώκασιν*, 110, 175^{al}. Rd. *πεπότηκεν*): *εἶρηκαν*, 19⁸ (AN 025): [*γέγοναν* 21⁶ AN^c: *γέγονα*, κ 025. 046]. This termination is found in Asia Minor as early as 246 B.C. and in Egypt in 162 B.C. It is found in Cretan inscriptions, and Robertson traces its origin to Crete (*Gr.* 336).

In 8³ we have *ἐστήκασιν*. But it occurs in an interpolation.

¹ It is noteworthy that in 13¹⁰ κ 025. 046 twice change *μαχαίρη* into *μαχαίρε* against AC, and that 025. 046 make a corresponding change in 13¹⁴, against NAC.

² Cf. *κατέφωνα* Ps. 142⁹ (RTN^c. *). See Thackeray, *Gr.* 211.

Hence our author did not apparently use the perfect ending in -*ασι*.

(d) *Various Aorist forms*.—ἀνάβα, 4¹, ἀνάβατε, 11¹²: ἐρρέθη, 61¹¹ 9⁴: στήρισον, 3³ (AC 025): πείν, 16⁶. According to Thackeray (*Gr.* 64), πείν (or πίν) occurs 21 times, while πείν occurs 97 times in the LXX (NAB).

(e) *Pluperfect form*.—7¹¹ ἰστήκεισαν instead of εἰστήκεισαν. This -εισαν is found regularly in the LXX (Thackeray, *Gr.* 216). As regards the beginning of the word, its usual form in the LXX is ἰστήκειν (Thackeray, *Gr.* 201).

(f) *Augment*.—3² ἔμελλον (ANC 025): 10⁴ ἤμελλον (AC 046). Our author uses ἐδύνατο, 7⁹ (ANC 046), 14³ (ANC), 15⁸ (AC: ἡδυν. N 025. 046). Hence it should be read in 5³ with N against A 025. 046. In ἀνοίγνυμι our author augments the preposition in ἡνοίξεν, 6³, ἡνοίγη, 11¹⁹ 15⁵, ἡνοίχθησαν, 20¹² (64), and trebly augments the participle in ἡνεωγμένος, which should perhaps be read in 3⁸ with N 025 against ἀνεωγμένος (AC 046), seeing that only 046 supports ἀνεωγμένος in 4¹ 10². 8 19¹¹ against the other chief uncials.

§ 2. The Article.

(i.) The article introduces conceptions assumed to be familiar in apocalyptic, though mentioned in the text for the first time: 10¹ ἡ ἱρις, 10³ αἱ ἐπὶ βρονταί: cf. also 11⁸ 12¹⁴ 16¹². With great aptness the art. is used in τὸν πόλεμον, 16¹⁴, εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, 20⁸, τὸν πόλεμον, 19¹⁹, because the war here is the great Mesianic war at the world's close. On the other hand, compare the phrase εἰς πόλεμον, 9⁷. 9.

(ii.) The generic art. (Blass, *Gr.* 147) is regularly found with ἥλιος (except in 7² 16¹² 22⁵), γῆ, θάλασσα, οὐρανός.

(iii.) In the case of ordinal numbers, when the ordinal precedes the noun it is preceded by the art.; when the ordinal follows the noun, the art. is repeated: cf. 4⁷ 6³ 13¹² 20⁶ 21⁸.

(iv.) The art. can appear with the predicate when the subject and predicate are convertible or identical.¹ Cf. 1¹⁷. 20 2²³ 3¹⁷ 17¹⁸ 18²⁸ [19⁸] 21⁶. 8 22¹⁸. 16. After οὗτος the pred. has the art. on this principle; cf. 7¹⁴ 11⁴. 10 14⁴ 19⁹ 20⁵. [14].

(v.) (a) When an adjective or participle follows its noun, the art. is repeated if the noun has the art. When the adjective stands between the art. and the noun, the emphasis lies on the adjective; when it follows with the repeated art., both noun and adjective are emphasized, 20⁹ τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἡγαπημένην, 21². 10 τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἁγίαν—the City *par excellence* and the Holy City in contrast to the earthly Jerusalem spiritually called Sodom and

¹ In 1²⁰ the second ἐπὶ is an interpolation and the αἱ ἐπὶ belongs to the predicate. See vol. ii. 389, footnote.

Egypt, 11⁸: cf. 8⁶ οἱ . . . ἄγγελοι οἱ ἔχοντες, 17¹⁸ ἡ πόλις ἡ μεγάλη.

(δ) The same rule holds good in the case of prepositional phrases coming after an articular noun: ¹ 1⁴ ταῖς ἐπὶ ἐκκλησίαις ταῖς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ: 2²⁴: 5⁶ ὁ λέων ὁ ἐκ τ. φυλῆς: 11¹⁶ 11¹⁹ 14¹⁷ 16² 12 19¹⁴ 21 20² 13. Hence in the titles of the Letters to the Churches we should always read τῷ ἄγγέλῳ τῷ ἐν . . . ἐκκλησίας and not τῷ ἄγγέλῳ τῆς ἐν . . . ἐκκλησίας. A is right here three times and C once. See also *Order of Words*, p. clvi sq.

Again in 15⁵ the text ὁ ναὸς τ. σκηνῆς τ. μαρτυρίου ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, which is impossible in other respects, wrongly omits the art. before ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ. It rightly appears in 11¹⁹ ὁ ναὸς τ. θεοῦ ἐν τ. οὐρανῷ. In our author *prepositional phrases and genitives never intervene between the art. and its noun, but follow the noun, the former always preceded by the repeated art.*¹

(vi.) Phrases which occur for the first time without the art. have the art. prefixed on their recurrence. 4⁶⁻⁸ τέσσερα ζῶα . . . τὰ τέσσερα ζῶα: 5⁶⁻⁸ ἄρνιον . . . τοῦ ἁρνίου: 13¹⁶ 17 χάραγμα . . . τὸ χάραγμα: 15^{2ab} θάλασσαν ὑαλίνην . . . τ. θαλ. τ. ὑαλ. etc.

(α) Hence in 11¹⁶ the art. must with ^{NC} 025. 046 (against ^{MA} which om.) be read before εἰκοσι τέσσαρες. Hence, further, it follows that 22¹⁷ ὕδωρ ζωῆς δωρεάν must be transposed before 21⁶ τοῦ ὕδατος τῆς ζωῆς δωρεάν. The need for the rearrangement of 20⁴⁻²² has been shown at length in vol. ii. 144-154.

(δ) In 17⁸, however, we find γυναῖκα καθημένην ἐπὶ θηρίον although the θηρίον has been frequently mentioned previously. Similarly in 14¹ the art. is omitted before ἑκατον τεσσαράκοντα τέσσαρες χιλιάδες although they have already been described in 7⁴⁻⁸. This omission is due in the former case to our author's use of a source, and in the latter to his incorporation of an independent vision of his own. If he had had an opportunity of revision, we must assume from his careful use of the art. elsewhere that he would have inserted the art. in both cases.

(vii.) *Omission of Article.*—(α) The art. is omitted possibly owing to Semitic influences in 1²⁰ ἄγγελοι τ. ἐ. ἐκκλησιῶν, 2⁹ συναγωγῇ τ. Σατανᾶ, 6¹, 6¹⁶ ἀπὸ προσώπου τ. καθημένου, 7² 4 15²

¹ τὴν βλασφημίαν ἐκ τῶν λεγόντων in 2⁹ is difficult. ^N s.¹ 2 read τὴν ἐκ, while 025 and several cursives om. ἐκ. Either of these readings removes the difficulty. But ἐκ τ. λεγόντων is here to be taken partitively. Hence: "the blasphemy of certain of those who say," etc. Thus the art. could not be repeated before ἐκ τῶν λεγόντων. This is better than the explanation given in my notes in vol. i. 56. See, however, under § 5. vi. (α) on ἐκ.

² In 20¹¹ οὐ ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου should, according to our author's usage, be οὐ ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ or οὐ ἀπὸ προσώπου. This anomaly seems due, like others in 20⁴⁻²², to the disciple of the Seer who edited these chapters after the Seer's death.

κιθάρας τοῦ θεοῦ, 21¹² υἱὼν Ἰσραήλ, 21¹⁴ δώδεκα ὀνόματα τ. δ. ἀποστόλων, 22² εἰς θεραπέϊαν τ. ἐθνῶν.

(b) The art. is frequently omitted in prepositional phrases. *ἔχει θανάτου*, 2¹⁰ 12¹¹ 13³: *ἐν θανάτῳ*, 2²⁶: *ἐν πυρὶ καὶ θεῷ*, 14¹⁰: *εἰς φυλακὴν*, 2¹⁰: cf. also 2²² 13¹⁰.

(c) The art. is omitted before proper names. Ἰησοῦς and Ἰωάννης are always anarthrous. We have ὁ Χριστός when used alone, 11¹⁸ 12¹⁰ 20^{4,6}, but anarthrous in Ἰησοῦς Χ., 1^{1,2,5}. In τῷ Βαλάκ, 2¹⁴, the art. is inserted because the name is indeclinable. In 16¹² the art. before Εὐφράτην may point to the earlier mention of this river in 9¹⁴. The text in 2^{6,16} presents a difficulty. Νικολαῖτων is first with the art. and then without it. The noun in 2⁶ may be treated as a description of a certain class, and then treated as a proper name in 2¹⁶. In the predicate the art. is found before proper names: cf. 6⁸ [8¹¹] 12⁹ 19¹⁸ 20². θεός always has the art. except in 7² and in 21⁷ where it is in the pred. Κύριος, when alone, has the art., cf. 11^{4,8,15}, but we find ἐν κυρίῳ, 14¹⁸, and κύριος κυρίων, 17¹⁴ 19¹⁶. When combined with other names, ὁ κύριος ὁ θεός, 21²² 22⁶, ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς, 22²¹, but also κύριος ὁ θεός [1⁸] 4⁸ 19⁶ 22⁵. In the vocative we find κύριε, 15⁴, κύριε ὁ θεός, 11¹⁷ 15³ 16⁷, or the Semit. voc. ὁ κύριος ὁ θεός, 4¹¹.

(viii.) The art. with the infinitive occurs only in 12⁷ (τοῦ πολεμῆσαι), where, however, the construction is a pure Hebraism and is equivalent to a finite verb in Greek. See vol. i. 322. In J, on the other hand, we have the ordinary Greek construction of πρὸ τοῦ before the infinitive in 1⁴⁸ 13¹⁹ 17⁵, and of διὰ τό before it in 2²⁴.

(ix.) When a noun or participle preceded by the article follows a noun (in the gen. dat. or acc.), and should therefore be in the gen. dat. or acc., it may in our author, according to Hebrew usage, stand in the nom.: cf. 1⁵ ἀπὸ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁ μάρτυς ὁ πιστός, 2²⁰ τὴν γυναῖκα Ἰεζάβελ, ἣ λέγουσα. On this Hebraism see below, p. cxlix sq.

§ 3. Pronouns.

(i.) *Possessive*.—On vernacular and ordinary possessives see notes on 2^{2,19} and footnote in vol. ii. 208, where it is shown that though *σου* may precede or follow its noun, the genitives of αὐτός can only follow. The genitive is found before its noun in the best authorities (A vg s^{1,2}), in 21³ αὐτῶν θεός; but the text is manifestly corrupt, and the wrong order may be due to the editor of 20⁴⁻²². It is also found in 18⁵, but this is a source. See Abbott, *Gr.* 414 sqq., 601 sqq. ἐμός only once in 2²⁰.¹

¹ J has it 39 times. In J we find also (ἡμέτερος only in 1 J 1^{3,23}) σός, ὑμέτερος, ἰβιος (15 times), not one of which occurs in our author. Seeing that

(ii.) *Personal*.—(a) αὐτός is used as an emphatic personal pronoun,¹ cf. 3²⁰ 14¹⁰ 19¹⁵ (b^u) 21⁷. It is used intensively (= "self") in [14¹⁷] 17¹¹ (source) 19¹². The phrase καὶ αὐτός, "he also," "himself also" (in J 7¹⁰), seems not to belong to our author except in the phrase ὡς καὶ αὐτοί, 6¹¹, ὡς καὶ αὐτή, 18⁶ (a source): cf. ὡς ἐγώ, 2²⁷ 3²¹. It occurs, however, in a Greek source, 17¹¹, and in an interpolation, 14¹⁷. In 14¹⁰ the καὶ before αὐτός is a Hebraism and not to be translated. καὶ αὐτός in 3²⁰ 19¹⁵ (b^u) 21⁷ = "and he." αὐτός has lost this meaning in modern Greek and becomes a demonstrative.

(b) ἐαυτοῦ is found twice between the art. and its noun in 10³ 7. Here the intervening ἐαυτοῦ is very emphatic. See Abbott, *Gr.* 415.

(iii.) *Demonstrative*.—(a) ὅδε occurs seven times and refers to what follows, but not once in J. (b) οὗτος refers to what precedes, 7¹⁴ 11⁴ 6 [14⁴] etc. But not always in J, 1 J. Cf. J 6²⁰ 15¹²: 1 J 1⁶ 5¹⁴ where it refers to an explanatory clause introduced by ἵνα, ἐάν, or ὅτι. (c) ἐκεῖνος is used only as an adjectival pronoun in our author in temporal phrases, 9⁶ 11¹³, but in J constantly as a substantival pronoun. See Abbott, *Gr.* 283 sqq.

(iv.) *Indefinite*.—εἷς = "a": cf. 8¹³ ἐνὸς ἀποστόλου, 9¹³ φωνῇ μίαν, 19¹⁷ ἕνα ἄγγελον. Not in J. Both authors, however, use εἷς ἐκ; while J uses εἷς τις ἐκ, 11⁴⁹, once in this sense, or simply τις with a noun, 4⁴⁶ 5⁶, or with a proper name, 11¹ 12²⁰. τις is found only in εἰ τις, ἐάν τις in our author, save in 7¹ (?).

(v.) *Relative*.—(a) ὅστις is mostly used of a class of persons or things, 1⁷ 2²⁴ 9⁴ etc.; but it is also used of an individual, 11⁸ 12¹³ 19³: cf. 1¹². Similarly in J. I have followed the advice given in Abbott's *Gr.* (218, footnote) and rendered ὅστις generally by "that," which "introduces a statement essential to the complete meaning of the antecedent," and ὅς by "who" or "which" —words which carry no such meaning.

(b) This relative is never attracted to the case of its antecedent² in our author, though this attraction is frequent in J and in 1 J 3²⁴.

ἐμός and kindred possessive adjectives had all but ousted μου in Asia Minor, Moulton (*Gr.* 40 sq.) infers that our author must have been a recent immigrant there. If this is right, J must have been settled there for some time. The possessive ἐμός and σός are disappearing in the papyri, and in modern Greek no possessive adjective exists. See Robertson, *Gr.* 684.

¹ J also uses αὐτός in this sense, but it is unemphatic. When he wishes to express emphasis he frequently uses ἐκεῖνος, which our author does not use in this sense. He only uses it twice as a demonstrative in two phrases expressing time. See Abbott, *Gr.* 283 sqq. J uses αὐτός together with the personal pronoun or proper name, 2²⁴ 3²⁰ 4² 44, but not so our author.

² It is once found in a source, i.e. 18⁶.

§ 4. *The Verb.*

(i.) *Present and future tenses.*—(a) The text wavers frequently between the present and the future. But these changes are not arbitrary.¹ The context must be carefully studied in each case. Thus in certain contexts the future is rightly used, since the context is obviously prophetic: cf. 7¹⁶ ^{sqq.} οὐ πεινάσουσιν ἔτι οὐδὲ διψήσουσιν ἔτι, κτλ. These words occur at the close of a vision where all the verbs dealing with the actual vision are rightly given in the present or past. Similarly in 14¹⁰ 17¹⁴ ^{sq.} we have pure prophecies. In other cases where we have the pres. instead of the future or the past, this may be due to a Hebraism; for the Hebrew imperfect may, according to the context, be rendered either as a past, present, or future: cf. 9⁸ ^{sqq.} 17-20 13¹¹ ^{sqq.} The translator is often at fault in the LXX, and a writer whose thoughts naturally shaped themselves in Hebrew could hardly escape rendering the Hebrew imperf. in his thoughts by a Greek present: cf. 5¹⁰ βασιλεύουσιν. At times, however, when the present takes the place of the past, the change may have been made deliberately with a view to dramatic vividness.

(b) ἔρχομαι does not come under these considerations. The Seer uses the pres. of this verb as a pres. or a future. In fact he never uses the future except in compounds, i.e. 3²⁰ εἰσελευσόμεαι, 20⁸ ἐξελεύσεται. He is, therefore, perfectly acquainted with the form of the future of the simple verb, but he avoids it. J uses it once, 14²³, and both the above-mentioned compounds in 10². In 14⁸ he connects it with a future πάλιν ἔρχομαι καὶ παραλήμψομαι.

(c) Again the future is used alike in dependent and inde-

¹ Chap. 11 seems to be very confused. In the introduction to that chapter (vol. i. 269-273) we have seen that it is a source used by our author for a special purpose. No unity of time appears to be observed in it. The rôle of the prophet is sometimes uppermost, sometimes that of the seer. This disorder, which is most probably due to the fact that our author is using traditional materials, will be obvious from the following résumé. In the vision of Jerusalem and the Temple the seer receives a prophecy, 11¹⁻³, that Jerusalem shall be trodden under foot (πατήσουσιν) for 3½ years, and that the two witnesses shall prophesy during this period. The scene then shifts apparently to the actual period of the witnesses, 11⁴⁻⁶; but the presents ἐκπορεύεται, κατεσθίει, etc., can be taken as futures. In 11⁷⁻⁸ the text uses future verbs and foretells the death of the witnesses. In 11⁹⁻¹⁰ it reverts again to the present, describing the events that follow on their death save in πέμψουσιν, 11¹⁰ (but the presents here also are practically futures). Finally, in 11¹¹⁻¹² the text changes into the past, and represents the reception of the witnesses into heaven as a past event. But herein the pasts can represent vividly the prophetic future. [See Driver, *Tenses*, § 14 (γ), 81; Is 9¹⁻⁶.] Hence 11³⁻¹² is a prophecy rather than a vision. The past verbs in 20^{9-10a} are to be similarly explained. Futures occur before and after them. But in 20⁹⁻¹⁰ it is only the author's familiarity with Hebraic usage that leads to this usage of the perfect, whereas 11¹⁻¹² is translated from a source.

pendent clauses where it has a frequentative sense, and is in such case best rendered by the present, as in 4⁹⁻¹⁰ ὅταν δώσουσιν . . . δόξαν . . . πεσοῦνται. But in this passage the futures on the basis of Hebraic idiom could be rendered by a past, and thus the text would state what the Seer actually saw in this vision and not recount a general practice.

(ii.) *Imperfect (Past).*—(a) The past imperf. is found only in the case of nine verbs: ἀκολουθεῖν (2 times), διδάσκειν (1), δύνασθαι (4—never in aor.), εἶναι (17), ἔχειν (5—εἶχαν, 9^{a, 9}), κλαίειν (1), λαλεῖν (2), λέγειν (1), στήκειν (1 in a source, i.e. 12⁴). It is therefore of infrequent occurrence. But it is used with special force in relative clauses, 1¹² 2¹⁴ 6⁹: also in descriptive sentences, 5⁴ καὶ ἔκλαιον, 5¹⁴ [6⁸] 19¹⁴ 21¹⁵. In 7¹¹ ἰστήκεισαν (pluperf.) is used as a past imperf. = "were standing."

(b) But the place of the past imperf. (or historic present) is frequently taken by the (imperfect or perfect) participle: ἔχων (for εἶχαν, or possibly in one or more cases for ἔχει), 1¹⁶ 4^{7, 8} 6^{2, 5} 10³ 12² 21^{12, 14}: ἐκπορευομένη, 1¹⁶: καθήμενος, 4²: καιόμεναι, 4⁵: περιβεβλημένος, 19¹⁸. This use of the participle for a finite verb is frequent in late Hebrew (very frequent in Aramaic, customary in Syriac), and its displacement of the past imperf. in our author is no doubt due largely to Hebraic influences.

(iii.) *Past Aorist and Present Perfect.*—These at first sight seem to be used in certain instances interchangeably: cf. 5⁷ 7¹⁴ 8⁸ 19⁸ etc. But the following study of these Greek tenses and their English equivalents shows that this is not so.

(iv.) *Greek Aorist and its rendering into English.*—Since the Greek and English aorists do not altogether correspond, it is of great importance to determine the points wherein they differ. Weymouth (*On the Rendering of the Greek aorist and perfect into English*, 1890) has gone elaborately into the subject. See also Moulton, *Gr.* 135 sqq., whose conclusions I have for the most part accepted. On the use of the aor. as a perfect in J, see Abbott, *Gr.* 323 sqq.

The past aorist¹ in English does not always correspond to the Greek aorist. The Greek aorist has three uses. (a) When this aorist is used as the historical tense in *pure narrative*, the English past aor. is the right rendering. (b) The *Greek aor.*

¹ The ordinary nomenclature of English tenses is very misleading. Perfect and imperfect relate to a state of action and not to time at all: similarly also does aorist. Hence we can have a present aorist. "I smite," the pres. imperfect "I am smiting," the pres. perf. "I have smitten." Similarly we have past aorists—"I smote," past imperf. "I was smiting," past perf. (= pluperf.) "I had smitten." The Greek has corresponding tenses for the most part. Pres. aor. λύω (cf. παραγγέλλω, Acts 16¹⁸: ἀφίλομεν, Luke 11⁴), pres. impf. λύω, pres. perf. λελυκα: past aor. ἔλυσα, past impf. ἔλυον, past perf. ἐλελύκειν.

can be timeless or refer to an indefinite time: cf. 2⁴ ἀφῆκας, J 15⁶ ἐβλήθη. Here the Greek must be rendered by the pres. perf. in English; for this perfect, besides connoting the continuance of a completed action—its usual meaning, can refer, *outside the pure narrative*, to an indefinite past, and be practically timeless. (c) The Greek aor. can refer to an event that has just happened, and must also in this sense be rendered by the English pres. perfect, 1¹⁹ ἀ εἶδες—"what thou hast seen."

I will here append a list of the passages where the aor. should be rendered by the English pres. perfect.¹ Opinions will, of course, differ as to whether certain aorists come under (b) or (c). The following passages fall naturally under (b), where the aor. is practically timeless. 1⁶ καὶ ἐποίησεν, "and hath made us": 2⁴: 2²⁴ ἔγνωσαν = "have recognized" = "know": 3⁴ οὐκ ἐμόλυναν, "have not defiled": 3⁸ ἐτήρησας . . . καὶ οὐκ ἠνέησω, "hast kept . . . and hast not denied": 3¹⁰ ἐτήρησας: 5^{9, 10} ἠγόρασας . . . ἐποίησας: 7¹⁴ ἐπλυναν . . . ἐλεύκαναν: 11¹⁸ ὠργίσθησαν: 14⁴ ἠγοράσθησαν: 14⁸ 18³ ἔπεσεν ἔπεσεν . . . ἐγένετο, "has fallen, has fallen . . . has become." But these last three words could be explained under (c), though the fact that Rome has become the abode of unclean birds shows that the burning of it is far back in the past. Similarly 17³ ἐπόρνευσαν . . . ἐμεθύσθησαν, 17¹² οὐπω λαβόν, 17¹⁷ ἔδωκεν: ἐκολλήθησαν and ἐμνημόνευσε in 18⁵, 18⁶ ἀπέδωκεν . . . ἐκέραιεν, 18⁷ ἐδόξασεν . . . ἐστρηνίασεν, 18¹⁴ ἀπῆλθεν . . . ἀπωλετο. Under (c) when the aor. refers to events that have just happened and must be rendered by the English pres. perf., come the following passages: 1¹⁹ ἀ εἶδες, "which thou hast (just) seen": 2²¹ ἔδωκα . . . καὶ οὐκ ἠθέλησεν² = "I have given . . . but she has refused": 11² ἐδόθη: 11^{15, 17} ἐγένετο . . . ἐβασίλευσας: 11¹⁸ ἦλθεν, which recurs in the same sense in 14^{7, 15} 18¹⁰ 19⁷: 12¹⁰ ἐγένετο . . . ἐβλήθη: 12¹² κατέβη: [14¹⁵ ἐξηράνθη]: 14¹⁸ ἤκμασαν: 16⁶ ἔκρινας: 18^{16, 19} μιᾷ ὥρᾳ ἠρημύωθη: 18³⁰ ἔκρινεν: 19² ἔκρινεν . . . ἐξεδύκασεν: 19^{7, 8} ἠτοίμασεν . . . ἐδόθη: 22¹⁶ ἔπεμψα.

(v.) *Greek Perfects and their rendering into English.*—Blass (*Gr.* 200) and Moulton (*Gr.* 143, 145) admit the occurrence of pres. perfects as aorists in our author. There are only two verbs, εἶληφα and εἶρηκα, which are so used. The former appears to be so used in 5⁷ 8⁶, though the R.V. takes it as = a present, and Robertson (*Gr.* 899) defends it in both cases as a "dramatic colloquial historical perfect." But the context is certainly in

¹ The R.V. has freely acknowledged this meaning of the aor. in the N.T. (in Matthew 65 times), but not so frequently in our author as it should be. Nor is it always clear on what principle the Revisers recognize, or refuse to recognize, this use.

² The failure to recognize this use of the aorist here led to the change of ἠθέλησεν into θέλει.

favour of the aorist sense,¹ and the same perfect (Thackeray, *Gr.* 24) occurs in this sense in Dan lxx. 4^{30b}. As regards *ἔστηκα* in 7¹⁴ 19⁸, no doubt as to the aoristic sense can be entertained.

(vi.) *Aorists used by our author and his sources.*—(a) Of *ἵστημι*² our author uses *ἱστάθην*, 8⁸ 12¹⁸, whereas *ἵστην* is used in his sources, 11¹¹ 18¹⁷. (b) Again our author uses *θαυμάσθην*, 13⁸ = "I wondered" (as a middle: always passive in *ο'* except in one doubtful instance—Thackeray, *Gr.* 240 n.), whereas *θαύμασα* is used with the same meaning in source 17^{6.7} as in J and generally in Greek. (c) Our author uses *ἡνοίγην* in connection with the temple, 11¹⁹ 15⁵, and *ἡνοίχθην* in connection with the books, 20¹² (44) (as in Dan 7¹⁰ *ο' θ'*). Since Matthew and Luke in Acts use both forms in connection with the same subjects, no safe inference is possible here.

(vii.) *Imperative.*—The aor. imper. occurs about 40 times in our author: the present 20 times, nine of these in chaps. 1-3. The aor. imper. is sharper and more urgent than the present, and while the latter "is used in general precepts (even to individuals) on conduct and action," the former is used "in injunctions about action in individual cases" (Blass, *Gr.* 194). Hence we may distinguish 3¹¹ *κράτει ὁ ἔχεις* and 2²⁶ *ὁ ἔχετε κρατήσατε* in connection with their contexts.

With negatives, *μή* with the pres. forbids an action already begun: 1¹⁷ 2¹⁰ *μή φοβοῦ*, 5⁵ *μή κλαίε*, while *μή* with the aor. subj. or imper. forbids an action not yet begun: 8⁶ *τὸν οἶνον μὴ ἀδικήσης*, 7⁸ *μὴ ἀδικήσητε τὴν γῆν*, 10⁴ *σφράγισον . . . καὶ μὴ αὐτὰ γράψῃς*, 11² 22¹⁰. Thus our author's usage agrees at once with the classical and later usage (cf. Moulton, *Gr.* 124 sqq.: W. Headlam, *Class. Review*, xvii. 295). But in J this usage is not observed. Thus in 3⁷ we find *μή θαυμάσης* occurs when we should expect *μή θαύμαζε*, as is clear from 3⁴, and in 10⁸⁷ he uses *μή πιστεύετε* where the context would lead us to expect *μή πιστεύσητε*. In all other cases *μή* with the imper. is rightly used in J. See Moulton, *Gr.* 125 sq.

(viii.) *Infinitive.*—(a) Our author generally uses the aor. inf. save in the case of certain verbs. Thus *βλέπειν* is never found

¹ This use of *ἐληφα* as an aorist is certainly strange, seeing that our author uses *ἐλαβον* in 5⁸ 10¹⁰ 17¹³ (source) 20⁴; aor. subj. 3¹¹ 18⁴ (source); aor. imper. 10^{8.9} 22¹⁷; aor. inf. 4¹¹ 5^{8.12} 6⁴.

² The pres. perf. of this verb, *ἕστηκα* ("I have taken my stand"), is used as a pres. imperf. (hence—"I am standing") in 3²⁰, and in like manner the past perf. *ἐστήκειν* is used by our author as a past imperf. in 7¹¹; but in 12⁴ (a source) we find *ἕστηκεν* from *στήκω* in the same sense. Some editors, however, read *ἕστηκε* here (cf. *σίρει* in the preceding clause).

³ This is the general rule; but it needs qualification: cf. Moulton, 125. Some scholars maintain that the above distinction is a growth, which "beginning in classical times was nearly crystallized in N.T. Greek." Cf. Moulton, 247.

in the aor., even in the indicative. In 22⁸ we should read ἔβλεπον with A. In the rest of the N.T. it occurs once in the aor. imper., Acts 3⁴. στρέφειν occurs in 11⁶ (source). καταβαίνειν, 13¹³. After μέλλειν the pres. follows inf. regularly (10 times) except in 3^{2 16} 12⁴. In J the pres. inf. follows without exception. The usual construction in classical Greek is μέλλειν with the fut. inf.

(b) On the infinitive = a finite verb in a conditional clause and also in the principal sentence, see 13¹⁰ n., and below, p. cxlvi.

(c) On the infin. with the art. = a finite verb, see 12⁷ n. and also below, p. cxlvi. These three cases are pure Hebraisms.

(d) The infinitive follows ἀξίος, 5^{2. 4. 9. 12}, where J 1²⁷ puts ἵνα cum subj.

(ix.) *Participle*.—To the use of the participle for a finite verb attention has already been drawn: see above, § 4, ii. (b). Present and perfect participles occur frequently, but never the future part. The last is found once in J 6⁶⁴. ὁ ἐρχόμενος is, however, practically a future participle. It is remarkable that the genitive absolute is wholly absent from our text, though it is of frequent occurrence in J.

The indeclinable use of λέγων or λέγοντες = וְדַבֵּר as in 4^{1 5¹¹⁻¹² 11^{1. 16} 14⁶} comes properly under the head of Hebraisms.

(x.) *The omission of the copula* in principal or relative sentences does not call for consideration here, as it is of constant occurrence throughout the N.T. The omission of the copula after ἰδού (= הִנֵּה) is encouraged through Hebrew precedent. Cf. Blass, *Gr.* 74; Robertson, 395 sq.

§ 5. *Prepositions.*

Moulton (*Gr.* 98) gives the statistics for the relative frequency of prepositions in the N.T. For every 100 times that ἐν occurs he finds the relative frequency of the prepositions with which we are here concerned as follows: εἰς, 64; ἐκ, 34; ἐπί 32; πρὸς, 25; διὰ, 24; ἀπὸ, 24; κατά, 17; μετά, 17; ὑπό, 8. Calculating J in the same way (though the numbers are to be taken as only approximately correct): ἐν, 100; εἰς, 83; ἐκ, 73; πρὸς, 45; διὰ, 26; μετά, 25; ἀπὸ, 18; ἐπί, 16; κατά, 4. Here we observe that ἐκ is nearly as frequent as εἰς, that ἐπί is half as frequent as it is normally throughout the N.T. In fact the numbers vary in every case. A comparison of the numbers (which are only approximately trustworthy) in our author is instructive: ἐν, 100; ἐπί, 89; ἐκ, 87; εἰς, 49; μετά, 33; ἀπὸ, 23; διὰ, 11; κατά, 5; πρὸς, 5.¹ Here the most notable differences are in the case of ἐπί (J^{ap} 89 - J 16), διὰ

¹ These numbers refer to the entire text, including sources and interpolations.

(J^{ap} 11 – J 26), *πρός* (J^{ap} 5 – J 45). Also the order of priority in frequency is very different. In the three classical historians (Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon), according to Helbing (quoted by Moulton, 62 n) *εἰς* slightly exceeds *ἐν* in frequency, whereas in twelve writers of literary *κοινή* it occurs nearly twice as often. Here our author diverges from the literary *κοινή* in using *ἐν* more than twice as often as *εἰς*, while the *κοινή* uses *εἰς* nearly twice as often as *ἐν*. On the other hand, our author approximates closely to the *κοινή* in his frequent use of *ἐπί*, and therein diverges strongly from the rest of the N.T. See also Robertson, *Gr.* 556 sq. But these differences between J^{ap} and J are not half so striking as those that emerge in the individual treatment of the prepositions.

(i.) *ἀνά* = "apiece," in 4⁸ *ἀνά πτέρυγας* ἕξ. Cf. J 2⁶. Found also in Matthew and Luke. The phrase *ἀνά μίσην*, 7¹⁷, is a compound preposition, but *ἀνά* is an adverb in *ἀνά εἰς ἕκαστος* in 21²¹. These latter uses not in J.

(ii.) *ἀπó*. 36 times. (a) with *μακρόθεν*, 18¹⁰. 18 17 (source). Not in J.

(b) = "at a distance from," 14²⁰ *ἀπó σταδίων*, cf. J 11¹⁸ 21⁸. Not elsewhere in N.T. It is not necessary to explain it as a Latinism; cf. Moulton, *Gr.* 101 sq.; Robertson, *Gr.* 575; Abbott, *Gr.* 227. It is found in Strabo, Diodorus, and Plutarch. For an analogous construction with *μετά*, cf. Test. Reub. 1² *μετά τῆς δύο τῆς τελευταίας*; T. Zeb. 1¹ *μετά οὖν δύο ἔτη τοῦ θανάτου*—a construction also found in Plutarch. And with *πρό*, cf. J 12¹, Amos (ο') 1¹ 4⁷.

(c) *ἀπó προσώπου*. This phrase occurs three times, 6¹⁶ 12¹⁴ 20¹¹. In the last instance, however, it has a strange form, *ἀπó τοῦ προσώπου*, to which we shall return presently. In all three cases the phrase is the equivalent of *ἔνθεν*. In 6¹⁶ 20¹¹ it = "from the presence of." It could be taken in this sense also in 12¹⁴ if it is connected with *πένηται*, but the fact that sixteen words intervene is against this explanation in our author. Hence the phrase, owing to the Hebrew it presupposes = "because of." The woman's stay of three and a half years in the wilderness is "owing to" or "because of the serpent." This is an ordinary meaning of *ἔνθεν* in Hebrew. *ἀπó* alone is used in this sense in Matt 18⁷. In 20¹¹ the art. in *ἀπó τοῦ προσώπου* is quite exceptional. It appears only a few (three or more) times in the ο' so far as I am aware, and in two of these some MSS omit it. In our text also 046 and many cursives omit. But since A¹ 025. 2040 attest it, it goes back to the archetype as edited by the Seer's disciple. For two other departures from the Seer's usage in 20⁴⁻¹¹, see vol. ii. 182. This phrase is absent from J.

(d) Abnormal use of ἀπό before ὁ ὢν. This is deliberate on our author's part.

(e) After passive verbs: ἀπεκάνθησαν, 9¹⁸; ἡτοιμασμένον, 12⁶. This came to be the rule in later writers.

(f) After ἀπέρχεσθαι and ἀπολλύναι, 18¹⁴: ἀφαιρεῖν, 22¹⁹: κρύπτειν, 6¹⁶ (ἀπὸ προσώπου, where J 12²⁶ has simply ἀπὸ): φεύγειν, 9⁶ 20¹¹ (J 10⁵).

None of the above usages appear in J save (b) and one instance of (f).

(iii.) ἀχρι. 2^{10.28} 12¹¹ 14²⁹ 18⁵ (source).

(iv.) διὰ. (a) with gen. 1¹ 21²⁴. In J 15 times. (b) With acc. 16 times and 45 in J.

(v.) εἰς. εἰς follows βάλλειν when the noun after εἰς is not a person, cf. 2^{10.28} 8⁵ [7.6] 12⁴ 9. 18 14¹⁹ (44) 18²¹ 20³ 10. 14. 15, save in 14¹⁶ (interpolated) where we have βάλλειν . . . ἐπὶ τ. γῆν. Contrast 14¹⁹. But ἐπὶ when the noun is a person, cf. 2²⁴ βάλλω ἐφ' ὑμᾶς (cf. 1¹⁷). Similarly after καταβαίνειν we have εἰς τὴν γῆν, 13¹⁸, but ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, 16²¹. Our author uses either εἰς τὴν γῆν, 5⁶ 6¹⁸ 8⁷ 9^{1.8} 12⁴ 9. 18 14¹⁹ 16^{1.3} etc., even after πίπτειν, 6¹⁸ 9¹, though this verb in other phrases is followed by ἐπὶ, 6¹⁶ 7¹¹ [8¹⁰] 11¹⁶, or ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς (see on ἐπὶ below). εἰς occurs about 78 times.

(vi.) ἐκ. This preposition is of very frequent occurrence—about 135 times.

(a) Partitive Genitive. As subject, 11⁹ βλέπουσιν ἐκ τῶν λαῶν: cf. J 7⁴⁰ 16¹⁷. As object, 2¹⁰ ἐξ ὑμῶν, 3⁹ 5⁹ (in 2¹⁷ we have genitive alone—τοῦ μάννα: cf. 2 J⁴ ἐκ τῶν τέκνων). ἐκ occurs often after εἰς in a partitive sense: cf. 5⁶ 6¹ 7¹⁸ etc., but in 17¹¹ (source) ἐκ τῶν ἑπτά = "one of the seven." For εἰς ἐκ, cf. J 1⁴¹ 6³ 70. 71 7⁵⁰ etc. This appears to be the best explanation of 2⁹ τὴν βλασφημίαν ἐκ τῶν λεγόντων,¹ "the blasphemy of certain people who say"; or the ἐκ may be simply a sign of the genitive. Hence "the blasphemy of," etc.: cf. J 3¹ ἀνθρώπος ἐκ τ. Φαρισαίων: or better, Aesch. *Euπ.* 344, ὕμνος ἐξ Ἐρινύων, "hymn of the Erinyes"; Soph. *Ant.* 95, ἡ ἐξ ἐμοῦ δυσβουλία.

(b) ἐκ . . . ἀπὸ, 3¹² 21^{2.10}, where the prepositions may signify respectively heavenly origin and divine mission. But in J 1⁴⁴ 7^{41.48} 11¹ (Abbott, *Gr.* 227 sqq.) these mean respectively "native of" and "resident in."

(c) ἐκ follows a variety of verbs, γαμίζειν, ἐκπορεύεσθαι, ἐκδικεῖν (involving a Hebraism), ἐξαλείφειν, ἐξέρχεσθαι, ἔρχεσθαι, κρίνειν (18²⁰ (a source) involving a Hebraism), λαμβάνειν, λύνειν, μετα-

¹ This phrase is explained also as "blasphemy arising from" (cf. J 3²⁰); but in our author we should expect in this case βλασφημίαν τὴν ἐκ. In 6⁴ the ἐκ is rightly omitted by A after τὴν εἰρήνην [ἐκ] τῆς γῆς. If the ἐκ is retained it is to be taken with λαβεῖν, as in 5⁷ 10¹⁰ 18⁴ (source).

νοεῖν,¹ πίνειν, ποτίζειν, φαγεῖν, χορτάζεσθαι. It follows ἀγοράζειν, 5⁹; but this verb is followed by παρά, 3¹⁸, and ἀπό, 14^{2, 4}. In 18¹⁹ πλουτεῖν is followed by ἐκ and in 18¹⁶ by ἀπό.

(d) ἐκ is used after a passive: cf. 13¹⁸ πεπυρωμένον ἐκ πυρός, 18¹ ἐφωτίσθη ἐκ τ. δόξης αὐτοῦ.

(e) ἐκ = "by reason of," 8¹⁸ ἐκ τ. φωνῶν, 16¹¹ ἐβλασφήμησαν . . . ἐκ τ. πόνων αὐτῶν.

(f) ἐκ is used with the material of which anything is formed: cf. 18¹⁸ πᾶν σκεῦος ἐκ ξύλου. This usage is common to Greek and Hebrew: cf. Xen. *Sympr.* 8, στράτευμα ἐξ ἐραστών: Aesch. *Suppl.* 953, ἐκ κριθῶν μέθυ. See (a) above *ad fin.*

(vii.) ἐμπροσθεν. This twice occurs in a local sense in the phrase ἐμπροσθεν τῶν ποδῶν, 19¹⁰ 22⁸, the first of which is an intrusion: also as an adverb in 4⁶. In J its meanings are various: it denotes superiority in 1^{15, 20}, priority in time in 3²⁸, and has a local sense in 10⁴ 12⁵⁷.

(viii.) ἐν. This preposition occurs nearly 157 times. (a) The most noteworthy use of ἐν in our author is its instrumental use. Thus it occurs 33 times, whereas it does not occur at all in J (save in a quasi-instrumental sense in the phrase ἐν τούτῳ: see Abbott, *Gr.* 256), nor yet in the Pauline or Catholic Epp. save once in 2 Pet. It is found 34 times in the Synoptics (according to Moulton and Geden), 3 times in Acts, and 3 in Hebrews. Moulton (*Gr.*, pp. 12, 61, 104) thinks that the publication of the Tebtunis Papyri (1902) has "rescued the instrumental ἐν from the class of Hebraisms" in the case of ἐν μαχαίρῃ, Lk 22⁴⁹, and ἐν ῥάβδῳ, 1 Cor 4²¹. To this claim Abbott (*Gr.* 256 n.) rejoins effectively. But even though the instrumental ἐν does occur in the papyri sporadically (where the influence of Jewish traders may have been at work), this fact cannot account in any case for the preponderating use of ἐν in our author. No adequate explanation can be found save in its origination in a mind steeped in Semitic. Even Moulton (p. 61 n.) concedes that this ἐν "came to be used rather excessively . . . by men whose mother tongue was Aramaic." But this concession in the case of our author is quite inadequate. ἐν is used instrumentally after ἀγοράζειν, 5⁹: ἀδικεῖν, 9¹⁹: ἀποκτείνειν, 2²⁸ 6⁸ 9³⁰ 13¹⁰ (14²) 19³¹: βασανίζειν, 14¹⁰: καίειν, 19²⁰; but without ἐν, [8⁸] 21⁸ (due to editor?): κατακαίειν, 17¹⁶ 18⁸: κανυματίζειν, 16⁸: κηρύσσειν, 5³: καθαρίζειν, 14²: λευκαίνειν, 7¹⁴: λύειν, 1⁶: μινύειν, 8⁷: πατάσσειν, 11⁶ 19¹⁵: πλανᾶν, 19²⁰ 18²⁸: περιβάλλεσθαι, 3⁵ 4⁴ (> ἐν, A): ποιμαίνειν, 2²⁷ 12⁶ 19¹⁶: πολεμεῖν, 2¹⁶ (19¹¹): χρυσοῦν, 18¹⁶. ἐν is used locally after καθίζειν in 3²¹ (14²) (but ἐπὶ c. acc. 20⁴):

¹ Cf. 2²¹ (22) 9^{30, 31} 16¹¹. μετανοεῖν ἀπό is found in Acts 8²² and Jer 8⁶ (LXX). But μετανοεῖν ἐκ does not occur in the LXX. It probably represents πρὸς in our author's mind.

after κατοικεῖν, 13¹² (but this is not our author's use. He uses ἐπὶ c. gen.).

(δ) ἐν is used temporarily in 1¹⁰ 2¹⁸ 9⁶ 10⁷ 11¹⁸ etc.: see temporal phrases without ἐν in 18¹⁰ 16. 19 μὴ ὥρῃ (source).

(ε) ἐν is used generally after γράφειν, 1⁸ 13⁸ 20¹² 16 21²⁷ 22¹⁸ 19 (but εἰς is found in 1¹¹, and ἐπὶ in 17⁸: see under ἐπὶ).

(δ) ἐν is found in the phrases ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ, 1¹⁶: ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ, 2¹: ἐν τ. χειρὶ, 6⁸ 7⁹ 10² etc.; but ἐπὶ τὴν δεξιάν, 5¹. Also in ἐν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ, after λέγειν, 14^{7.9} (but without ἐν in 5¹⁸ 8¹⁸). ἐν is never used in this phrase after κρᾶζειν, 6¹⁰ 7² 10⁸ (see vol. i. 260 *ad fin.*, ii. 22 *ad init.*) except in passages from another hand or source, 14¹⁶ 18². It is also omitted in this phrase after φωνεῖν, 14¹⁸. ἐν μέσῳ is always followed by gen. 1¹⁸ 2¹ 4⁸ etc.; hence 2⁷ ἐν μέσῳ τῷ παραδείσῳ in κ⁰⁰ 025 is either a conflation of two texts or a correction of the later.

(ix.) ἐνώπιον. Very frequent: 34 times, but only once in J, i.e. 20⁸⁰, and twice in i. 3 J.

The frequent occurrence of this word, which, it is true, is found sporadically in the κοινή (see Moulton, *Gr.*, pp. 99, 246), is best explained as due to Semitic influence.

(x.) ἔξωθεν, 14²⁰.

(xi.) ἐπάνω. Only twice. Really an adverb but used as a preposition, 6⁸ 20⁸.

(xii.) ἐπὶ. About 143 times¹ in all (74 with acc., 13 with dat., 56 with gen.). This preposition is used very idiomatically by our author, and several of the uses are of his own devising. It is therefore of primary importance to be acquainted with these.

(a) ἐπὶ in various phrases:

(α) ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, 5² 10. 18 7¹ 10² 5. 8 etc.—never ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν (for 14¹⁶ is an interpolation). If our author wishes to use γῆν he writes εἰς τὴν γῆν, 5⁶ 6¹⁸ 8⁸ 9¹ etc. See vol. i. 191. (β) ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης—so always. 5¹⁸* 7¹ 10² 5. 8 except in 15², where the ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν seems due to its being preceded by ἰσπάναι, which always in the case of other nouns is followed by ἐπὶ with the acc. See vol. i. 262 *ad med.*, ii. 34 *ad init.* Our author's use comes out forcibly in 7¹ ἵνα μὴ πνέῃ ἄνεμος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς μήτε ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης μήτε ἐπὶ πᾶν (κ⁰²⁵: cf. 7¹⁶ οὐδὲ μὴ . . . πᾶν καῦμα: 9⁴ 21²⁷) δένδρον. Observe the ἐπὶ with the acc. at the close. (γ) ἐπὶ τὴν (τὰς) κεφαλὴν (-άς). Only in 12¹ do we find ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς. See vol. i. 300 sq., 303. (δ) ἐπὶ τὸ μέτωπον, or

¹ These numbers are only approximately true. Different texts yield different results.

* The context would suggest here the rendering "in the sea." Such was the view of many of the ancients. Thus κ⁰²⁵ reads ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ, and is supported by Pr g¹⁹ vg s¹-8 arm bo eth.

if he uses the pl. ἐπὶ τῶν μετώπων. See vol. i. 206 *ad med.* In 14⁹ we find † ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου †; but this verse is corrupt. See vol. ii. 15 *ad fin.* (ε) The above forms are rigid. But in phrases composed of ἐπὶ and χεῖρ or ἡ δεξιὰ our author uses the gen. or acc.: cf. ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῶν τῆς δεξιᾶς 13¹⁶, ἐπὶ τῆς δεξιᾶς 1²⁰, and ἐπὶ τὴν χεῖρα, 14⁹ 20^{1.4}: ἐπὶ τὴν δεξιάν, 5¹. See vol. i. 335 *ad med.*

(δ) ἐπὶ with some case of θρόνος (or νεφέλη) determined by the case of the preceding participle καθήμενος. This is one of the most remarkable idiosyncrasies of our author. When the part. is in the nom. or acc. it is followed by ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον: when the part. is in the gen. it is followed by ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου: when in the dat. by ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ.¹

- (α) ὁ καθήμενος
τὸν καθήμενον
- { ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον
(or ἐπὶ τὴν νεφέλην)
(or ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον).

So in 4^{2.4} 6^{2.5} 11¹⁶ 14¹⁴ 19¹¹. This usage of our author is generally not observed in the interpolations or edited portions. Thus 9¹⁷ τ. καθήμενος ἐπ' † αὐτῶν † seems due to a reviser of the preceding words: 14¹⁶ ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τ. νεφέλης (AN: τ. νεφέλην, C 025) occurs in the interpolation 14¹⁵⁻¹⁷: 20¹¹ τὸν καθήμενον ἐπ' αὐτοῦ (A: ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ, N), and 7¹⁵ ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ † τ. θρόνου † (AN: τῷ θρόνῳ, 025. 046), are due to the editor of 20⁴⁻²². 21⁵ ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τ. θρόνῳ, is a primitive corruption. On 14⁶ see vol. ii. 12.

(β) τῷ καθιμένῳ ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ. So 4⁹ 5¹⁸ 7¹⁰ 19⁴. In 6⁴ τῷ καθ. ἐπ' † αὐτόν † is a primitive corruption, while τῷ καθ. ἐπὶ τ. νεφέλης occurs in the interpolation, 14¹⁵⁻¹⁷.

(γ) τοῦ καθιμένου ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου. So 4¹⁰ 5^{1.7} 6¹⁶: cf. 17¹ (τῆς καθιμένης ἐπὶ ὑδάτων 19^{19.21} (τοῦ καθιμένου ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου both times). Hence 19¹⁸ τῶν καθιμένων ἐπ' † αὐτοῖς † (A: αὐτοὺς N) seems to be a primitive corruption. 025. 046 τὸν and cursives read rightly ἐπ' αὐτῶν. These MSS may have preserved the original reading here, and A may be corrupt.

(δ) ἐπὶ is used after certain verbs. (α) βάλλειν ἐπὶ with acc. 2²⁴ 18¹⁹ (source): (β) γράφειν ἐπὶ with acc. 2¹⁷ 3¹² 17^{5.8} (source) 19¹⁶. In 14¹ the gen. ἐπὶ τῶν μετώπων after γράφειν is due to our author's predilection for the gen. pl. in this phrase: see under (α) above. (γ) ἐκχεῖν ἐπὶ with acc. 16^{2.10.12.17}.

¹ It is noteworthy that this participle in the nom. and acc. is followed by ἐπὶ with the acc. in five passages of the six where it occurs in the rest of the N.T., Matt 9⁹, Mark 2¹⁴, Luke 5²⁷ 21³⁶, J 12¹⁸: exception, Acts 8; and that when it is in the gen. it is followed by ἐπὶ with the gen. in Matt 24³ 27¹⁹: exception, Mark 13³. But whereas these may be coincidences, in our author the use is a law. In Mark 13³ we have καθιμένου followed by εἰς, whereas Matt 24³ has ἐπὶ τ. δρους τ. θλαίων.

(δ) *ἰστάναι ἐπὶ* with acc. 3³⁰ *ἴστηκα ἐπὶ τὴν θύραν* (contrast J 18¹⁶ *εἰστήκει πρὸς τῇ θύρᾳ*), 7¹ 8⁸ 11¹¹ 12¹⁸ 14¹ 15². (ε) *καθίζειν ἐπὶ* with acc. 20⁴. (ζ) *κατοικεῖν ἐπὶ* with gen. See vol. i. 289, 336, ii. 12 *ad fin.* This construction is characteristic alike as to meaning and form. Two other constructions are found in 13¹³ 17² where they appear due to sources: (η) *κόπτεσθαι ἐπὶ* with acc. 1⁷ = "to wail because of" (but in Zech. 12¹⁰ (ο'), 2 Sam. 11²⁶ (Α) "to wail for"). So far as I am aware this usage is not Greek. *יָגַד יְהוָה* could be rendered "wail over him," as in Zech. 12¹⁰, or "wail because of him," as the text requires here. Has our author assigned to *ἐπὶ* a meaning that belongs only to *יָגַד*? We could also render the Greek "to wail in regard to him." In 18⁹ this phrase = "to wail over." (θ) *πίπτειν ἐπὶ* with acc. 6¹⁶ 7¹¹ 16⁸ 8¹⁰ 11¹¹ 16¹⁰, but with *εἰς τὴν γῆν*, 6¹⁸ 9¹, since our author does not say *ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν* (see (α) above). (ι) *σκηνοῦν ἐπὶ* with acc. 7¹⁵. (κ) *τιθέναι ἐπὶ* with acc. 1¹⁷, but in 10² with *ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης* in conformity with his usage (see (α) above). (λ) *μαρτυρεῖν* and *προφητεύειν* are followed by *ἐπὶ* (= "concerning") with dat. in 22¹⁶ (κ 046) 10¹¹. *ἐπὶ* has this meaning in J 12¹⁶ *ἐπ' αὐτῷ γεγραμμένα*. But in 22¹⁶ A vg bo read *ἐν*. See *ἐπὶ* with dat. after *δεδίδομαι*, 9¹⁴; *δρυγίζεσθαι*, 12¹⁷; *εὐφραίνεσθαι*, 18³⁰.

(d) After *ἐξουσία ἐπὶ* there follows sometimes the gen. 2²⁶ 11^{6b} (source) 14¹⁸ 20⁶: sometimes the acc. 6⁸ 13⁷ 16⁹ 22¹⁴. J has neither of these constructions, but the gen. without *ἐπὶ*, 17², or the inf. 1¹² 5²⁷ 10¹⁸ (μ) etc. A similar usage occurs in 17¹⁸ *βασιλείαν ἐπὶ* (= "over") *τῶν βασιλέων*: cf. Rom. 9⁵.

(xiii.) *κατά*. (α) with gen. 2⁴ 14²⁰ *κατὰ σοῦ*, "against thee." Once in J 19¹¹ in the same sense. (β) With acc. (α) = "according to," 2²⁸ 18⁶ (source) 20¹² 18. (β) Temporally in 22² *κατὰ μῆνα*. (γ) Distributively in 4⁸ *ἐν καθ' ἓν*: cf. J [8⁹ 21²⁶].

(xiv.) *κυκλόθεν* as a prep. in 4² 4: as an adv. in 4⁸.

(xv.) *κύκλῳ* as a prep. 4⁶ 5¹¹ 7¹¹.

(xvi.) *μετά*. 52 times (41 with gen. and 11 with acc.). (α) *μετά* with gen. after *ἀκολουθεῖν* [6⁸] 14¹⁸ (= "to accompany"): *δειπνεῖν*, 3²⁰: *ἔρχεσθαι* (*μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν*), 1⁷: *καθίζειν*, 3²¹ (μ); *λαλεῖν*, 1¹³ 10⁸ 17¹ 21⁹. 16: *μοιχεύειν*, 2²²: [*μολύνεσθαι*, 14⁴]: *ποιῆσαι πόλεμον*, 11⁷ 12¹⁷ 13⁷ 19¹⁰: *πολεμεῖν*, 2¹⁶ 12⁷ 13⁴ 17¹⁴—a decided Hebraism, only in our author in the N.T. An occasional instance of it has been found in the papyri: *πορνεῖν*, 17² 18⁸. 9 (source). This construction is not classical Greek, which requires the acc. So also *μοιχεύειν*.¹ (β) *μετά* with acc. is only found in the phrase *μετὰ ταῦτα*, except in 11¹¹ *μετὰ τὰς τρεῖς*

¹ Perhaps we might trace it to such an expression as that in Is. 23¹ *יָמַד מִלְּפָנֶיךָ לֵב נָחַן*. *πορνεῖν μετά* is found in Ezek. 16³⁴, but the Hebrew does not explain the *μετά*. Similarly *ἡμ* (= *μοιχεύειν*) is followed by *נָח* (= *μετά*) in Jer. 29²⁶; but not *ו'*, which gives *ἐμοιχάμτο τὰς γυναῖκας*.

ἡμέρας. μετὰ ταῦτα has two meanings in our author—its ordinary one, “after these things,” 1¹⁹ 4² 9¹² 20⁸, and a technical one, which, when combined with εἶδον, *always introduces a new and important vision*, 4¹ 7¹ 9¹⁵ 18¹ 19¹. On the value of this phrase as a canon of criticism, see vol. i. 106, footnote. This usage is found in J: (cf. 2¹² 3²² 4⁴⁸ 5¹ 6¹ 7¹ 19³⁸) as introducing a new section.

(xvii.) παρά. 3 times (2 with gen. and 1 with dat.). In J 35 times (26 with gen. and 9 with dat.).

(xviii.) πρὸς. 8 times (1 with dat. and 7 with acc.). In J, on the other hand, πρὸς with acc. occurs about 100 times, and with the dat. 4. πρὸς c. dat. is found in our author only once, 1¹⁸; elsewhere in N.T., Mark 5¹¹, J 18¹⁶ 20¹¹ 12¹² (^{12a}). He uses πρὸς with acc. after verbs of motion, 3²⁰ 10⁹ etc. (6 times). πρὸς = “against,” in 13⁶ ἤνοιξεν τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ εἰς βλασφημίας πρὸς τ. θεόν. Here εἰς would be more natural: cf. Mark 3²⁹, Luke 12¹⁰, Acts 6¹¹. This preposition is much more varied in meaning in J.

(xix.) ὑπὸ. Only twice, and one of these in an interpolation, 6⁸.

(xx.) ὑποκάτω. 4 times. Really an adverb but used as a preposition.

§ 6. Conjunctions and other Particles.

(i.) ἀλλὰ. 13 times, but over 100 times in J and 20 times in 1. 2. 3 J.

(ii.) ἄν. (a) As a particle in a relative clause ἄν occurs only twice, in 2²⁶ ἀρχοὶ οὗ ἂν ἤξω, and in 14⁴ ὅπου ἂν ὑπάγει (A: η Ν 025. 046). J, on the other hand, uses ἄν 5 times in the sense of “if” (alone in the N.T.), and 22 times as a mere particle in relative or conditional sentences.

(b) But our author uses εἰάν also as a mere particle after ὅσοι, 3¹⁹ 13¹⁵ (source). With the same meaning it recurs in 11⁶ ὁσάκις εἰάν (source), but as a conjunction followed by a subjunctive in 3²⁰ [22¹⁸ 19]. εἰάν μὴ is followed by the subj. 2⁶ 3⁸, but in 2^{20c} (an interpolation) by the indicative.¹ In J εἰάν is once used as a

¹ Thus εἰάν is substituted for ἄν 3 times (3¹⁹ and 11⁶ 13¹⁵ sources) out of 4. Moulton (*Gr.* 43) states that in pre-Christian papyri the proportion of εἰάν to ἄν was 13 to 29, but in the 1st cent. A.D. this proportion was 25 to 7, in 2nd A.D. 76 to 9, in 3rd A.D. 9 to 3, in 4th A.D. 4 to 8. εἰάν occurs last for ἄν in a 6th cent. papyrus. It will be seen, therefore, that the proportion in our author, 3 to 1, agrees nearly with that in the papyri of the 1st cent. A.D., 25 to 7.

It is significant of the character of Ν that it changes εἰάν into ἄν in 3¹⁹ 13¹⁵ and thus represents our author as using εἰάν only 1 out of 4 times. C changes it in 11⁶. Notwithstanding the untrustworthy character of 025. 046, they are here more trustworthy than Ν in this respect.

But Thackeray (*Gr.* 67), with a large body of papyri at his disposal, gives

mere particle in 15⁷. Otherwise frequently as a conjunction followed by the subjunctive. J uses *ἀν* 14 times in the apodosis of an impossible supposition, but our author does not use this construction.

(iii.) *ἀρτι*, 12¹⁰, and *ἀπ' ἀρτι*, 14¹⁸. It is hard to decide whether *ἀρτι* = "at this moment," as occasionally in J (see Abbott, *Gr.* 25 sq., 199), or "at this present time," as contrasted with past or future time—a later meaning belonging more properly to *νῦν*, which J uses very frequently but not our author.

(iv.) *ἄχρι*. Always followed by subjunctive in our author: 2²⁵ (*ἄχρι οὗ*) 7⁸ 15⁸ 20^{3 5}. In 17¹⁷ we find *ἄχρι τελεσθήσονται*. But this is a source.

(v.) *γάρ*. *circ.* 17 times. In J nearly 70.

(vi.) *δέ*. 6 times. Very frequent in J and with different shades of meaning: see Abbott, *Gr. in loc.*

(vii.) *εἰ*. *εἰ* is found only in combination (a) with *τις*:¹ 11^{5a} [11^{5b}] 13^{9 10} (^{2a}) 14^{9 11} 20¹⁵ (*εἰ τις οὐχ*)—a very common combination not once in J: (b) with *μή* (= "except"), 2¹⁷ 9⁴ 13¹⁷ 14³ 19¹³ 21²⁷. This use is found in J 3¹³ 6²² etc.: or with *δὲ μή* (= "otherwise"), 2^{5 16}: also in J 14^{2 11}. But J uses the former combination in other idioms.

(viii.) *ἐξωθεν* (as adverb = *ἐξω*) 11² 5¹ (some MSS).

(ix.) *ἐτι*. 18 times, including a restoration of *ἐτι* for *ἐπι* in 7¹⁶. 22¹¹ is an interpolation.

(x.) *ἕως*. With subjunctive (= "till"), 6¹¹. In J with ind. 9¹⁸ 21^{22 23}. In various combinations in J.

(xi.) *ἰδοὺ*. 26 times. In J 4. J uses *ἰδε* (15), but our author does not.

(xii.) *ἵνα*. Final clauses introduced by *ἵνα*² followed by the subj. 33 times, and by the ind. 13. (The latter is unclassical: Attic uses *ὅπως* with ind.) In J *ἵνα* is followed by the subj. save thrice out of nearly 140 times. *ἵνα μή* is followed by the subj. 9 times and by the ind. 2: in J only by the subj. As our author never uses the past subjunctive (or optative) it is interest-

the statistics as follows. In pre-Christian papyri *ὅς ἐστιν*, 16, *ὅς ἀν*, 78: in i/A.D. 39 and 5 respectively; in ii/A.D. 79 and 13; in iii/A.D. 13 and 5; in iv/A.D. 12 and 7. These amended numbers show more clearly how the scribe of N introduced later forms into his text.

¹ *εἰ τις* is only found once in the Johannine writings outside the Apocalypse—2 J¹⁶ *εἰ τις ἐρχεται*. Here the case is put as an actual occurrence, and the coming as a real event. Hence this form does not militate against Johannine authorship.

² In my commentary I have followed Blass in taking *ἵνα* in 14¹³ as almost equal to *ὅτι* "in that." But here also it may express purpose. Thus *μακάριοι οἱ νεκροὶ οἱ ἐν Κυρίῳ ἀποθνήσκοντες . . . ἵνα ἀναπαύσονται* = "Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord: yea, saith the Spirit, in order to rest," etc. Cf. 22¹⁴ and J 8⁶⁸ 9³ *τις ἡμαρτεν . . . ἵνα τυφλὸς γεννηθῇ*; 11¹⁸, and see Abbott, *Gr.* 114-128, who insists that *ἵνα* expresses purpose in J.

ing to observe the sequence of tenses adopted by him after *ἵνα* or *ἵνα μή*.

Pres. ind. followed by	pres. ind.	.	.	1
"	pres. subj.	.	.	5
"	aor. subj.	.	.	7
"	fut. ind.	.	.	4
Past. ind.	pres. subj.	.	.	5
"	aor. subj.	.	.	13
"	fut. ind.	.	.	7
Fut. ind.	fut. ind.	.	.	1
Imperative				
(pres. or aor.)	pres. subj.	.	.	1
"	aor. subj.	.	.	2

(xiii.) *μή*. Never with the participle in our author, but 10 times in J and 11 times in 1. 2. 3 J. *μή* with pres. imperative, 1¹⁷ 2¹⁰ etc.; with aor. subj. 6⁶ 7⁸ 10⁴, the use of these two tenses being carefully distinguished; see above, p. cxixvi. *μή* . . . *μήτε* . . . *μήτε*, 7¹⁻⁸; also *μή* . . . *οὐδέ* . . . *οὐδέ* in 9⁴, but never *μή* . . . *μηδέ*, as in J (*bis*) who never uses *μήτε*; nor *μηδέ* . . . *μηδέ*. *οὐδέ μή* . . . *οὐδέ*, 7¹⁰.

(xiv.) *ὅπισθεν* as prep. 1¹⁰ 4⁶, as adv. 5¹.

(xv.) *ὅπως* as prep. 12¹⁵ 13⁸, and also in 1¹⁰ (NC) 10¹⁰ in NC 025.

(xvi.) *ὅπου*, 2¹³ (14) 11⁸ 20¹⁰. In the latter two passages there is the combination *ὅπου καί*. In sources used by our author there is a Hebraism in connection with this word: *ὅπου* . . . *ἐκεῖ*, 12⁶⁻¹⁴: *ὅπου* . . . *ἐπ' αὐτῶν*, 17⁹; but this Hebraism never appears to come from his own hand. In 14⁴ we have *ὅπου ἄν ὑπάγει* (AC: corrected into *ὑπάγει* in N 025. 046). This use of *ἄν* here is to be rejected, according to Blass, *Gr.* 207, 217; Robertson, *Gr.* 969. See, however, under *ὅταν*: also *Vocabulary of G. T.* (Moulton and Milligan) under *ἄν*.

(xvii.) *δοῶν*. 11⁶ (source).

(xviii.) *ὅταν*. This particle takes the aor. subj. 9⁶ 11⁷ 12⁴ 17¹⁰ 20⁷, or the pres. subj. 10⁷ 18⁹,¹ or the fut. ind. 4⁹, or even the aor. ind. 8¹. In the last passage the use of *ὅταν* in *ὅταν ἦνοιξεν* (corrected into *ὅτε* in N 025) is quite incorrect according to Blass (*Gr.* 218). Yet it is found in the *κοινή*: cf. Mark 11¹⁹ *ὅταν ὁ κύριος ἐγένετο ἐξεπορεύετο ἔξω τ. πόλεως*: Ex 16⁸: cf. *ὡς ἄν* in Gen (Tischendorf's ed.) 27⁸⁰ *ὡς ἄν ἐξῆλθεν Ἰακώβ*, of a single definite action in the past. *ὅταν*, however, with the indic. generally denotes indefinite frequency (an unclassical usage): cf. Mark 3¹¹

¹ As Abbott (*Gr.* 385) points out, *ὅταν* with the pres. subj. refers to the coincidence of time between the action of the pres. subj. and that of the principal verb.

11²⁸: similarly *ᾧ* σου *ἄν*, Mark 6⁸⁶. On *ὅταν* with fut. ind. see Robertson, *Gr.* 972.

(xix.) *ὅτε* occurs 13 times and always with aor. ind. In J 21 times (4 with fut. ind.).

(xx.) *ὅτι*. 63 times. (a) Abbott, *Gr.* 154 sq., points out that the suspensive use of *ὅτι* "is almost confined to the Johannine writings and the Apocalypse." Here *ὅτι* = "because," and he cites as examples outside these writings Gal 4⁶, 1 Cor 12^{15, 16}, Rom 9⁷. In J 1⁵⁰ (*ὅτι* *ἐλπὶς* σοι . . . πιστεύεις) 14¹⁹ 15¹⁹ 16⁶ 20²⁹. In like manner in our author we must render 3¹⁰ "Because (*ὅτι*) thou hast kept the word of my endurance I also will keep thee," 3^{16, 17} 18^{7, 1}.

(b) Besides the suspensive use of *ὅτι*, where the *ὅτι* clause precedes, the word most frequently introduces a subsequent clause giving a ground or reason, and so it is to be rendered "because" or "for." Cf. 3⁴ 4¹¹ 5^{4, 9} 6¹⁷ etc. etc.

(c) Next it means "that" after *εἶδον*, *οἶδα*, *γινώσκω*, *ἔχω κατά* *τινος* or *ᾧ* *μνημι*, 2² 4^{20, 22} 3^{1, 2, 9, 16} 10⁶ etc.

(d) Finally, it is used before direct discourse (i.e. *ὅτι* "recitative"), 3¹⁷ 18⁷.

(xxi.) *οὐ* = "where" [17¹⁵]. Our author as also J uses *ὅπου* and not *οὐ*.

(xxii.) *οὐδ*. We find *οὐ* . . . *οὐδέ*, 7¹⁶ 9²⁰ 12⁸ 20⁴ 21²⁸: *οὐ* . . . *οὔτε*, 9²¹: *οὐδεῖς* . . . *οὐδὲ* . . . *οὐδέ* . . . *οὔτε*, 5³: *οὐδεῖς* . . . *οὔτε*, 5⁴.

(xxiii.) *οὐ μή*. 15 times. Always followed by subj. in our author except in 18¹⁴ (source), which may be an interpolation in this source, seeing that elsewhere in this source it is followed by the subj. See vol. i. 59 *ad med.* In J 3 times with ind. out of 17.

(xxiv.) *οὐαί*. This interjection is followed by the dat. in our author in 8¹⁸. In 12¹² (a source) by the acc. In 18^{10, 16, 19} (a source) by the nom. It is a noun in 9¹² (*ὁ* *αἰ*) 11¹⁴ (*ὁ* *αἰ*).

(xxv.) *οὐκέτι*. 10⁶: in 18^{11, 14} with neg. (source). 12 times in J.

(xxvi.) *οὐν*. (a) Used of logical appeal 6 times, 1¹⁹ 2^{5, 16} etc.

(b) Narrative or continuative *οὐν* does not occur once, and only a few times in the Synoptic Gospels. In J *οὐν* occurs nearly 200 times, and the majority of these apparently in a non-illative or purely continuative or narrative sense. Only 8 times does it occur in the words of Jesus: all the rest in the narrative portions. But Abbott (*Gr.* 470 sqq.) finds difficulties in many of the Johannine uses of *οὐν*. He pertinently remarks (p. 479, footnote): "the

¹ On the ground of this and a few other similarities of style Abbott (*Gr.* 155) suggests that "the author of the Gospel may have been a disciple or younger coadjutor of the author of the Apocalypse."

absence of narrative *οὖν* in Revelation is important, because . . . it is largely made up of narrative, so that we might have expected narrative *οὖν* in abundance if it had been written by the hand that wrote the Fourth Gospel." The word occurs only once in 1. 2. 3 J.

(xxvii.) *οὕτω*. 17^{10. 12} (source). 13 times in J, 1 J once.

(xxviii.) *οὕτε*. We find *οὕτε* . . . *οὕτε*, 3^{15. 16} 9³⁰ 21⁴; *οὐδεὶς* . . . *οὕτε*, 5⁴.

(xxix.) *πλήν* = "only," 2²⁵: cf. Phil. 3¹⁶ for this meaning. Blass (*Gr.* 268) would assign this meaning to *πλήν* also in 1 Cor. 11¹¹, Eph 5²², Phil 4¹⁴.

(xxx.) *ᾧδε* = (a) "hither," 4¹ 11¹²; (b) metaphorically (= "here is need for"), 13^{10. 18} 14¹² 17⁹.

(xxxi.) *ὥς*. (a) On this important particle, see vol. i. 35 sq., where it is shown that it has in our author several uses unknown elsewhere in the N.T. but found in the LXX. One use is there omitted.

(b) In a comparison the same case follows *ὥς* as that which precedes it. This, of course, is the usual construction. Cf. 2¹⁸ τ. ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ ὥς φλόγα πυρός, 9^{8. 9} 12¹⁶ 13⁸ 18²¹ 21² 22¹. Hence 16¹⁸ εἶδον . . . πνεύματα τρία . . . ὥς † βάραιχοι † is either a slip or due to an interpolator. It is due to the latter, as we see on other grounds.

(c) Observe that our author never uses *καθὼς* though it occurs nearly 180 times in the N.T. In J it occurs 31 times and 13 in 1. 2. 3 J. J uses *ὥς* in a temporal sense (= "when") about 20 times, but J²⁰, 1. 2. 3 J never. Our author uses *ὥς* as a word of comparison about 73 times (only once with a numeral), J 13 times (8 times with a numeral).

(d) In 22¹² *ὥς* = "according as," followed by substantive verb—a usage not found elsewhere in the Johannine writings.

(xxxii.) *ὥσπερ*. 10⁸.

§ 7. Case.

(i.) (a) The nominative stands in the case of a proper noun without regard to the construction, in place of the case normally required. 9¹¹ ὄνομα ἔχει Ἀπολλύων. This is good Greek (cf. Xenoph. *Oecon.* vi. 14, τοὺς ἔχοντας τὸ σεμνὸν ὄνομα τοῦτο τὸ καλὸς τε καὶ γαθός), but it comes from the hand of the editor and not from the author, whose construction will be found in 6⁸.

(b) *Nominativus pendens*. Since in our author this usage is a Hebraism, it is dealt with under that heading.

(ii.) (a) Genitive absolute. This construction does not exist in our author, though it is employed often in J and with more elasticity of meaning than is found in the Synoptists: see

Abbott, *Gr.* 83 sq. In the Apoc. 17⁸ θαυμασθήσονται οἱ κατοικοῦντες . . . ὧν . . . βλέπόντων is not a gen. abs. But for this intervening ὧν the text would have read βλέποντες or ὅταν βλέπωσιν.

(δ) Temporal genitive. This genitive denotes the whole period of time during which something happened: 4⁸ 7¹⁶ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός—a phrase that should be restored in 8¹² 21²⁵.

(iii.) Dative. (a) Instrumental dative. This dative is of infrequent occurrence. It is found in 4⁴ περιβεβλημένους ἱματίοις, 19¹⁸ βεβαμμένον αἵματι, 18²¹ ὁρμήματι βληθήσεται (source), 22¹⁴ τοῖς πυλῶσιν εἰσέλθωσιν, 21⁸ [8⁸] καιομένη πυρί, 15² μεμιγμένην πυρί, 5¹ κατεσφραγισμένον σφραγίσιν, 17⁴ 18¹⁶ κεχρυσωμένη χρυσίῳ. φωνῇ μεγάλῃ is found after λέγειν, 5¹² (6¹) 8¹⁸ (yet with ἐν, 14⁷⁻⁹): after κράζειν, 6¹⁰ 7² 10³ 19¹⁷ (but with ἐν in passages from another hand, 14¹⁵ 18²): after φωνεῖν, 14¹⁸. This instrumental dat. is mostly replaced in our author by ἐν (see above, p. cxxx, under ἐν), or occasionally after passive verbs by ἐν or ἀπό.

(δ) Dative of time, μὲν ὥρα in 18^{10, 16, 19} (source) is difficult. It seems to mean "in the course of an hour." Hence we should expect ἐν μὲν ὥρᾳ, just as in 18⁸ we have ἐν μὲν ἡμέρᾳ or else μᾶς ἡμέρας, "in the course of one day." Yet see Blass, *Gr.* 120.

(c) Hebraic dative. 21⁸ τοῖς δὲ δειλοῖς . . . τὸ μέρος αὐτῶν. See below, p. cxlviii (h) (θ).

(iv.) Accusative of point of time. 3³ ποίαν ὥραν. Cf. J 4⁵⁸ ὥραν ἐβδόμην. See Abbott, *Gr.* 75; Acts 20¹⁶ τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς πεντηκοστῆς. This usage (Blass, *Gr.* 94) occurs in connection with ὥρα in Attic Greek and in the papyri. Moulton, *Gr.* 63.

(v.) Vocative. There are nearly 60 examples of the nominative with the article used as a vocative in the N.T. It has a double origin; for it was well established both in Greek and in Hebrew. In Greek¹ it carried with it a rough peremptory note, and in the N.T. this note still survives: cf. Mark 9²⁸ τὸ ἀλαλον καὶ κῶφον πνεῦμα: J 19⁸ χαῖρε ὁ βασιλεὺς τ. Ἰουδαίων. In the latter passage there is a note of derision: βασιλεῦ τ. Ἰουδαίων² would have conceded the justice of Christ's claims. In the tender ἡ παῖς ζῆειρε, Luke 8⁵⁴, Moulton (*Gr.* 70) finds "a survival of the decisiveness of the older use."

But the Hebrew vocative with the art. carries with it a different and often a more dignified note. It can be used in the most respectful form of address to kings, or in a minatory sense

¹ Blass (*Gr.* 69) quotes Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 521, ὁ παῖς ἀκολούθει (= "you there, the lad I mean, follow").

² Moulton (*Gr.* 71) observes that Mark's use of this phrase in 15¹⁸ "is merely a note of his imperfect sensibility to the more delicate shades of Greek idiom."

to inferiors: cf. Is 42¹⁸, Joel 1^{2 18}. But it is never used in addressing God in the O.T. (except possibly in Neh 1⁵, Dan 9⁴).¹ Yet since the LXX generally renders יהוה and יהוה in the vocative by *ὁ θεός*, the solemn use of this vocative appears to have originated with the LXX, being a higher development of the usage already found in Hebrew. Our author appears therefore to have been influenced in this direction by the LXX: cf. 4¹¹ *ὁ κύριος καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν*,² 6¹⁰ *ὁ δεσπότης ὁ ἅγιος*, 12¹² 15⁸ 16⁶ 18^{4 20} 19⁵. In contrast with this prevailing usage, we find, however, *κύριε ὁ θεός*, 11¹⁷ 15⁸ 16⁷: *κύριε, Ἰησοῦ*, 22²⁰.

(vi.) Verbs with different cases or constructions.

(a) *ἀκούειν*. Our author uses this verb with gen. of person, 6^{1 3 5} 8¹⁸ 16^{5 7}, and acc. of thing, 1⁸ 7⁵ 9¹⁶ 22^{6 8}. But *ἀκούειν* takes both the gen. and acc. of the thing, as, for instance, with *φωνή*. Now in J *ἀκ. φωνῆς*⁴ = to hear so as to obey: cf. 5^{25 28} 10^{8 16}, while *ἀκ. φωνήν* = to hear without further result: cf. 3⁸ 5²⁷, similarly *ἀκούειν λόγον* and *λόγῳ*. See Abbott, *Gr.* 435 sq., *Johannine Voc.* 116 (footnotes). This distinction does not exist in our author, save apparently accidentally. Thus in 3²⁰ 11¹² (NC 025 but not A 046) *ἀκ. φωνῆς* = "to obey." In 9¹⁸ 10^{4 8} 11¹² 12¹⁰ 14^{2 (42)} 18⁴ 19^{1 6} the phrase *ἀκ. φωνήν* does not express obedience to, or regard of, the voice, as in J it would connote. Here the phrase means "to hear intelligently," "to understand." But *ἀκ. φωνῆς* has exactly the same force in 14¹⁸ 16^{1 2 8}. Hence our author does not observe either the usage of J nor the well-known one of Acts 9⁷ where *ἀκ. φωνῆς* = "to hear a sound" (without understanding its meaning), and in 9⁴ 26¹⁴ *ἀκ. φωνήν* = "to hear intelligently."⁵

(b) *γράφειν*. Always *γράφειν ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ* in our author: cf. (1⁸) 20¹² 21²⁷ and especially 13⁸; but in source, *γραφ. ἐπὶ τὸ βιβλίον*, 17⁸. This latter construction is found in quite other phrases: 2¹⁷ *ἐπὶ τ. ψήφον . . . γεγραμμένον*, 3¹² 19¹⁶.

(c) *διδόναι*. This verb is followed by the partitive gen. (τοῦ *μαννά*) in 2¹⁷; not so elsewhere in N.T.

(d) *εὐαγγελίζειν*. In 10⁷ c. acc. of person, and in 14⁶ with *ἐπὶ* c. acc.

The rest of the N.T. uses the middle of this verb and frequently c. acc. of person. It does not occur in J in any

¹ This usage, however, was well established in Aramaic, which had three different ways of making the noun definite when it was to stand in the vocative. See Kautzsch, *Gr. des Biblisch. Aramaischen*, p. 148 sq.

² *ὁ κύριος* as a vocative is not found except in this passage (Abbott).

³ In 5¹² we have *πάν κτίσμα . . . ἤκουσα λέγοντας* (al. *λέγοντα*), the idea of the thing prevails and not that of the person; hence the acc.

⁴ In classical Greek "to hear a sound."

⁵ In 1. 2. 3 J *ἀκούειν* takes a gen. of the person and an acc. of the thing except in 3 J⁴ where it is followed by an acc. of the person.

form. In Attic this verb takes acc. of thing and dat. of person.

(ε) προσκυνεῖν. The cases with this verb are dealt with in vol. i. 211 sq. Our author clearly uses προσκυνεῖν with dat. only of the worship of God. When the verb takes the acc. it is homage or inferior worship that is designed. Abbott (*Voc.* 137) shows that "the Synoptists reserve the acc. for the worship due to God or God's Son," in contrast with the use in the LXX or that of our author. Next (138 sqq.) he discovers in the Samaritan Dialogue in J 4 and in the Temptation narratives in the Synoptists "a deliberate differentiation of the two Greek constructions" [προσκυνεῖν, c. acc. (= worship of), and c. dat. (= prostration to)] in which the Evangelists "appear to use προσκυνεῖν with the acc. as meaning such worship as ought to be paid to God alone." Thus though προσκυνεῖν c. dat. occurs in J 4^{21. 23a. 9³⁸}, it has not the full meaning of worship which is implied in 4^{28b. 24}. Hence our author and J again differ here.

(ς) περιβάλλεσθαι 11 times c. acc.; once c. ἐν.

(ϕ) φωτίζειν. In 21²⁸ c. acc.: in 22⁵ ϕ. ἐπ' αὐτοῦς. Here there appears to be a Hebraism: see p. cxlviii (h) (i).

§ 8. Number.

(i.) When several subjects follow a verb and the first is in the sing., the verb is in the sing.: cf. 8⁷ 9^{2. 17} 11¹⁸ 12¹⁰ 18³⁰ 19²⁰ 20¹¹; but if they precede, the verb stands in the pl.: cf. 6¹⁴ 18¹⁷ 20^{18. 24}. So also in J: see Abbott, *Gr.* 307.

(ii.) (α) The neuter plural is generally followed by the pl. verb: cf. 1¹⁹ (ἃ εἰσὶν), 3^{2. 4} (ἃ οὐκ ἐμόλυναν), [4⁵] 5¹⁴ (τὰ τέσσαρα ζῶα ἔλεγον), 9²⁰ (ἃ . . . δύνανται), 11¹⁸ 15⁴ 16²⁰ (ὅρη . . . εὐρέθησαν), 20¹³ 21⁴. The pl. verb may precede the neuter pl.: cf. 4⁹ (δῶσουσιν τὰ ζῶα), 11¹³ (ἀπεκτάνθησαν . . . ὀνόματα) [16¹⁴ (εἰσὶν γὰρ πνεύματα)], 18²⁸ (ἐπλανήθησαν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη), 21²⁴. This construction can generally be explained κατὰ σύνεσιν, the neuter nouns being conceived of as masculine or feminine.

(β) But the sing. verb occasionally follows the neut. pl.: cf. 1¹⁹ (ἃ μέλλει), 2³⁷ [(ἔθνη) . . . συντρίβεται?], 4⁸ (τὰ τέσσαρα ζῶα . . . ἔχων¹), 13¹⁴ (ἃ ἐδόθη), 14¹⁸ (τὰ γὰρ ἔργα . . . ἀκολουθεῖ), 18¹⁴ (τὰ λιπαρὰ . . . ἀπώλετο), 19¹⁴ (τὰ στρατεύματα . . . ἠκολούθει); less often the sing. verb precedes: cf. 8⁸ (ἐδόθη . . . θυμῷ), 20^{2. 5. 7}.

(iii.) The plural verb follows certain collective nouns in the sing.: ὄχλος πολλὸς . . . ἐστῶτες, 7⁹: ὄχλου πολλοῦ . . . λεγόντων 19^{1. 6}, but generally in J this noun has the sing. verb except in

¹ But it is better to take ἔχων here as influenced by the ἐν καθ' ἐν preceding it.

6³⁴ 7⁴⁹ 12¹². In J 7⁴⁹ 12¹² ὄχλος is accompanied by a participle in the sing. (in its collective character) and by the verb in the pl. (as conveying the idea of separate individual action). See Abbott, *Gr.* 307. λαός has the pl. verb in 18¹⁴ and γῆ in 13^{8 4}.

§ 9. Gender.

(i.) As a rule the concord of gender is observed, but there are many exceptions. The greater number of these can be explained as constructions κατὰ σύνεσιν. Thus 4⁷ ζῶν ἔχων, 4⁸ τὰ τέσσαρα ζῶα . . . λέγοντες, 13¹⁴ τῷ θηρίῳ ὃς ἔχει, 17¹¹ θηρίον . . . αὐτὸς ὁγδοὺς ἐστίν, 17¹⁶ τὰ δέκα κέρατα . . . καὶ τὸ θηρίον, οὗτοι. In 15¹² ἄξιός (A) τὸ ἄρνιον is to be similarly explained, though in 5⁶ 14¹ ἄρνιον has the part. in the neuter. Similarly 7⁴ χιλιάδες ἐσφραγισμένοι (cf. also 14³), 19¹⁴ τὰ στρατεύματα ἐνδεδυμένοι, 5⁶ πνεύματα ἀπεσταλμένοι, 5¹³ πᾶν κτίσμα . . . λέγοντας (N), 9⁸ ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς (i.e. ἀκρίδες). With φωνή there are several such wrong concords: 4¹ ἡ φωνή . . . λέγων: cf. also 5^{11 12} 9^{12 14} 11¹⁶. In 12⁶ υἱόν, ἄρσεν is peculiar.

(ii.) The gender of ὕαλος 21¹⁸ is nearly always fem., but our author in making it masc. has the sanction of Theophrastus.

§ 10. The Hebraic Style of the Apocalypse.

The Hebraic style of the Apocalypse has been acknowledged in a general sense till the present generation, but scholars have hitherto done little to establish the fact by actual and detailed evidence. Now, owing on the one hand to this fact that the Hebraic character of the Apocalypse had not been established by actual proofs, and on the other to the vast mass of fresh knowledge of vernacular Greek brought to light by the researches of Grenfell, Hunt, Thumb, Moulton, Milligan, and others, a new attitude has recently been adopted by certain scholars on this question, and some have gone to the extreme length of denying altogether the presence of Hebraisms in the Apocalypse except in sections that are translated from the Semitic. Thus Professor Moulton (*Gr.* 8-9) affirms that "even the Greek of the Apocalypse itself does not seem to owe any of its blunders to 'Hebraism.' The author's uncertain use of cases is obvious to the most casual reader . . . We find him perpetually indifferent to concord. But the less educated papyri give us plentiful parallels from a field where Semitism cannot be suspected. . . . Apart from places where he may be definitely translating a Semitic document, there is no reason to believe his grammar would have been materially different had he been a native of Oxyrhynchus, assuming the extent of Greek education to be the same."

This is not only an extravagant, but, as we shall presently discover, a wrong statement of the case, and called forth a rejoinder from Professor Swete (*Apoc.*² p. cxxiv, note), who wrote: "It is precarious to compare a literary document with a collection of personal and business letters, accounts, and other ephemeral writings; slips in word-formation or in syntax, which are to be expected in the latter, are phenomenal in the former, and if they find a place there, can only be attributed to lifelong habits of thought. Moreover, it remains to be considered how far the quasi-Semitic colloquialisms of the papyri are themselves due to the influence of the large Greek-speaking Jewish population of the Delta." My own studies, which have extended from the time of Homer down to the Middle Ages, and have concerned themselves specially with Hellenistic Greek, so far as this Greek was a vehicle of Hebrew thought, have led me to a very different conclusion on this question, and this is, that *the linguistic character of the Apocalypse is absolutely unique.*¹

Its language differs from that of the LXX and other versions of the O.T., from the Greek of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, and from that of the papyri. Of course it has points in common with all these phases of later Greek, but nevertheless it possesses a very distinct character of its own. No *literary* document of the Greek world exhibits such a vast multitude of solecisms. It would almost seem that the author of the Apocalypse deliberately set at defiance the grammarian and the ordinary rules of syntax. But such a description would do him the grossest injustice. He had no such intention. He is full of his subject, and like the great Hebrew prophets of old is a true artist. His object is to drive home his message with all the powers at his command, and this he does in many of the sublimest passages in all literature. Naturally with such an object in view he has no thought of consistently breaking any rule of syntax. How then are we to explain the unbridled licence of his Greek constructions? The reason clearly is that, *while he writes in Greek, he thinks in Hebrew*, and the thought has naturally affected the vehicle of expression. Moreover, he has taken over some Greek sources already translated from the Hebrew and has himself translated and adapted certain Hebrew sources. Besides he has rendered many Hebrew expressions literally and not idiomatically—constantly in his own original work and occasionally in his translations. His translations

¹ In the next edition of Moulton's *Prolegomena*, the Hebraic style of the Apocalypse is accepted, as its editor, Mr. Howard, has informed me. Dr. Moulton changed his mind owing to the evidence I gave on this subject in my *Studies in the Apocalypse*, pp. 79-102.

in a few cases presuppose corruptions in the Hebrew sources. But this is not all. He never mastered Greek idiomatically—even the Greek of his own period. To him very many of its particles were apparently unknown, and the multitudinous shades of meaning which they expressed in the various combinations into which they entered were never grasped at all, or only in a very inadequate degree. On the other hand, he is more accurate in the use of certain Greek idioms than the Fourth Evangelist. Notwithstanding its many unusual and unheard of expressions, the Book stands in its own literature without a rival, while in the literature of all time it has won for itself a place in the van.

I will now give a list of the chief Hebraisms in the Apocalypse which are sufficient to prove that it is more Hebraic than the LXX itself.

(i.) *The Greek text needs at times to be translated into Hebrew in order to discover its meaning and render it correctly in English.*

(a) The resolution of the participle in one of the oblique cases (gen. dat. or acc.), or of an infinitive, into a finite verb in the following clause, which finite verb should have been rendered idiomatically in Greek by a participle or by an infinitive respectively. We have here a frequent Hebrew idiom which cannot be explained from vernacular Greek and which, not having been recognized, has led to mistranslations of the text in every version of the Apocalypse down to the present day.¹

¹ This idiom is attested in the N.T. outside the Apocalypse in 2 John ² διὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τὴν μένουσαν ἐν ἡμῖν καὶ μεθ' ὑμῶν ἔσται = "for the truth's sake which abideth in us and shall be with us." So rightly the A.V., but wrongly in the R.V. Col 1²⁶ τὸ μυστήριον τὸ ἀποκεκρυμμένον ἀπὸ τῶν αἰώνων . . . νῦν δὲ ἐφανερώθη, is another example.

Long after I had discovered these Hebraisms and recognized the necessity of translating them idiomatically as such, I found that several of the versions had recovered the right rendering purely from the consciousness of the translators that the Greek text could not be taken literally as it stood.

Two of the Greek uncials, in fact, and very many of the cursives, have actually altered the Greek so that it represents idiomatically the Hebrew idiom. Thus \aleph reads, ἐστῶτας . . . ἔχοντας κιθάρας τ. θεοῦ καὶ ψάλλοντας, in 15²⁻³, and 046 and many cursives read καὶ ποιήσαντι in 1⁶ instead of καὶ ἐποίησεν and ἡ λέγει . . . καὶ διδάσκει for τ. λέγουσαν . . . καὶ διδάσκει in 2²⁰. These are simply emendations, and they are emendations which represent idiomatically John's thought in Greek, but do not represent what he wrote. The translators of the versions restored the true sense in several passages by conjecture from a study of their contexts. Thus in 1⁶ Pr fi gig vg (arm?) s³ eth render "qui dilexit et fecit" (τῷ ἀγαπήσῃ . . . καὶ ἐποίησεν): in 2² and 2⁹ Pr gig vg s³ eth render "qui se dicunt . . . et non sunt" (τ. λέγοντας . . . καὶ οὐκ εἰσὶν): in 2²⁰ gig s¹⁻² arm eth = qui dicit . . . et docet (ἡ λέγουσα . . . καὶ διδάσκει), 2²⁰ arm^{1-2-3a} = ego sum qui scruto . . . et do (ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ ἐραυνῶν . . . καὶ δώσω): in 7¹⁴ Pr gig vg s³ arm eth = qui venerunt (or veniunt) . . . et laverunt (οἱ ἐρχόμενοι . . . καὶ ἐπλυναν): in 14²⁻³ 743. 1075 s² arm bo eth = citharizantes et cantantes

"It is," writes Driver (*Hebrew Tenses*, 163), "a common custom with Hebrew writers, after employing a participle or infinitive, to change the construction, and if they wish to subjoin other verbs, which logically should be in the participle or infinitive as well, to pass to the use of the finite verb." Here we have the explanation of a dozen of passages in our author, which have been generally mistranslated in all the versions. In a few cases they are rightly translated, and then only through deliberate emendation of the text.¹

The idiom of a participle continued by a finite verb is rendered literally into Greek in the LXX in Gen 27³³, Is 14¹⁷, and idiomatically in Is 5⁸⁻²³, Ezek 22⁸. But it is rendered literally comparatively seldom in the LXX, whereas in our text it occurs ten times and most probably eleven originally, as we shall see presently. In a few cases the Syriac, Latin, Bohairic, and A.V. are right, but probably unconsciously. This idiom emerges in the first chapter in 5-6 and recurs in 18 22 9 20 23 30 714 1423 153. (α) In 15-6 we have τῷ ἀγαπῶντι ἡμᾶς καὶ λύσαντι ἡμᾶς . . . καὶ ἐποίησεν ἡμᾶς βασιλείαν, which should therefore be rendered, "Unto Him that loveth us . . . and hath made us," and not as in R.V. "Unto Him that loveth us . . . and He made us." (β) The failure to recognize this idiom in 118 has led most scholars to mispunctuate the text, and the rest, like Wellhausen and Haussleiter, to excise ὁ ζῶν. The translation of ὁ ζῶν καὶ ἐγενόμην νεκρός should be 117c "Fear not: I am the first and the last, 118 And He that liveth and was dead." Thus we recover the right sense. (γ) Again we have in 223 ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ ἐραυνῶν . . . καὶ δώσω another example of this idiom = "I am He that trieth . . . and giveth." Here the Hebrew in our author's mind would be יתחן יתן or even יתן; cf. Dan 1212, and see vol. ii. 392 n. For a further treatment of this idiom the reader can consult the note in vol. i. 14 sq. (δ) Next, attention should be drawn to 204, where originally I feel assured there was another instance of this idiom; for the οἵτινες in τῶν πεπελεκισμένων . . . καὶ οἵτινες οὐ προσεκύνησαν is obviously an insertion made by John's literary executor, who edited 204-22 after John's death.

(κίθαριζόντων . . . καὶ ᾄδουσιν): in 1523 R Pr fl vg s1 arm eth=stantes . . . habentes . . . et cantantes (ἑστῶτας . . . ἔχοντας . . . καὶ ᾄδουσιν).

Thus we discover the strange fact that in the above passages many of the ancient versions represent idiomatically and accurately the thought of John, where all but universally the modern versions do neither. The modern editions of these versions frequently punctuate wrongly the above passages, and consequently mislead the student.

¹ These passages are treated by modern editors as *anacolutha*. They are, however, nothing of the kind: they are normal constructions in the grammar of the Apocalypse. Sometimes editors have sought to get over difficulties they fail to understand by mispunctuating the text.

See vol. ii. 182, 183. The insertion of *οἱτινες* is against our author's usage. In practically every instance the failure to recognize this idiom has led both to a mistranslation of the text and a misrepresentation of the meaning. Since the various instances of this idiom are dealt with as they arise, alike in the Commentary and Translation, I will bring forward only two more here to show how important it is that it should be accurately rendered. (ε) In 14^{2, 3} ἡ φωνὴ ἣν ἤκουσα ὡς κιθαρισδῶν κιθαρίζοντων ἐν ταῖς κιθάραις αὐτῶν¹ καὶ ᾄδουσιν ὡς ψδὴν καινήν = "The voice which I heard was as the voice of harpers, harping with their harps and singing as it were a new song": (ζ) 2²⁰ ἡ λέγουσα ἑαυτὴν προφήτιν καὶ διδάσκει = "who calleth herself a prophetess and teacheth" (not "and she teacheth," R.V.).

(δ) In 13¹⁵ we have a resolution of the infinitive into a finite verb in the following clause as in Hebrew (see quotation above from Driver's *Hebrew Tenses*). Thus καὶ ἐδόθη † αὐτῇ † δοῦναι . . . καὶ ποιήσῃ = *נָתַן לָהּ וְהָיָה* . . . *וְהָיָה לָהּ* = "And it was given unto him to give . . . and to cause." See vol. ii. 420, footnote.

(c) Just as in (a, δ), the constructions under this head are quite impossible and unintelligible as Greek, but are full of meaning as literal reproductions of a Hebrew idiom. (α) The first is 12⁷ ὁ Μιχαὴλ καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ τοῦ (> *א 046*) *πολεμήσαι*. We have here a classical Hebrew idiom: see vol. i. p. 322. The words rightly understood are most vivid: "Michael and his angels had to fight with the dragon." It is remarkable that the MSS allowed this astonishing Greek to survive in any form. (β) The same idiom recurs in 13¹⁰ where only A has preserved it in a slightly corrupt form: εἰ τις . . . ἀποκτανθῆναι, † αὐτὸν † ἐν μαχαίρῃ ἀποκτανθῆναι (= *הָיָה לָהּ מָוֶת בְּחֶרֶב* . . . *וְהָיָה לָהּ מָוֶת בְּחֶרֶב*) = "if any man is to be slain with the sword, with the sword must he be slain." In vol. i. 356, I have shown that the Greek translators found great difficulty in rendering this idiom, and resorted to at least half a dozen different ways. The same idiom is to be found in Ethiopic. In *καύσων ἔσται* (Luke 12⁶⁴) the *ἔσται* is rendered by the Eth. lamedh before the infinitive. Thus our author introduces a new use of the inf. into Greek which none of the grammarians has recognized.

(d) Again an expression may be possible in Greek as regards form but wrong in regard to sense. Thus in 2²² *βάλλω εἰς κλίνην* as a piece of Greek is meaningless in its context but full of significance if retranslated into Hebrew. See vol. i. 71.

¹ Here all modern editors insert a full stop before *καὶ ᾄδουσιν*. Both the Syriac versions could be rendered *καὶ ᾄδόντων*. The Bohairic requires this rendering here. It is true that *s*¹ has an internal corruption = *κιθαριζοντα ἐν ταῖς καθάραις αὐτοῦ* ² *καὶ ᾄδοντας*.

² Cf. Ezek 26¹⁵ for this form of the Niphal infinitive.

(e) The finite verb in Hebrew is translated literally, when idiomatically it should be rendered by a participle. Cf. 1¹⁶ ὁ ἥλιος αὐτοῦ ὡς ὁ ἥλιος φαίνει (= 71^A שֶׁשֶׁשׁ) = "his face was as the sun shining" (not "shineth"). See vol. i. 31.

(f) The Greek phrase κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ requires to be retranslated in order to punctuate and translate it rightly. It should not be punctuated as in WH with a comma after κύριος and another after θεός. In fact no commas should intervene at all. The entire phrase is found in 2 Sam 5¹⁰, 1 Kings 19^{10, 14}, Hos 12⁶, Amos 3¹³ 4¹³ 5¹⁴ etc. (= 71^A 71^B 71^C), and often κύριος παντοκράτωρ, Hab 2¹³, Hag 1^{2, 5}, Zech 1⁸. Next it is to be observed that ὁ παντοκράτωρ in all these cases is a rendering of 71^A (with or without the art.) following the construct case. Hence ὁ παντοκράτωρ is the equivalent of a gen. in Greek dependent on the noun that precedes it. Thus nothing—not even a comma (as in WH) should intervene between ὁ θεός and ὁ παντοκράτωρ. They belong inseparably together, and ὁ παντοκράτωρ is never separated in the LXX from the noun of which it is an attribute, nor does our author ever disjoin ὁ θεός and ὁ παντοκράτωρ: cf. 4⁸ 11¹⁷ 15³ 16^{7, 14} 19^{6, 15} 21^{22, 1}. Thus we see that on textual grounds 1⁸ (κύριος ὁ θεός, ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος, ὁ παντοκράτωρ) is the interpolation of an ignorant scribe, who was unacquainted with the origin of this divine title. The context also is against it. See vol. ii. 38, n. 4. Furthermore, it follows that it is not to be rendered "the Lord God, the Almighty," as in R.V., but as "the Lord God Almighty."

(g) When Hebrew and Greek words agree as to their primary meanings, the secondary meanings of the Hebrew words are in a few cases assigned to the Greek. Here retranslation is necessary. (α) In 10¹ we have the extraordinary phrase οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ ὡς στύλοι πυρός. Here, as I have shown in vol. i. 259 sq., πόδες is to be rendered as "legs." (β) Again ποιμαίνειν is to be rendered as "to break" in 27^{12, 15} 19¹⁵ for the same reason: see vol. i. 75 sq. (γ) Again in 1⁸ the primary sense of πρωτότοκος, "firstborn," is eclipsed by the secondary denoting "chief" or "sovereign"—which secondary sense it derives originally from

¹ Hence it is clear that M 025. 046 Pr gig vg s³ wrongly insert ἡμῶν between ὁ θεός and ὁ παντοκράτωρ in 19⁶. A s³ bo arm eth Cyp rightly omit. It is noteworthy that in 4⁸ the scribes of some eight cursives and arm¹ substituted σαβαώθ for ὁ θεός under the influence of the LXX of Is 6³, and thus arrived at the impossible text σαβαώθ ὁ παντοκράτωρ. Clearly they did not know that ὁ παντοκράτωρ was a rendering of σαβαώθ. Possibly this latter word was originally a marginal gloss explaining the origin of ὁ παντοκράτωρ. It is significant of the independence with which our author deals with O.T. phrases that he changes 71^A 71^B (= κύριος σαβαώθ, LXX) in Is 6³, on which his text is based, into κύριος ὁ θεός ὁ παντοκράτωρ in 4⁸ 11¹⁷ 15³ 16⁷ 19⁶ 21²², or into ὁ θεός ὁ παντοκ. in 16¹⁴ 19¹⁵.

the Hebrew בכור. Cf. Job 18¹³ where בכור מות = "the most deadly disease," and Is 14³⁰ בכור דלים = "the poorest." See note on 1⁵ in the Commentary. (δ) Possibly in 1⁷ κόπτεσθαι ἐπι we have an instance in which a secondary meaning of ἔγ assigned by our author to ἐπι.

(h) Other Hebrew idioms literally reproduced in the Greek need to be retranslated in order to appreciate their exact meaning. (α) 2²³ δώσω = "to requite," as נתן in Jer. 17¹⁰ on which 2²³ is based. (β) 3⁸ δέδωκα ἐνώπιόν σου θύραν = "I have set," etc. See vol. i. 41. (γ) 3⁹ ἰδοὺ διδῶ = "behold I will make": vol. i. 41. (δ) 5⁶ ἐν μέσῳ . . . ἐν μέσῳ = "between . . . and": see vol. i. 140. (ε) 6¹ λέγοντος ὡς φωνή (AC 046 and most curss.) βροντῆς. Here ὡς φωνή = כְּקוֹל, which our author may have had in his mind, and which = ὡς φωνή or ὡς φωνῇ. By a slip our author wrote the former. The same misrendering is found in Is 5¹⁷ etc.: see vol. i. 161. (ζ) 12¹¹ ἐνίκησαν διὰ τὸ αἷμα τοῦ ἀρνίου . . . καὶ οὐκ ἠγάπησαν, κτλ., where the καὶ is to be rendered by "seeing," as vān in Hebrew. The καὶ (= vān) introduces a statement of the condition under which the action denoted by ἐνίκησαν took place. See footnote 7, vol. ii. 417. The same Hebraism recurs in 18³ 19³. (η) 12¹⁴ ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ ὄφεις = מפני הנחש—"because of the serpent": see vol. i. 330. (θ) 21⁸ τοῖς δὲ δειλοῖς . . . τὸ μέρος αὐτῶν = לְרֵכֶּז לֵב . . . הַלֵּקָה. The dative is to be explained as a reproduction of the Hebrew idiom where ל introduces a new subject: see vol. ii. 216, footnote. (ι) 22⁵ ὁ θεὸς φωτίζει ἐπ' αὐτούς. Our author uses φωτίζειν as a transitive verb in 18¹ 21²³, and naturally we expect it to be used as such here. Moreover, the context itself is against using it here intransitively; for "God will shine upon them" is not a likely expression. If, however, we understand "His face" as in the Hebrew, Ps 118²⁷, we can render φωτίζειν transitively as in 18¹ 21²³ and give a most excellent meaning to the passage: "will cause his face to shine upon them": see vol. ii. 210 sq.

(ii.) Other Hebraisms.—(a) 3³⁰ καὶ introducing the apodosis (cf. 10⁷ 14¹⁰). (b) 5⁷ (cf. 8³ 17¹ 21⁹) ἦλθεν καὶ εἰλῆφεν. (c) 6⁸ ὁ καθήμενος ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ ὄνομα αὐτῷ ὁ θάνατος = הרב עליו שְׁמוֹ דָּבָר. Here observe the non-Greek sense assigned to θάνατος: cf. 2²³ 18³. (d) 6¹ μίαν ἐκ = "the first of." (e) 8³ ἵνα δώσει (i.e. θυμιάματα) ταῖς προσευχαῖς = "to offer it upon" = תַּחַת עַל תְּפִלּוֹת: cf. Num 19¹⁷ or 18¹². (f) 10⁸ ὑπαγε λάβε. (g) 12² υἱὸν ἄρσεν = כֶּן זָכָר. (h) 13⁸ ὄνομα = ὀνόματα (cf. 17⁸).

(i) The future is to be rendered by the pres. in 4⁹⁻¹⁰; for here the future represents the Hebrew imperfect in a frequentative sense. Thus ὅταν δώσουσιν . . . δόξαν . . . πσοῦνται, "when they give . . . glory . . . they fall down." This mis-

translation of the Hebrew imperf. is often met with in Greek translations. Its occurrence in our author, who thinks in Hebrew, is therefore very natural. See vol. ii. 399, footnote. The future in 13⁸ προσκυνήσουσιν should be rendered as προσεκύνουν (= Hebrew imperf.).

(κ) The *present* in 9⁶ is to be rendered as a *future*, where φεύγει represents the Hebrew imperf. in our author's mind: as a *past imperf.* in 7¹⁰ κράζουσιν, 12⁴ σύρει, 16²¹ καταφεύγει.

(iii.) Hebrew constructions are reproduced, parallels to which are found occasionally in vernacular Greek.

(a) *Nominativus pendens*.—This construction is found in 2²⁶ 3¹² 21 ὁ νικῶν δώσω αὐτῷ, 6⁸ ὁ καθημένος ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ ὄνομα αὐτῷ.¹ In other passages, however, our author has assimilated the construction more to the Greek construction by changing the nom. into the dat., 2⁷. 17 (21⁶) τῷ νικῶντι δώσω αὐτῷ, 6⁴ τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπ' αὐτὸν † ἐδόθη αὐτῷ: cf. Matt. 5⁴⁰. This construction is very frequent in the LXX owing to its frequency in the Hebrew.

(δ) The oblique forms of the personal pronoun are added to relatives. 3⁸ ἣν οὐδείς δύναται κλείσαι αὐτήν, 7² οἷς ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς, 7⁹ ὃν . . . αὐτόν, 13⁸. 12 20⁸: cf. also 12⁶. 14 (ὅπου . . . ἐκεῖ) 17⁹ (ὅπου . . . ἐπ' αὐτῶν). The pronoun is, of course, pleonastic in the Greek but not in the Hebrew, where, since the relative is uninflected, it supplies the inflection needed. This pleonastic use of the pronoun is found also in Mark 1⁷ (= Luke 3¹⁶), 7²⁵ 9² (οἷα . . . οὕτως), 13⁹, J 1²⁷, Acts 15¹⁷. Examples of this idiom occur exceptionally in the κοινή. It is found also in Early English. But in our text its frequency is due to Semitic influences.

(c) (α) A noun or participial phrase, which is dependent on or in apposition to a preceding gen. dat. or acc., may stand in the nom., if it is preceded by the art., though Greek syntax would require it to agree with the oblique case that goes before it. This peculiar idiom is derived from the Hebrew, according to which the noun or phrase which stands in apposition to a noun in an oblique case remains unchanged. Instances of this usage occur in the LXX; but what is a rare phenomenon in the Greek version of the O.T. (cf. Ezek. 23⁷. 12)² is a well-established idiom in the Greek text of the Apocalypse.³ Our

¹ This occurs also elsewhere in the N.T., Matt. 4¹⁶ 12²⁸, Luke 12¹⁰, Acts 7⁴⁰.

² This anomalous construction is concealed by the wrong punctuation in Swete's edition in both passages, and in one of them in Tischendorf's. But the art. does not occur in the Greek, as it was not in the Hebrew.

³ This idiom occurs exceptionally in the κοινή, and as a blunder in other languages. But it is not a blunder in our author. Moulton's attempts to explain away this Hebrew idiom are just as idle as his attempt to explain τοῦ

author has, in fact, adopted a Hebraism into his Greek, and naturalized it there. Thus it has become a marked characteristic of his style: cf. 1⁵ 2^{13.20} 3¹² [8⁹] 9¹⁴ 14¹³ 20³. In these passages observe that the nom. is always preceded by the art. 1⁵ ἀπὸ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ὁ μάρτυς ὁ πιστός, 2²⁰ τὴν γυναῖκα Ἰεζάβελ, ἣ λέγουσα ἑαυτὴν προφῆτιν, 3¹² τῆς καινῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ, ἣ καταβαίνοῖσα, [8⁹ τῶν κτισμάτων . . . τὰ ἔχοντα ψυχάς]. How readily a Jew could adopt or fall into such a solecism when using an inflected language, is illustrated by Nestle (*Textual Criticism of the Greek Testament*, p. 330), who notes the following gem from Salomon Bär in his translation of the Massoretic note at the end of the Books of Samuel (Leipzig, 1892, p. 158), "ad mortem Davidis rex Israelis." (β) If the art. is omitted, then the word or phrase is put in the same case as the noun that precedes it. Contrast 9¹⁴ τῷ ἀγγέλῳ, ὁ ἔχων τ. σάλπιγγα, and 7² 9¹⁷ 13¹ 14⁶ 15² 18¹ 20¹ ἄγγελον . . . ἔχοντα τὴν κλεῖν. (γ) But this rule does not apply to λέγων. Thus in 14⁶ we have εἶδον ἄλλον, ἄγγελον πετόμενον . . . ἔχοντα εὐαγγέλιον. . . . λέγων. But λέγων (or λέγοντες) stands by itself: it appears almost indeclinable. This may be due to the fact that it may reproduce רָבִי in our author's mind. Cf. 4¹ ἡ φωνὴ . . . λέγων: 5¹¹ ὁ ἀριθμὸς αὐτῶν . . . λέγοντες, 11¹ ἐδόθη μοι κάλαμος . . . λέγων, 11¹⁵ φωναὶ . . . λέγοντες. This solecism is, of course, found in the LXX: cf. Gen 15¹ 22²⁰ 38¹⁸ 45¹⁶ 48²⁰ etc. (δ) ἔχων follows an acc. when not preceded by the art. in 5⁶ ἀρνίον ἐσθηκὸς . . . ἔχων, 14¹⁴ ὅμοιον υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου, ἔχων, 17³ θηρίον . . . ἔχων. But in 5⁶ 17³ it seems corrupt for ἔχον. In 14¹⁴ ἔχων is right and καθήμενον ὅμοιον, which precedes, is a slip for nom.

(iv.) (a) There are passages which need to be retranslated in order to discover the corruption or mistranslation in the Hebrew sources used by our author.

We have already seen (see p. lxii sqq.) that our author made use of sources some of which were Greek, though originally written in Hebrew; others which he found in Hebrew and rendered into Greek. As it chanced, we are only concerned under the present heading with the Hebrew sources which our author himself translated; for the passages which presuppose mistranslation or a corrupt Hebrew original are 13^{3.11} and 15^{5.6}. (a) As regards 13³ I have shown in vol. i. 337 that ἐθανμάσθῃ . . . ὀπίσω τοῦ θηρίου is corrupt, and that the corruption did not originate in the Greek but in the Hebrew; for since 13^{3a.8} and 17⁸ are doublets (the latter being an independent rendering of a purer form of the

πολεμήσαι in 12⁷ Nearly every one of his references to the Apocalypse needs to be corrected. Robertson (*Gr.* 414 sq.) is too much influenced by Moulton, and like all other grammarians fails to recognize this Hebraism and most others in the Apocalypse.

Hebrew original), we are enabled to discover the origin of the corruption. Thus the clause in 13^{8c} = מאחר החיה . . . וחחמח, where the חחמח is corrupt for מאחר, or rather מאחז = βλέπουσα. Thus we have: "the whole earth wondered when it saw the beast," which brings it into line with 17⁸ "they that dwell on the earth shall wonder . . . when they see the beast." But the evidence for this restoration cannot be appreciated, unless the reader turns to p. 337 of this vol., where the two passages are placed side by side. (β) In 13¹¹ we have the extraordinary statement that the second Beast had two horns like a lamb and spake like a dragon! The first idea may be suggested by Matt. 7¹⁵ "Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly are ravening wolves." See, however, vol. ii. 451 sq. But what is the explanation of the second idea—"he spake like a dragon"? A dragon does not speak. If the text had read "like the dragon," it might have recalled the temptation of Eve in Eden. But the lack of the article can be explained by the translator's reading כחנך as כחנך instead of כחנך; and, since καὶ ἐλάλει = וחבר, the latter is most probably corrupt for וחבר, as in 2 Chron. 22¹⁰ (cf. 2 Kings 11¹). Thus 13^{11c} should be read: "but he was a destroyer like the dragon." This brings our text into line with Matt. 7¹⁵ (quoted above) and prepares us for the statement in 13¹⁵ that this second Beast put all to death that did not worship the first Beast. (γ) Again in 15⁵⁻⁶ there are two expressions, ἡνοίγη † ὁ ναὸς τῆς σκηνῆς τοῦ μαρτυρίου † ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, and ἐνδεδυσμένοι † λίθον † καθαρὸν λαμπρόν, which are clearly corrupt. Inferior MSS (025. 046) have corrected the second into λίνον. A new vision begins with these verses. It is clear that no Jew writing originally in Greek could have used either of the obelized phrases. But, as I have shown in vol. ii. 37 sq., what is most probably the true text can be discovered by retranslation into Hebrew. In the first passage, 15⁵ ὁ ναὸς τῆς σκηνῆς τοῦ μαρτυρίου ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ = היכל אהל מועד בשמים, which was corrupt for היכל אלהים שבשמים = ὁ ναὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, a phrase which we find exactly in 11¹⁰ accompanied by the same verb ἡνοίγη and the repeated article. In 15⁶ † λίθον † is to be explained by a mistranslation of שׂשׁ, which can be rendered either by λίθος, μάρμαρος, or by βύσσινος. Here the latter, of course, is the right rendering.

(δ) These two passages naturally lead to the inquiry: Did John translate the Hebrew source himself, or did he adopt an independent Greek version of it? The fact that every phrase and construction in 15⁵⁻⁸ are distinctly our author's, furnishes such strong evidence for the former hypothesis that it seems necessary to accept it. If this is right, then we must conclude

that our author inserted here a translation which, while reproducing exactly the corrupt Hebrew before him in 15⁵ and a wrong rendering of a Hebrew word in 15⁶, would have been corrected later, if he had had the opportunity of revision. Repeatedly we find traces of unfinished work in our author, which a revision would have removed. Thus 12¹⁴⁻¹⁶ 18⁴ (see vol. i. 330-332, ii. 96 *ad fin.*) are meaningless survivals of earlier expectations. Unhappily the work was revised by one of his disciples who was quite unequal to the task, and to whom we owe some of the worst confusions in the Book. See, however, p. lxiv *ad fin.*

(c) For other passages which need to be retranslated in order to discover their meaning, see 18²² (μουσικῶν), 18¹⁹ ἐκ τῆς τιμωτητος αὐτῆς . . . ἡρημώθη.

§ 11. *Unique Expressions in our Author.*

(i.) 1⁴ ἀπὸ ὁ ὦν. Our author knows perfectly the case that should follow ἀπό, but he refuses to inflect the divine name. See vol. i. 10.

(ii.) 1⁴ ὁ ὦν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος: cf. 11¹⁷ 16⁶; see vol. i. 10.

(iii.) 1¹⁸ 14¹⁴ ὁμοιον υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου: see vol. i. 27.

§ 12. *Solecisms due to slips on the part of our Author.*

We have now dealt with our author's grammar, first in so far as it is normal or abnormal from the standpoint of the Greek of his own age, and next in so far as its abnormalities are due to Hebraisms.

We have found that these abnormalities are not instances of mere licence nor yet mere blunders, as they have been most wrongly described, but are constructions deliberately chosen by our author. Some of these belong to the vernacular of his own time, some of them do not. Many are obviously to be explained as *literal* reproductions in Greek of Hebrew idioms, and some as misrenderings of Hebrew words or phrases in the mind of the author or in his Hebrew source, and some half dozen as due to corruptions in the Hebrew documents laid under contribution by our author either directly or through the medium of Greek translations.

Thus from a minute study of the text from this standpoint of grammar I have found it possible to explain—that is, to bring within the province of the normal and intelligible—all but about a score of passages. By our comprehensive study of our author's grammar we are the better equipped for recognizing the character of the remaining solecisms that cannot be explained from his own usages or vernacular Greek or the influences of a Semitic back-

ground. The bulk of these solecisms, though not all, are simply slips of our author which a subsequent revision would have removed, if the opportunity for such a revision had offered itself. These are:

(i.) 1¹⁰ ἤκουσα φωνὴν . . . ὡς σάλπιγγος † λεγούσης † (for λέγουσαν): cf. 6⁶ 14⁸ 16¹ where the construction is normal.

(ii.) 1¹⁶ οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ ὅμοιοι χαλκολιβάνῳ ὡς ἐν καμίνῳ † πεπυρωμένῳ † (for πεπυρωμένῳ, a correction rightly introduced in \aleph , some cursives, s^{1,2} etc.).

(iii.) 1²⁰ τὸ μυστήριον τῶν ἐπτα ἀστέρων . . . καὶ † τὰς ἐπτα λυχνίας † (for τῶν ἐ. λυχνίων).

(iv.) 2²⁷ συντρίβεται for συντριβήσονται or συντρίψει (?).

(v.) 4⁴ καὶ κυκλόθεν τοῦ θρόνου † θρόνους . . . τέσσαρας . . . πρεσβυτέρους καθμένους περιβεβλημένους . . . στεφάνους χρυσοῦς †. In place of the accusatives, nominatives should be read. I have shown (vol. i. 115) that 4⁴ was introduced subsequently by our author to prepare the way for 4⁹⁻¹¹. He seemingly inserted it as the object of εἶδον. It is obviously a slip.

(vi.) 6¹ λέγοντος ὡς † φωνῇ †, where we should have φωνῇ: see § 10. i. (h). (ε) above, and vol. i. 161.

(vii.) 6¹⁴ ὡς βιβλίον † ἐλίσσόμενον †. This is rightly corrected in \aleph and some cursives into ἐλίσσόμενος.

(viii.) 7⁹ † περιβεβλημένους † στολὰς λευκάς. This is obviously a slip for the nom. In this sentence A Pr vg omitted καὶ ἰδοὺ and changed, with the exception of ἐστῶτες, the following nominatives into accusatives.

(ix.) 10⁸ ἡ φωνὴ ἦν ἤκουσα . . . † λαλοῦσαν . . . καὶ λέγουσαν † (for λαλοῦσα . . . καὶ λέγουσα: see vol. i. 267).

(x.) 11¹ ἐδόθη μοι κάλαμος . . . λέγων (source). This may be only an abnormal construction to which partial parallels are found in the LXX: see vol. i. 274.

(xi.) 11⁸ προφητεύσουσιν . . . † περιβεβλημένους †.

(xii.) 11⁴ αἱ ἐνώπιον τοῦ κυρίου . . . † ἐστῶτες †. Since our author's sense and usage here require the αἱ ἐστῶσαι, the participle in the masc. and without the art. is a slip.

(xiii.) 13⁸ καὶ μίαν ἐκ τ. κεφαλῶν αὐτοῦ ὡς ἐσφαγμένην. This is a slip exactly like that in 4⁴ above. It is an addition of our author, and was added seemingly as the object of εἶδον in 13¹.

(xiv.) 14^{6,7} εἶδον ἄλλον ἄγγελον πετόμενον . . . ἔχοντα . . . † λέγων †. But it is perhaps best to take λέγων as a Hebraism = רָבֵן: cf. 4¹. For analogous cases see p. cl *ad med.*

(xv.) 14¹⁴ εἶδον καὶ ἰδοὺ νεφέλη λευκή, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν νεφέλην † καθήμενον ὅμοιον † υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου, ἔχων. Cf. 4³ εἶδον καὶ ἰδοὺ θρόνος . . . καὶ ἐπὶ τ. θρόνον καθήμενος, 19¹¹ εἶδον . . . καὶ ἰδοὺ ἵππος λευκός, καὶ ὁ καθήμενος ἐπ' αὐτοῦ, where we have the normal construction.

(xvi.) 14¹⁹ τὴν ληνὸν . . . † τὸν μέγαν †.

(xvii.) 19³⁰ τὴν λίμνην τοῦ πυρὸς † τῆς καιομένης †. The fact that the Hebrew and Aramaic words for "fire" (*i.e.* עֵשֶׂה and נִפְתָּל) are feminine, may have led to our author's forgetting himself for the moment and writing τῆς καιομένης. In Rom 11⁴ we have τῇ Βάαλ instead of τῷ Βάαλ. This is frequently found in the LXX of the prophetic books and occasionally of the historical, because it goes back in the mind of the translator to נִפְתָּל , which mentally he substituted for לֵב . The influence of the Hebrew is to be traced in Mark 12¹¹ (= Matt 21⁴²), where in the quotation from the LXX (Ps 118²³) the αὐτῇ = נִפְתָּל , though we should expect τοῦτο. Cf. Gen 35^{19, 27} 36¹, Ps 102¹⁹ 119^{50, 56} etc. Possibly in 13¹⁵ of our text the fem. αὐτῇ in ἐδόθη αὐτῇ may be due to נִפְתָּל ; and the fem. art. in ἡ οὐαί (19¹² 11¹⁴) may be explained by the gender of נִפְתָּל .

(xviii.) 21⁹ τῶν ἐχόντων τὰς ἐπτὰ φιάλας † τῶν γεμόντων † τῶν ἐπτα πληγῶν. It is hard to explain how such a slip as τῶν γεμόντων (AN 025) could have arisen, but if one investigates one's own slips, it is often impossible to account for them. Our author would no doubt have corrected this phrase into τὰς γεμούσας as certain cursives have done, rather than into γεμούσας as 046 and many cursives. For the participle is used attributively, following τὰς . . . φιάλας. Contrast 15⁷.

(xix.) 21¹⁴ τὸ τεῖχος τῆς πόλεως † ἔχων †.

(xx.) 22³ ξύλον ζωῆς † ποιῶν † . . . ἀποδιδόν. Here our author would no doubt have corrected ποιῶν into ποιούν, as is done in 8 046 and most cursives; for he knows the gender of ξύλον: cf. 22¹⁴ 18^{12 (64)}. If the gender of γῶ led to his writing ποιῶν, he would on revision either have corrected or written ἀποδιδούς so as to bring it into line with the former participle.

§ 13. *Primitive Corruptions—due either to (a) accidental or (b) deliberate changes.*

These are due to an early scribe, or in some cases (7¹⁵ 20^{4, 11, 13} 21³⁵ 22¹²) to the editor.

(i.) (a) 1³⁰ αἱ λυχνίαι αἱ ἐπτὰ [ἐπτα] ἐκκλησίαι εἰσίν. This order of the numerals (see below, § 15, iv., and vol. i. 224, footnote, vol. ii. 389, footnote) is in some respects normal in our author; but as WH observe, "it is morally impossible that τῶν ἐπτα ἐκκλησιῶν should be followed by ἐπτα ἐκκλησίαι without the article" . . . "the second ἐπτα . . . must be an erroneous repetition of the first, due to the feeling that the number of the lamps was likely to be specified as well as of the stars." Besides, we should expect

the art. before the second *ἐπτά*, since the predicate is coextensive with the subject. (See chap. xiii. § 2. iv.)

(ii.) (a) 6⁴ τῷ καθήμενῳ ἐπ' ἑαυτόν †.

(iii.) (b) 7¹⁵ ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ †.

(iv.) (a) 8¹² † ἡ ἡμέρα καὶ ἡ νύξ ὁμοίως † for *ἡμέρας καὶ ὁμοίως νυκτός* (as in Bohairic).

(v.) (b) 9¹⁷ τοὺς καθήμενους ἐπ' ἑαυτῶν †. Contrast 19¹⁹ 21.

(vi.) (a) 14⁹ ἐπὶ τῷ μετώπῳ †.

(vii.) (a) 19¹⁸ τῶν καθήμενων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς † (A).

(viii.) (b) 20⁴ τῶν πεπελεκισμένων . . . καὶ [οἷτινες] οὐ προσ-
εκύνησαν. A correction by the editor of John's Greek.

(ix.) (b) 20¹¹ τὸν καθήμενον ἐπ' αὐτοῦ †. Editor's correction of John's Greek as in 7¹⁵ 9¹⁷.

(x.) (b) 20¹⁸ ἔδωκεν † ἡ θάλασσα † τ. νεκροὺς τοὺς ἐν τ' αὐτῇ †. This was a deliberate change on dogmatic grounds. See note *in loc.*

(xi.) (a) 21⁵ ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ †.

(xii.) (a) 21⁹ † τῶν γεμόντων † A⁸ 025 for τὰς γεμούσας.

(xiii.) (b) 21²⁵ οἱ πυλῶνες αὐτῆς οὐ μὴ κλεισθῶσιν ἡμέρας † νύξ γὰρ οὐκ ἔσται ἐκεῖ †. This change was probably due to the editor. It originated in a misunderstanding of the text. In place of the last five words we should restore καὶ νυκτός. See note *in loc.*

(xiv.) 21²⁷ † πᾶν κοινόν †. Read πᾶς κοινός.

(xv.) (b) 22¹² ὡς τὸ ἔργον ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ. This order, which is contrary to our author's own usage, is, like other departures from our author's usage in 20⁴-22, to be traced to the editor. See below, § 15, ii. (b).

§ 14. Constructions in the interpolations conflicting with our author's use.

1⁸ ὁ θεός, ὁ ὢν . . . ὁ παντοκράτωρ. See above, § 10. i. (f).

2²² εἰάν μὴ μετανοήσουσιν. Our author does not use the indicative after εἰάν μὴ.

8¹¹ καὶ τ. ὄνομα τ. ἀστέρος λέγεται Ὁ Ἀψινθος. Our author does not use λέγειν but καλεῖν in this sense: cf. 1⁹ 11⁸ 12⁹ 16¹⁶. This addition is made in an interpolated section; whether before or after it was interpolated cannot be determined.

9¹⁷ τ. καθήμενους ἐπ' αὐτῶν (—the construction John's editor prefers, being better Greek: cf. 7¹⁵ 9¹⁷ 20¹¹ in § 13 above, and 14¹⁵ 16 in this section).

14¹⁵ τῷ καθήμενῳ ἐπὶ τῆς νεφέλης.

14¹⁶ ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῆς νεφέλης.

15¹ is an interpolation, since independently of other grounds it misuses καὶ εἶδον to introduce the Seven Bowls, where we

should expect *μετὰ ταῦτα εἶδον*. Since the latter phrase, which is used to introduce new paragraphs or sections, is found in 15⁵, we see that the subject of the Bowls is there mentioned for the first time.

16²⁰ τοὺς προσκυνούντας τῇ εἰκόνι αὐτοῦ. Our author would use the acc. here: only the dat. in reference to God.

16¹⁸ εἶδον . . . πνεύματα τρία . . . ὡς βάτραχοι. (A^{no} 046 min^p) Here our author would have written *βατράχους* (so corrected text in K^{*} min^p). See on ὡς, p. cxxxviii.

16¹⁹ εἰς τρία μέρη. Wrong order. Our author would say *μέρη τρία*.

17⁹ ὅπου ἡ γυνὴ κάθηται ἐπ' αὐτῶν. Our author does not use this construction, but *ὅπου* alone: cf. 2¹⁸ (δ^{ss}) 11⁸ 20¹⁰.

17¹⁵ οὐ ἡ πόρνη κάθηται. Our author uses *ὅπου*, not *οὐ*.

18¹⁸ καὶ ἱππῶν . . . καὶ σωμάτων. An addition conflicting alike with the syntax and the sense of the context.

19¹⁰ προσκυνῆσαι αὐτῷ (*i.e.* an angel). See note on 16²⁰ above.

§ 15. *Order of the Words.*

The Apocalypse is notable for the clearness, simplicity, and uniformity of its phrasing. When once our author has adopted a certain combination of words he holds fast to it as a general rule. This is an essential characteristic of his style. There is rarely any variation in the words or in their arrangement. How profoundly J differs from our author in this respect the reader will see by consulting Abbott's *Gr.* 401-436, where it is proved by hundreds of examples that J shows a subtle discrimination in availing himself of the manifold variations of order which are possible in Greek expressing various subtle shades of meaning. So far as the outward form goes our author's style is essentially monotonous when compared with that of J. And yet notwithstanding this absolute simplicity and apparent monotony, there is no sublimer work in the whole Bible. J works like a miniature painter, but our author like an impressionist on an heroic scale.

(i.) *The Article.*—(a) A noun in the genitive never stands between the article and its noun, but always follows it. This rule is without exception. In J, on the other hand, we find 18¹⁰ τὸν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως δούλον. If, however, the article is omitted in the case of both nouns, then the noun in the genitive case can precede the noun that governs it: cf. 7¹⁷ ζωῆς πηγὰς ὕδατων.

(b) Nor can participial or prepositional phrases stand between the art. and its noun.¹ If these stand in an attributive relation,

¹ It is quite otherwise in J 8¹⁸ (and 12⁴⁰) ὁ πέμψας με πατήρ. Contrast 16⁸ τὸν πέμψαντά με, 8⁸¹ τοὺς πεπιστευκότας αὐτῷ Ἰουδαίους.

they must follow the noun with the art. repeated : cf. 11¹⁹ ὁ ναὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ. But when the noun is anarthrous, such a prepositional phrase can precede the noun, just as an anarthrous noun can precede the noun that governs it, as in 7¹⁷. This occurs only in the titles of the letters to the Churches. Thus in 2¹ we must read with AC Pr τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῷ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐκκλησίας, and similarly throughout the seven letters, although in the case of three all the MSS have been corrected and normalized. Lachmann and WH recognized that this alone was what our author wrote, though neither they nor later editors were aware of the rule universally observed by him throughout J^{ap}, that a prepositional phrase is never inserted between the article and its noun. Hence the reading adopted by Tischendorf, Alford, Weiss, Von Soden, etc., τῆς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐκκλ., is without justification. Our author could not write so. Besides, since it is his rule to repeat the art. before a prepositional phrase following an articular noun in an attributive relation, it follows that we should read τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῷ. From the combination of these two usages emerges the strange piece of Greek, yet one that is essentially our author's — τῷ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐκκλησίας.¹

(c) But though a participial or prepositional phrase may not intervene between the art. and its noun, it is inserted many times between the art. and the *participle* dependent upon it : 11¹⁶ οἱ . . . πρεσβύτεροι οἱ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ καθήμενοι, 14¹⁸ 17¹⁴ 19⁹; also 11⁴ 12¹³ 13^{6, 12} 18^{9, 17} etc.

(ii) *The Pronoun*.—(a) The genitive of the possessive noun does not precede its noun, unless when it is used unemphatically (*i.e.* vernacularly) : see notes in vol. i. 49, 68 sq.; Abbott, *Gr.* 414-422, 601-607. But in our author αὐτοῦ, αὐτῆς, αὐτῶν are never found in this unemphatic position except in 18 (source), though very frequently in J and a few times in 1. 3 J.

(b) Again the genitive of the possessive pronouns (μου, ἡμῶν, σου, ὑμῶν, αὐτοῦ, αὐτῶν) is never separated from its noun.² It occurs roughly over 300 times or more. Hence 12⁸ οὐδὲ τόπος

¹ WH (*N.T. in Greek*, ii. "Notes on select Readings," p. 137) point out that inscriptions in Asia Minor connected with temples dedicated to the Emperor always omit the art. before ναοῦ, as in ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς Ἀσίας ναοῦ τοῦ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, Κυλικῶ, Περγᾶμῳ, etc., just as τῆς is omitted before ἐκκλησίας in our text. But independently of this our author's usage requires the reading which even A has only preserved three times.

In the case of all the seven titles this construction has the support once of a cursive and always of one or more versions. See crit. note on 2¹ of the Greek text in vol. ii. 244.

² When a noun is followed by an attributive adjective, the pronominal genitive is generally inserted between them : cf. 2⁴ τὴν ἀγάπην σου τὴν πρώτην. 2¹⁹ 3¹² 10^{2, 5} 13¹⁶ 14¹⁹. The genitive of the noun can be separated by an attributive adjective from the noun it depends on : cf. 19¹⁷ τὸ δειπνὸν τὸ μέγα τοῦ θεοῦ : also 6¹⁷ 16¹⁴. Here the emphasis is laid on the gen.

εὐρέθη αὐτῶν ἐτι is against our author's style,¹ also 18¹⁴ σου τῆς ἐπιθυμίας τῆς ψυχῆς (on other grounds we have found that 18 is a source): and also 22¹² ὡς τὸ ἔργον ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ, where the wrong order is probably due to the editor.

This is all the more remarkable seeing that in J the genitive both of the noun and of the possessive pronoun is very frequently separated from the noun that governs it: cf. 1⁴⁹ βασιλεὺς εἰ τοῦ Ἰσραήλ, 2¹⁵ 3¹⁹ 9⁵. 6. 28 (δύο) 12². 47 13⁶. 14 18¹⁷ 19³⁵ 20²⁸. See vol. i. 304, footnote.

(c) οὗτος always follows its noun. Not so in J, where it both precedes and follows its noun. The latter is the emphatic position in J: see Abbott, *Gr.* 409. Often in J the point of a passage depends on οὗτος being pre- or post-positive.

The oblique cases of οὗτος never appear in the position of an attribute any more than the possessive pronouns.² Hence even in 18¹⁵ (source) we have οἱ ἔμποροι τούτων, though the attributive position would be the more regular: see Blass, *Gram.* 169. Contrast J 5⁴⁷ τοῖς ἐκείνου γράμμασιν (classical as regards ἐκείνου and its position).

(d) ἄλλος is always pre-positive, though generally post-positive in the LXX as in Hebrew.

(iii.) *The Adjective.*—The adjective as a rule follows after the noun it depends on. But there are certain exceptions. In 1¹⁰ we have ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ ἡμέρᾳ, 3⁸ μικρὰν δύναμιν, 20⁸ μικρὸν χρόνον (yet χρόνον μικρόν in 6¹¹), 13⁸ (source) ὅλη ἡ γῆ (elsewhere always post-positive—3¹⁰ 6¹² 12⁹ 16¹⁴). μέγας is always post-positive except in 16¹ μεγάλης φωνῆς (always elsewhere in our author the adj. is post-positive in this phrase—i.e. 18 times). 18²¹ (source) ἡ μεγάλη πόλις. ἰσχυρός is once pre-positive in 18² (source) ἐν ἰσχυρᾷ φωνῇ. Elsewhere post-positive (5 times, including 18¹⁰).

Thus, save in four passages of our author (1¹⁰ 3⁸ 16¹ 20⁸), the adjective always follows the noun. The other instances (13⁸ 18² 21) are in sources.

(iv.) *The Numerals.*—The usage of our author in regard to

¹ When this fact is taken into account together with the five other uses that equally conflict with his style (i.e. 12¹ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς instead of ἐπὶ τ. κεφαλῇ), 12¹⁴ 8 πον . . . ἐκεῖ (instead of 8 πον alone), 12⁷ τοῦ before the inf. (whereas inf. is used in the same sense twice without τοῦ in 13¹⁰), 12¹² οἱ οὐρανοὶ (instead of οὐρανέ), οὐαὶ τὴν γῆν (instead of οὐαὶ τῇ γῇ: cf. 8¹²), the statement in vol. i. 300 sqq. must be withdrawn. Our author therefore did not translate 12 himself, but found it already translated into Greek, and then edited it to suit his main purpose: from his hand come 81 μέλλει ποιῆσαι . . . σιδηρᾷ in 12⁹: 12⁶ (modelled on 12¹⁴): ὁ 81ς ὁ ἀρχαῖος ὁ καλούμενος . . . ἐβλήθη, 12⁹: τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν in 12¹⁰ 12¹¹: 81 εἶδεν and 81 . . . εἰς τὴν γῆν in 12¹² 12¹⁷⁻¹⁸. See Commentary *in loc.*

² This does not hold of εαυτοῦ. In 10⁸ 7 this possessive occurs in the attributive position, which is its normal one. See Blass, *Gram.* 168 sq.

the order of the numerals and the words they depend on, which is on the whole definite and peculiar to himself, is given in vol. i. 224, and especially in the footnote. In the footnote in l. 15 *ab imo*, for "exception, xvi. 19," read "the clause *καὶ ἐγένετο . . . εἰς τρία μέρη* is an interpolation": and for the last five lines read: "In the case of *ἑπτὰ*, 17⁹ (in 1³⁰ the second *ἑπτὰ* is an interpolation; 8^{2b} is recast and in part interpolated, and 13^{3b} belongs to a source), *δέκα*, 17¹² (in 13¹ *καὶ ἐπὶ τ. κεράτων αὐτοῦ δέκα διαδήματα* is interpolated), *δώδεκα*, 21²¹, when the subject contains any of these numerals preceded by the article and is followed by a noun and the same numeral in the predicate, the latter numeral without the article precedes the noun, unless the subject and predicate are coextensive."

To the above one point needs to be added. When a numeral is connected with *χιλιάδες* it always precedes it. Cf. *δώδεκα* in 7⁴⁻⁸ 21¹⁶ and the compound numbers in 14¹⁻³. Hence 11¹³ *χιλιάδες ἑπτὰ* (source) is against our author's order. The numerals are never separated from the nouns they qualify: hence 17¹³ *μίαν ἔχουσιν γνώμην* (046 min^m) is a late change.

(v.) *The Verb*.—(a) The verb generally precedes its subject and almost always its object except in sources such as 11¹⁻¹³ (see vol. i. 272 sq.) and 18. In other sources—translations from Hebrew such as 12. 17—the order is Semitic.

(b) Again the verb and its object are rarely separated by prepositional or other phrases. This holds absolutely in the case of *ἀκούειν φωνήν* (*φωνῆς*). Hence A, *ἤκουσα φωνήν μεγάλην ὀπισθεν μου*, is right in 1¹⁰, and not NC 025, *ἦκ. ὀπίσω μου φ. μ.*

(c) The insertion of a relative or conditional clause between a conjunction and the verb it introduces is only found in the sources used by our author, 12⁴ *ἵνα ὅταν τέκη τὸ τέκνον αὐτῆς καταφάγη*, 13¹⁵ *ἵνα ὅσοι . . . προσκυνήσωσιν . . . ἀποκτανθῶσιν*.

§ 16. *Combinations of Words.*

Our author always writes *ἀστραπαὶ καὶ φωναὶ καὶ βρονταί*. Cf. 4⁵ 11¹⁹ 16¹⁸. He observed that the *ἀστραπαὶ* precede the *βρονταί* and wrote accordingly. But the editor who interpolated 8⁷⁻¹² and made many changes in the adjoining context to adapt it to his interpolation, was apparently unaware of the order of these natural phenomena or the usage of his author: see 8⁵ *βρονταὶ καὶ φωναὶ καὶ ἀστραπαί*.¹

¹ This non-Johannine order is not mentioned in the list of grounds for rejecting 8⁷⁻¹² in vol. i. 218-222.

XIV.

ORIGINAL AUTHORITIES FOR THE TEXT—GREEK MSS AND VERSIONS, AND AN ATTEMPT TO ESTIMATE THE RELATIVE VALUES.

A complete study of the critical problems of the text is quite impossible in the space at our disposal. It is possible, however, to arrive at trustworthy results regarding the relative values of the uncial and some of the chief cursive MSS. The question of the versions is a much more difficult one; but even in respect to these, conclusions approximately true can be arrived at.

§ 1. *The relative values of* ANC 025. 046. 051 *according to their respective attestation of certain Greek and Hebraistic constructions in our author, which are in some cases unique in Greek literature and in others rare or comparatively rare save in our author.*—

(a) The most notable of these constructions which is practically unique is one which occurs seven times, once in the title of each letter to the Seven Churches. Thus in 2¹ John unquestionably wrote τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῷ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐκκλησίας and not τ. ἀγγ. τῆς ἐν Ἐ. ἐκκλησίας, as we find in most texts of J⁸. Lachmann in Germany recognized this as the original text, and Hort (and to a minor degree Souter) in England. These scholars were influenced purely by the weighty testimony of A in three of the seven passages, and C in one. In addition to this evidence, Hort invoked that of Primasius (in all seven passages),¹ and the Vulgate (in one passage). To these I am able to add the support of two cursives, 2019. 2050, and of four versions, i.e. arm for all seven passages, s¹ for four, s² for two, and gig (2¹) and sa

¹ When I combined the evidence of the MSS and versions for the seven passages in vol. ii. p. 244 (*Appar. Crit.*), I had either not seen or had forgotten Hort's note on this question in his Commentary (p. 38 sqq.), where he claims that Primasius supported the true text in all seven passages. In my table I only claim Primasius as attesting the true text in four, where his evidence is incontrovertible. The ground on which Hort claims the support of Pr in 2⁸. 12 3¹⁴ is the fact that ecclesiae precedes the name of the Church in the cases of Smyrna, Pergamum, and Laodicea. This order is also found in vg for Sardis (3¹). Now Hort argues that this "transposition . . . is interpretative of τῷ" (as in Epiph. 455 B, τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῷ ἐν Θυατείροις). Thus, according to Hort, ecclesiae Pergami (Pr) supports the original text, whereas Pergami ecclesiae (vg s² bo) supports the later corrected text. If this argument is right the evidence for the original text is considerably greater than might otherwise be supposed. s¹ supports it in 2⁸. 7 3⁷. 14; arm^a in 2¹² 3¹⁴, arm^β. γ in 2¹⁸, arm¹ in 2⁸, fl in 2¹. In the readings of s² I have followed Gwynn; for my three texts of s² have been normalized and agree in giving the late reading in all seven passages.

each for one. The evidence is given in a collected form in vol. ii. p. 244, save that Pr should perhaps be added, as Hort urges, to the evidence given under 2⁸.¹² 3¹⁴ and vg under 3¹. I have already remarked that Lachmann on the basis of AC, and Hort on the basis of these reinforced by Pr vg, accepted the above readings on purely documentary authority. This authority, when further reinforced as it is in my *Appar. Crit.*, is quite sufficient to establish the form τῷ ἀγγέλω τῷ ἐν . . . ἐκκλησίας as original in all seven passages.¹ But my study of grammar of J^{sp} has thrown further light on the subject, and made it clear that John could not, consistently with his usage throughout the rest of J^{sp}, have written otherwise. The grounds for this statement are given in my Gram. § 15. (i.) (b), vol. i. Intro. p. clvi sq.

In this extraordinary piece of Greek we have a first class means of distinguishing between the trustworthiness of our various authorities. When we apply this test, the result is very significant. Of the uncials, \aleph 025. 046. 051 have corrected τῷ ἀγγέλω τῷ ἐν in every passage into the normal construction τῷ ἀγγέλω τῆς. On the other hand, A has retained the original construction in 2¹.⁸ 18 and C in 2¹ (preserving a hint of it also in 2¹⁸). Of the 223 cursives, 2050 directly supports it in 2¹², 2019 indirectly in 2¹, and 2040 indirectly in 2⁸.

Thus the vast superiority of A (C) to \aleph 025 is at once obvious. All the MSS have been corrected or normalized to some degree, but this process has been thoroughgoing only in \aleph 025. 046. 051 and the cursives.

When we apply this test to the versions, Pr (though in some respects of very mixed value) comes to the front in four passages and arm in all seven: s¹ in 2¹.¹² 18 3¹: s² in 2¹⁸ 3¹: sa in 2¹²: like arm, if Hort's contention is right (see note, p. clx), Pr in the remaining three passages, fl in 2¹, and vg in 3¹. But Tyc gig \aleph 025. 046 and the cursives (with three exceptions) show no knowledge of the original text. eth would represent either order in the same way.

(b) The next construction which is of a unique character in J^{sp} is that which follows, ὁ (τὸν) καθήμενος (-ον) ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον, τοῦ καθήμενου ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου, τῷ καθήμενῳ ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ. For these constructions see vol. i. p. cxxxii. These constructions occur 28 times. Two of these are found in a wrong form in the interpolation 14¹⁵⁻¹⁷, and two in 20¹¹ 21⁵ where the wrong construction save in 21⁵ is to be traced to the editor.

In the remaining 24 cases A is right in 20 and wrong in 4

¹ Weiss (*Textkritische Untersuchungen*, 64 sq. note) has wholly failed to recognize the next text here. Similarly Bousset and nearly every editor save Lachmann, Hort, and Souter.

(i.e. 6⁴ 7¹⁶ 9¹⁷ 19¹⁸): C (defective) is right in 9 and wrong in 2 (6⁴ 9¹⁷): \aleph is right in 17 and wrong in 7 (i.e. 5¹³ 6⁴. 16 7¹⁶ 9¹⁷ 14⁶ 19¹⁸): 025 right in 16 and wrong in 8 (i.e. 4². 9 5¹³ 6⁴ 7¹⁶ 9¹⁷ 14⁶ 19¹⁸): 046 right in 17 and wrong in 7 (4⁹ 6⁴. 16 7¹⁰. 16 9¹⁷ 14⁶). C 025 correct the text rightly in 14¹⁶ and 025. 046 in 20¹¹. From the above statistics we conclude that \aleph 025. 046 are practically of equal value. A stands much above them.

(c) In the case of certain Hebraisms we find \aleph 025. 046 correcting the text, but not AC. There is a Hebrew construction in which the participle is resolved into a finite verb in the succeeding clause, which our author has used at times. See vol. i. 14 sq. In 1⁵⁻⁸ our author wrote τῷ ἀγαπῶντι . . . καὶ ἐποίησεν. Here the finite verb must be translated as if it were ποιήσαντι. 046 min^p have actually so corrected the text. Again, 15²⁻⁸ \aleph min^p correct the Hebraism ἔχοντας . . . ³ καὶ ἄδουσιν into ἔχοντας . . . ³ καὶ ᾄδοντας. Another Hebraism, i.e. in 2²⁰, τὴν γυναῖκα . . . ἡ λέγουσα . . . καὶ διδάσκει, is corrected by \aleph^c 025 min^p into τὴν γυναῖκα . . . τὴν λέγουσαν, but by 046 min^m into ἡ λέγει. The same Hebraism in 3¹³ τῆς καὶνῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ, ἡ καταβαίνουσα is corrected by \aleph^c into τῆς κ. Ἱερ. τῆς καταβαινούσης, and by 046 into ἡ καταβαίνει. Again in 12⁷ ὁ Μιχαὴλ καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ τοῦ πολεμήσαι, \aleph 046 min^m omit the τοῦ. In 13¹⁰, where the same Hebraism occurs twice, every uncial save A and all cursives remove the Hebraism by drastic corrections. In 19⁶ \aleph 025. 046 min^p Tyc Pr gig vg s² arm³ insert ἡμῶν between ὁ θεός and ὁ παντοκράτωρ, against A min⁸ Cyp s¹ arm² 4 bo sa eth. This insertion is not only against our author's usage, but also against the regular translation of the divine name. See Gram. § 10. (i.) (f), p. cxlvii. Such examples show the vast superiority of A (C) to \aleph 025. 046 as witnesses to the primitive type of text.

§ 2. *The absence of conflate readings from A (C) and their (rare) occurrence in \aleph 025. 046 support the distinction already established between these MSS.*—In 17⁴ \aleph (s²) reads αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς γῆς, where αὐτῆς is the reading of A al^m Tyc vg s¹ arm² eth, and τῆς γῆς that of 046 al^m gig arm². Cyp Pr read τῆς γῆς ὅλης, and bo (= αὐτῆς μετὰ τῆς γῆς) conflates this reading with that of A.

In 4⁷ \aleph alone reads ὡς ὅμοιον ἀνθρώπων. This may be a conflation of ὡς ἀνθρώπου (A, etc.), and ὅμοιον only preserved in 2018.

In 61⁵ 7 \aleph 046 min^m read ἔρχου καὶ ἴδε, and in 6⁸ \aleph min¹² alone attest this reading. But since the phrase καὶ ἴδε is not used by our author, but καὶ ἴδου, this phrase is clearly an early intrusion. But 046 min^m Pr gig vg^l s², which insert καὶ ἴδε (or καὶ ἴδου, Pr gig vg^l s²), omit καὶ εἶδον in the words that follow. Since this form of the text is as old as the 4th century, the text of \aleph is probably conflate.

In 21¹⁵ 025 min^p read ὁμοίως ὁ μισῶ—a conflation, though ὁ μισῶ

is found as yet only in a few cursives and arm⁴. Again in 2⁷, where **AN**C 046 have ἐν τ. παραδείσῳ, and 1. 35^m ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ παραδείσου, 025 reads ἐν μέσῳ τῷ παραδείσῳ, which may be either a conflation of the above two or else a correction of the latter.

In 046 10¹² we have the conflate reading ὀνόματα γεγραμμένα καὶ ὄνομα γεγραμμένον.

§ 3. *The readings¹ of the uncials taken singly and also in groups of two. The evidence of this section confirms the provisional values assigned to these MSS in §§ 1-2.*

Even a cursory study of the statistics on p. clxiv is illuminating. It shows that A stands almost alone in the first class, though in some respects C belongs to this class. But it is better to put C in the second class by itself, seeing that it is so weak when it stands alone. But in combination with A it is different.

In comparing C and the combinations into which it enters with other MSS, we have to bear in mind that more than a third of it is missing. Hence, when we read in Table I. that AC are right in combination 36 times, we have to raise this number to 54 (or less). Thus AC in combination are nearly twice as often right as **AN** or A 025, and more than twice as many times as A 046. The combinations of C and **κ** with either 025 or 046 are very weak. Another point to be borne in mind is that 025 is also defective. About one-fourteenth of it is missing. Hence, whereas A 025 are right 36 times in combination (reckoning columns one and two together), in Table I. we should raise this number to 38 (more or less). Thus it follows that 025 is, when standing alone, right oftener than C, **κ**, or 046, and when combined with A it is right oftener than **AN** or A 046 in combination. In the third class, therefore, to which we must relegate **κ** 025 and 046, 025 stands first according to this reckoning. As regards **κ** and 046, the former takes precedence of the latter, and is in certain respects much superior to it.

¹ I am beholden to Mr. Marsh for the materials on which Tables I.-III. are based. They are to be regarded as approximately, not literally, exact. I have not taken account of 051 since I possess no complete collation of it, and it is very late. It is defective, eleven chapters being missing. Its value is not as great as one of the best cursives, as its readings in chaps. 12. 16 will show. In chap. 12 it agrees with cursives against all the other uncials in reading *ῥίπτεν*, 12⁴, *ἐκεῖ*², 12⁶, in omitting *μετ' αὐτοῦ*, 12⁹. In 12⁹ it omits *ἐν* (a mere correction) with 025 and cursives, and in 12⁸ it omits *ἐκεῖ*¹ with C and cursives. In 12⁹ it is right with A 025 (*μέγας πυρρός*), and in 12¹³ with A and cursives in reading *οἱ οὐρανοί*. In 16⁴ 10. 12 (+ *ἀγγελοι*) it agrees with cursives against uncials, also in 16¹⁴ (*δαιμόνων* and *εἰς πόλεμον*) 16¹³ (*βλέπουσιν*). In 16² 10. 14 it agrees with **κ** and cursives against all other uncials: in 16² (*ῥῶσα*) with **κ** 025, 046 and cursives against A, in 16¹⁸ (*ἀνθρωποι*) with **κ** 046 and cursives, in 16¹² (*ἀνατολῶν*) with A. The readings of 051 given in this edition are derived from Swete's Commentary.

TABLE I.

	Right readings.	Probably right. adopted in text with alternatives in margin.	Possibly wrong- placed in margin.	Wrong.	Peculiar to the MS or pair of MSS named among the uncials. Ortho- graphic variants in brackets.
A ¹ .	55 (+† I †)	7	12	154	229 (+ 27)
C . .	I	...	I	67	69 (+ 10)
κ . .	4 (2 ¹⁸ 24 18 ¹³ 22 ¹¹)	2 (12 ³ 19 ²⁰)	...	414	425 (+ 47)
κ ^o . .	...	...	...	12	12 (+ 1)
κ ^{oo} . .	...	...	...	7	7
025 . .	4 (5 ⁹ 14 ¹⁸ 18 ¹¹ 19 ¹⁴)	2 (4 ⁴ 5 ¹³)	5	103	114 (+ 21)
046 . .	3	...	...	...	350?
AC . .	36	...	...	2	38 (+ 13)
AM . .	30 († I †)	2	1	3	37 (+ 16)
A 025 .	30	6	3 (+ 1)	2	43 (+ 4)
A 046 .	24	7	...	2	33 (+ 21)
C 025 .	2	...	...	12	14
C 046 .	1 (?)	...	...	6	7
Cκ . .	2	...	...	12	16
κ 025 .	2	...	5	21	28 (+ 12)
κ ^o 025 .	...	...	1	4	6
κ 046 .	7	2	5	44	59 (+ 5)
025. 046	4 (4 ⁴ 6 ⁸ 19 ¹⁸ 21 ¹³)	2	1	28	49

The classification of the uncials from the above data is thus :

TABLE II.

Class i.	.	.	.	.	.	A
„ ii.	:	:	:	:	:	C
„ iii.	.	.	.	.	.	025 κ ^o 046

If, further, to the number of times in which each MS stands alone in preserving the original text we add the number of times in which each of the five MSS, AC 025 κ 046, enters respectively into combination with one or other of the remaining four (in such groups as AC, A 025, AM, A 046, C 025, etc., i.e. groups of two), we arrive at the following results, allowance having been made for the lost sections of C and 025.

¹ Weiss (*Die Johannes-Apokalypse: Textkritische Untersuchungen*, p. 147) is of opinion that A preserves wholly unsupported upwards of 60 right readings, C 4 and κ 8. Though I have followed quite different lines of investigation, my results do not differ much. They are slightly more in favour of A as against κ. Gwynn's estimate of the readings peculiar to each MS differs alike from those given above and by Weiss. See *Apoc. in Syriac*, p. xliii sq.

² The inferior character of the text of κ for J^{ap} has been amply proved both by Weiss and Gwynn, *Apocalypse of St. John in Syriac*, p. xi sqq.

TABLE III.

	A.	C.	025.	κ.	046.
Standing alone . .	62	1	6	6	3
In combination . .	155	59	49	46	47
	217	60	55	52	50

This table confirms the results of Table II. save that κ is nearer to 046. If we combine the results of these two tables, 025 still shows itself to be a better MS than κ.

§ 4. *The Uncials in groups of three or more and their evidence.*—Hitherto we have given the evidence of the uncials individually or in groups of two. We shall now study them in groups of three or four, where they attest the original text. I have only space to apply this test in chaps. 1-4. Divergences in orthography are not reckoned as variants.

TABLE IV.

ANC. ¹	ANC 025.	ANC 046.	AN 025.	AN 046.	AC 025.	AC 046.
1 ⁴ 5. 6 2 ⁷ = 4	1 ⁴ 9. 12. 16. 18 2 ² 5. 7. 10. 12. 14 (<i>del.</i>) 24 3 ⁸ (<i>del.</i>) 2. 7. 9. 12 = 19	1 ⁸ 2 ² 7. 15 3 ⁷ = 5	3 ⁷ 4 ² 8. 11 = 4	4 ² 8. 11 = 3	1 ¹² 2 ² 9. 24 3 ² 7 = 6	2 ¹⁰ 16. 17 = 3
AC 025. 046.	AC 046.	A 025. 046.	NC 025.	NC 025. 046.	NC 046.	C 025. 046.
1 ⁷ 16. 20 2 ⁷ 18. 19. 20 3 ² 9. 14 = 10	2 ¹⁰ 17 = 2	1 ⁸ 12 3 ¹⁴ 4 ¹ 6. 9. 10 = 7	1 ⁹ 2 ²⁰ = 2	1 ⁸ 7. 20 2 ² 18. 22 = 6	1 ¹² 2 ¹⁶ 17 = 3	3 ⁷ = 1

¹ According to Weiss (*op. cit.*), ANC have preserved the original text only 20 times over against 025 and 046. This would in all probability nearly agree with the results above arrived at. For since this combination is right only 4 times according to the above table, the number of times it is right for the entire book would apparently lie in the neighbourhood of 20, as Weiss states. It is therefore a wrong basis on which Gwynn (*op. cit.* p. xlviii) proceeds when he assumes that "the consent of NAC represents the consent of the uncials" and uses it as a "standard by which to compare P and Q." ANC 025 represents "the consent of the uncials."

If we study this table we find that the several MSS enter into the above combinations as follows :—

A	.	.	.	.	.	.	63 times.
C	.	.	.	.	.	.	61 "
025	.	.	.	.	.	.	55 "
κ	.	.	.	.	.	.	46 "
046	.	.	.	.	.	.	40 "

There are two points that call for explanation here. (a) First the numbers of C 025 κ 046 seem unduly large as compared with those of A, seeing that A belongs to the first class, C to the second, and 025 κ 046 to the third, according to our classifications at the close of § 3. But there is really no difficulty here. If C 025 κ 046 are to be right at all, they can only be right as members of groups of MSS, seeing that they are hardly ever right when they stand alone. C and in a less degree 025 represent a good secondary uncial text, while κ 046 uphold this text in a considerably weakened form, κ replacing it to a considerable extent by readings often of an early date, and 046 by readings of a later growth.

(b) Since only 1-3¹⁹ of C is preserved in the four chapters we are considering, it follows that the number 61 of C must be raised proportionately, say to 70 or thereabouts (for the variants in chap. 4 are fewer than in 1-3), so that it would stand above A. This appears to conflict absolutely with the classification arrived at in § 3 *ad fin.* But in (a) this difficulty is in the main surmounted, and when to the explanation there offered, we add the fact that C is comparatively free from the obvious foolish slips of the scribe of A,¹ it is surmounted wholly. As critics have generally recognized, the scribe of C (or of the MS on which C is based) either found a more accurately written text than that in A, or else he eliminated most such slips, and with them many of the original readings which have survived in A. C is far freer from obvious slips and obvious corruptions than A.

Thus this fourth table in the main confirms the first. AC stand apart, and but for its almost absolute lack of correct singular readings C might be put side by side with A. The results arrived at in regard to 025 κ 046 agree exactly with those of Table II.

The conclusions arrived at with regard to the absolute pre-eminence of A is confirmed by the study of the papyrus Fragments of the Apocalypse: see vol. ii. 447-451.

§ 5. *The character of the Versions.*—The versions differ

¹ Compare in 1¹ τοῦ δούλου (A) for τῷ δούλῳ: in 1⁸ A > ἡμῶν: in 1⁹ ἐν Χριστῷ (A) for ἐν Ἰησοῦ: in 1¹² λαλεῖ for ἐλάλει: in 1¹⁴ > ἐχών: 1²⁰ ἐν τ. δεξιῇ for ἐπὶ τῆς δεξιᾶς. On the other hand, A "alone is characterized by singular readings which are to be accepted, not as divergences from a standard text, but as survivals of the primitive and authentic text" (Gwynn, p. liv).

greatly from the Greek MSS in regard to the character of their testimony. Each Greek MS of J⁸⁰ possesses a certain character of trustworthiness or untrustworthiness, and this character it maintains on the whole throughout. But this is not so in the case of most of the versions. In the chief Latin versions we find side by side the best and worst readings. The following examples drawn from what survives of fl¹ and the parallel sections in the other versions and Greek MSS will suffice to prove this. Thus in 1⁴ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄν (ANC 025) is supported by fl gig vg (s^{1.2}) arm bo eth, while Pr supports 046 ἀπὸ θεοῦ ὁ ὢν (and Tyc a further development of this reading). In 1⁵ λύσαντι (ANC) is supported by Pr fl gig (s^{1.2}) arm, while Tyc vg bo eth support 025. 046 λούσαντι. In 1⁶ βασιλείαν ἱερεῖς AN^cC 046 is supported by Tyc (fl) vg^d, but the corrected text N^o βασιλείαν καὶ ἱερεῖς by Pr gig vg^d arm^{1.2.4}: 025 arm^{2.3} read βασιλεῖς καὶ ἱερεῖς: 046 βασιλειον ἱερεῖς, while s^{1.2} bo = βασιλείαν ἱερατικὴν, and eth = βασιλ. ἀγνίαν. In 1⁸ the addition ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ (τὸ) τέλος N^o is supported by Tyc gig vg bo against AN^cC 025. 046 Pr fl (s^{1.2}) arm eth. In 1⁹ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ N^{oo} 046 is supported by Tyc Pr vg^d s^{1.2} arm^{2.3} against Ἰησοῦ AN^cC 025 fl gig vg^d arm⁴ bo eth. In 1¹² τῶν λυχνιῶν AC 025 is supported by Tyc Cyp Pr fl s^{1.2} arm^{1.2.4} bo eth against τῶν ἐπὶ λυχνιῶν N 046 gig vg arm². In 1¹⁶ ὡς ὁ ἥλιος φαίνει AC 025. 046 Tyc gig vg s^{1.2} arm^{1.2.3} eth against φαίνει ὡς ὁ ἥλιος N Pr Cyp fl arm⁴ (?) bo. In 2¹ τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῷ AC Pr [in Comm.] (fl?) s¹ arm⁴ against τῷ ἀγγ. τῆς N 025. 046 Tyc gig vg arm^{1.2.3} bo eth. In 8⁷ ὁ πρῶτος AN 025. 046 s^{1.2} arm⁴ against ὁ πρῶτος ἀγγελος 2020 al Tyc Pr gig vg arm^{1.2.3} bo eth. In 8⁸ τὸ τρίτον A 025. 046 s^{1.2} against τ. τρίτον μέρος N Tyc Pr fl gig vg arm bo sa eth. In 8¹² all the uncials and cursives are wrong. The true sense is either preserved or recovered in bo eth and partially in Pr fl. In 9² καμίνον μεγάλης AN 025 Tyc Pr fl vg arm^{1.2} bo eth against καμ. καιομένης 046 s² and καμ. μεγ. καιομένης 2020 gig s¹ arm⁴ (~?). In 9⁴ ἐπὶ τῶν μετώπων AN 025 gig vg^{a.d} against ἐπὶ τ. μετώπων αὐτῶν 046 Tyc Pr fl vg^{f.g.v} s^{1.2} arm (bo) eth. In 9⁶ φεύγει A(N) 025 against φύζεται 046 Tyc Pr fl gig vg s^{1.2} arm bo eth. In 11¹⁶ τοῦ θεοῦ ANC 025 Tyc Pr fl gig vg s¹ arm^{1.2.4} bo eth against τ. θρόνον τ. θεοῦ 046 s² arm³. In 11¹⁹ ὁ ἐν τ. οὐρανῷ AC gig fl arm bo eth against ἐν τ. οὐρ. N 025. 046 Tyc Pr vg s^{1.2} and τῆς διαθήκης αὐτοῦ (> Tyc bo) AC 025 Tyc gig vg s^{1.2} arm^{1.2.3.4} bo against τ. διαθήκης τοῦ θεοῦ N fl eth: τ. διαθήκης κυρίου 046. In 12³ μέγας πυρρός A 025 Tyc vg s¹ sa eth against πυρρός μέγας NC 046 Pr fl gig s² arm bo. In 12⁶ ἐκεῖ

¹ There are only 61 verses in fl (Codex Floriacensis), i.e. 1¹-2¹, 8⁷-9¹², 11¹²-12¹⁴, 14¹²-16². fl does not show such remarkable faithfulness to the primitive text in the later sections as in 1¹-2¹.

AN 025. 046 s¹ arm^{2.4}: > C Tyc Pr fl vg s² arm^{1.2.3} (bo ?) eth. In 14¹⁶ ἐθερίσθη ἡ γῆ all Greek MSS and Versions (-vg² fl arm^{1.2.3.4}) against ἐθέρισεν τ. γῆν vg² fl arm^{1.2.3.4}: > bo. In 14¹⁸ ὁ ἔχων AC Tyc gig vg s^{1.2} arm eth against ἔχων N 025. 046 Pr fl bo: φωνῇ AN 046 Tyc fl gig vg s¹ arm^{1.2.3.4} eth against κραυγῇ C 025 s² bo: ἤκμασαν αἱ σταφυλαί (A)N 025. fl gig vg s^{1.2} against ἤκμασεν ἡ σταφυλή 046 arm eth: > bo. In 15² ἐκ τ. θηρ. καὶ ἐκ τ. εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ AC 025 s^{1.2} arm^{1.2.3} against N Pr fl, which > ἐκ². Tyc gig vg bo eth give a different construction. In 15³ ᾄδουσιν AC 025. 046 against ᾄδοντας N Tyc Pr fl vg bo eth: τῶν ἐθνῶν AN 025. 046 (Pr) fl gig bo eth against τῶν αἰώνων N^C C Tyc vg s^{1.2}. Here arm^{2.3.4.5} is confate. In 15⁴ φοβηθῇ AC 025. 046 Pr fl gig arm bo against φοβ. σε N 051 Tyc vg s^{1.2} eth. In 15⁶ οἱ ἔχοντες AC s^{1.2} arm bo eth against ἔχοντες N 025. 046 (Tyc Pr fl gig vg): ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ ANC 025 Tyc fl gig vg s^(1.2) arm⁴ bo eth against 046 Pr arm^{1.2} which omit: † λίθον † AC vg^d against λίνον (-οὖν) 025. 046 Tyc (Pr) gig vg^d and λινοῦς N fl bo: > eth. In 16¹ μεγάλῃς φωνῇς AC 046 (arm⁴) bo sa against φωνῇς μεγ. N 025 Pr fl gig vg s^{1.2} arm^{2.3.4}: φωνῇς eth. ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ ANC 025 Tyc Pr fl gig vg s^{1.2} arm⁴ against 046 arm⁸ which omit: while arm⁴ bo sa eth = ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ and arm^{1.2.4} = ἐν τ. ναῷ: ἐπτά² ANC 046 Tyc Pr gig vg s^{1.2} arm against 025 fl bo eth which omit. In 16³ δεύτερος AN 025. Tyc Pr fl gig vg arm⁴ eth against δεύτ. ἄγγελος 046 s^{1.2} arm^{1.2.3.4} bo. In 16⁴ τὰς πηγὰς ANC 025 Tyc Pr fl gig arm bo against εἰς τ. πηγὰς 046 s^{1.2} eth.

Now, taking the Latin and Syriac versions in the above thirty-three passages (8¹² 14¹⁶ 15^{2a} not being included) we arrive at the following results:

	Tyc.	Pr.	fl.	gig.	vg.	s ¹ .	s ² .
Right. . .	17	14	18	21	14 (16)	21	16
Wrong . .	14	16	15	10	13 (12)	9	14

We are not to conclude that these numbers indicate the proportion of right to wrong readings throughout J^{ap}, though they may be in some cases approximately true. They establish the fact, however, that the Latin versions contain an astonishing mixture of good and bad readings. Thus in these sections gig is the best of the Latin, being right twice as often as it is wrong: next come fl Tyc vg, which are oftener right than wrong. Pr comes last, being oftener wrong than right, though, as we have already seen, it preserves more original readings in chaps. 2-3

than all the other Latin versions together. $s^{1,2}$ compare favourably with the Latin, s^1 being right more than twice as many times as it is wrong, and s^2 being oftener right than wrong. Unfortunately there is no critical edition of s^2 .

A further and very important fact emerges from this study of the Latin versions, and this is that *a text akin to 046 and its allies (often κ and less often 025) was well established between 200 and 350 A.D. and possibly earlier.*

Let us now compare the above results regarding the versions and the readings in ANC 025. 046 for the same sections. We find

	A.	κ .	κ^c .	C. ¹	025.	046.
Right . .	33	15	3	23	23	14
Wrong . .	0	14	...	5	9	19

These results confirm on the whole the conclusion reached at the close of § 3. A stands by itself; next comes C as a good second; then 025; and closing the list at a long interval κ and 046.

From the above study, therefore, we conclude that *all* the versions may in a given case support a reading that is wholly wrong.

In the order of general trustworthiness they stand as follows: s^1 gig s^2 Tyc fl vg Pr. But in the case of certain peculiarly difficult readings (§ 1 (a) *ad fin.* above) the version that is here last, *i.e.* Pr, is equal to the first, s^2 comes next, fl and vg in third place, and gig Tyc² last.

We have not as yet taken account of the respective values of arm bo sa eth.

§ 6. *The Armenian, Bohairic, and Ethiopic Versions.*—The Armenian version is difficult to compare with the other versions. In Mr. Conybeare's edition five texts are distinguished, arm¹. 2. 3. 4 and arm^c. The last is a recension of the 12th century. The four first represent various forms of the Old Armenian. Of these arm⁴ stands apart from arm¹. 2. 3. Conybeare describes arm⁴ as a recension of the 8th century, and arm¹. 2. 3 as texts of the fifth. Conybeare rather throws discredit on arm⁴, but it is in many respects the best of the Armenian texts. It frequently stands alone against arm¹. 2. 3. in supporting the true text. In the sections which we have used for purposes of comparison, *i.e.* the sixty-one verses which alone survive of fl, there are two conflate

¹ C is defective in some of these sections.

² It must be borne in mind that there is no critical text of Tyc. Tyc may appear in better company when this is published.

readings in arm. Thus arm⁴ (together with 2020 gig s¹) reads *καμίνου μεγάλης καιομένης* in 9⁸, and arm^{2.2.a} read *τῶν αἰώνων καὶ βασιλεὺς πάντων τῶν ἰθνῶν* in 15⁸.

In the next place, an adequate comparison of the Bohairic and Ethiopic is difficult. In Horner's edition of the former the translation of only one MS is given. The readings of the other MSS are given in the *Appar. Criticus*, but not translated. Mr. Horner has, however, translated the variants for me and I append the results below. The Ethiopic version which I have used is that of Platt. It is wholly uncritical. Hence the results given here are to be regarded as only approximately right. Despite such disadvantages, bo and eth show clearly that they have a character of their own.

	arm ^{1.2.2.4.a}	arm ⁴ (alone against one, two, or more members of arm ^{1.2.2.a}).	bo.	eth.
Right . .	20	8	14	17
Wrong . .	13	2	15	13

Where arm⁴ and one or more of arm^{1.2.2.a} agree, their evidence is recorded in the first column. Where arm⁴ is right over against arm^{1.2.2.a} it stands in the second column. arm⁴ is only twice wrong against combinations of arm^{1.2.2.a}.

It is now possible to arrange the versions in the order of their merit in the sections preserved in fl, i.e. 1¹-2¹, 8⁷-9¹², 11¹⁶-12¹⁴, 14¹⁶-16⁵.

In this arrangement, according to the number of the right readings which they attest, it must be borne in mind that s² eth and Tyc are wholly uncritical texts. They may be better or worse than they appear here. Furthermore, while it is true that s¹ arm are foremost *both in regard to the quality and the number of their right readings*, Pr, which has the fewest right readings, has preserved most important readings lost in nearly every other Latin authority, and also in bo eth. This holds true of bo in 8¹², which in this passage has alone preserved the original or else restored it.

Versions in order.—S¹ arm gig s² eth Tyc fl vg bo Pr.

If we arrange these versions in classes in relation to each other and not to the Greek MSS, we should arrive at the following result:

- Class i. arm⁴ s¹ gig arm^{1.2.2.a}.
- „ ii. eth s² Tyc vg.
- „ iii. bo Pr.

I have not taken account of sa in the above classification, as I do not possess a continuous collation of its text. For some hundreds of its readings I am indebted to Rev. George Horner. Judging from these, I should be inclined to place it in the second class. The reader will observe that in 2¹² it enjoys the honour of attesting the original text together with 2050 s¹ arm⁴ * against all the uncials and all the remaining versions.

§ 7. *Relations of bo sa eth to each other.*—These versions form one group over against the rest. (a) bo eth *continually* support each other throughout J⁸⁰ generally in agreement with some other authorities, but at times they stand alone. As an instance of the former, cf. 19¹⁰ where with Pr they add *ὅτι* before *σύνδουλος*: of the latter, 18¹ *ἐκ + τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ καί*: 21^{4d} + *καὶ* (> bo) *ἰδοὺ πάντα ποιηθήσονται (ἐποιήθησαν, eth) καινά*: 21¹⁸ (crit. note *ad fin.*): 22⁸ (crit. note *ad fin.*).

(b) bo sa agree against eth and all else in 20¹¹ *μέγαν θρόνον* (~ rest): in 22¹⁸ + *ὅτι* before *ἐάν τις* bo sa agree with certain authorities against eth and others: 19⁹ *καὶ λέγει μοι*² with AN etc.: > eth N etc.: 20¹¹ *ἡ γῆ καὶ ὁ οὐρανός* with AN etc. (instead of *ὁ οὐρ. κ. ἡ γῆ* with 35. 432 Pr eth).

(c) bo sa eth stand alone in 18² *ἡ μεγάλη + ἡ πόλις*: 20¹ in transposing order of *ἄλυσιν μεγάλην*: 21^{5b} *ποιήσω πάντα καινά*. bo sa eth agree with some other authorities in 16¹ *τοῦ οὐρανοῦ* 42. 367 arm (for *τοῦ ναοῦ*): 16⁶: 19⁶: 21⁸ *οὐρανοῦ* 025. 046 etc. (for *θρόνου*).

(d) sa eth agree with certain authorities against bo: 18¹⁹ *οἰαί*² with AC etc.: > bo with N etc. 19⁹ *τοῦ γάμου* with AN^c etc.: > bo with N* etc. 22¹⁴ *πλύνοντες τ. στολὰς αὐτῶν* with AN etc. against *ποιούντες τ. ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ* bo with gig 046 Cyp etc.

(e) bo eth agree against sa: 19¹⁹ *αὐτῶν* bo eth N etc. against *αὐτοῦ* sa A etc.

(f) bo stands against eth: 18⁶ *ποτηρίῳ* eth AC etc. against *ποτ. αὐτῆς* bo N etc. 18¹² *ξύλου* bo NC etc. against *λίθου* eth A etc.

The above are a few examples from chaps. 16–22.

§ 8. *Character of the uncials as regards their textual value.*

A, C. These two MSS present the normal uncial text just as 046 and in some degree 025 present the normal cursive text. But whereas C is most carefully written, this is not true of A, which is seriously affected by copyists' blunders. C exhibits fewer singular readings than any other uncial (about 67), and these singular readings, moreover, with a single exception, possess no special interest. Here it is that it differs in *kind* from A and calls for different classification. A contains over 150 singular readings, and of these 56 (if not 63) preserve the original. Thus

whereas C's singular readings take no particular direction, A's are pre-eminent as being certainly right in over 60 passages.

℞. This MS "is of all the five MSS far the least worthy of regard as representing a defensible form of the text; it is aberrant rather than divergent from the rest, to the point of eccentricity." So Gwynn (*op. cit.* p. xlv) rightly judges. When it stands alone, it is only right in four passages. The bulk of its variants are unquestionably scribal blunders and corruptions of an early date, and call for no further consideration. A considerable part of the remainder represents an *ancient* element foreign to the normal uncial text and finds large support in the versions and to a less extent in certain cursives. Other variants connect ℞ with the normal cursive form of text, but these are not numerous.

025. 046. These MSS are so widely sundered that they differ from each other in kind. While 025 represents on the whole the uncial type of text, 046 represents the cursive type. While slightly over half the variants of 025 from the other uncials find support among the cursives, more than four-fifths of the variants of 046 find such support.

But though 046 is largely cursive in character, its record compares favourably with ℞, considering its late date. We have already seen (see Table I. p. clxiv) that whereas ℞ alone preserves 6 right readings (reckoning together columns one and two) against the rest of the uncials, 046 preserves 3. Again A℞ in combination are right 33 times, A 046 are right 31 times. Once more, from the results arrived at in § 4 we learn that, whereas ℞ enters into groups of three or more MSS attesting the right text 45 times, 045 does so 40.

025 and 046 are to be further distinguished from each other in this respect, that whereas 046 represents the close amongst the uncials of a long process of correction which began in the 2nd century, 025 represents to a considerable extent a deliberate recension of the texts of the 8th cent. or earlier. That 025 is the result of a deliberate recension is easy to prove. Nearly forty times it differs from the other uncials in correcting or improving the Greek text from the standpoint of Greek syntax. Thus in 1⁴ we have πνευμάτων ἃ ἔστιν ἐνώπιον. 1⁵ τῷ ἀγαπήσαντι. 1⁶ βασιλεῖς καὶ ἱερεῖς. 1⁹ συγκοινωνὸς ἐν τῇ θλίψει καὶ (+ ἐν τῇ) βασιλείᾳ. 2⁹ τὴν βλασφημίαν Δ τῶν λεγόντων. 2¹⁵ ἐν τ. ἡμέραις + ἐν αἰς. 2¹⁷ δώσω αὐτῷ + φαγεῖν. 2²⁰ τὴν γυναῖκα . . . τὴν λέγουσαν. 4¹ ἡ φωνὴ . . . λέγουσα. 5² κηρύσσοντα Δ φωνῇ μεγάλῃ. 5⁶ ἄρνιον . . . ἔχον. 7⁹ ὄχλος . . . ἐστῶτες, . . . περιβεβλημένοι. 8¹⁵ ἀγγέλου πεπομένου. This change is due not to the scribe's idea of syntax, but of the sense of the passage. 9¹⁴ φωνὴν . . . λέγουσαν. 10¹ καὶ Δ ἱρις, corrected

according to sense of context. The scribe knew no better. 11⁴ *ἐλαΐαι* - *ἐστῶσαι*. The above examples are sufficient to prove the fact of a deliberate recension. On the influence of this recension on 35. 205 and other cursives, see under 35. 205, p. clxxv sq.

The following cursives—the list is provisional—agree with 046 in giving the latest form of text:

18. 35** $\left\{ \begin{array}{ccc} 149 & 175 & 325 \\ 201 & 617 & 456 \\ 386 & 1934 & 468^* \end{array} \right\}$ 337. 632*. 919. 920. 1849. 2004. 2040 (1-11⁷).

046 contains many readings of so late a date that they are not supported by any version. These are of the inferior cursive type. A few examples will suffice. Thus in 1¹³ 046 with cursives reads *καὶ + ἐκεῖ*: 1¹⁶ *χειρὶ αὐτοῦ τῇ δεξιᾷ*: 2²⁸ *ἀνοίξω* (for *ἂν ἤξω*): 3² *ἀποβάλλειν* for *ἀποθανεῖν*: 3⁴ *ὀλίγα ἔχεις ὀνόματα* (order): 3⁷ *εἰ μὴ ὁ ἀνοίγων*.

§ 9. *Cursives collated for this edition*.—The list of the 22 cursives collated for this edition is given in vol. ii. p. 234, where attention is drawn to such as are defective. Of these the most interesting and valuable are 2020. 2040. 2050.

2020 is a good cursive and would stand close to 025 *κ* in the third class. It agrees with A 2019 in 2¹⁸ and in 1¹⁰ save that for *δπισθεν* it reads *δπισω*, and with A and certain cursives in 1⁶. Over against seven agreements with A, it supports *κ* in 18 passages and 025 in 13.

920. 2040. 2040 (xi-xii cent.). 920 (x cent.). Though 2040 is written by the same hand throughout, it exhibits two distinct types of text. From 1-11⁷ it is of the late cursive type and seems to have been copied from 920 (x cent.). These two MSS contain unique readings in the following passages: 3⁶ *τῶν ζώντων*: 3⁸ *τὰ ἔργα* (for *τὸν λόγον*): 3¹² *τῷ ὀνόματι* (for *τῷ ναφί*): 4⁹ + *καὶ προσκυνήσωσιν* (-σουσιν, 920) *τῷ ζώντι* and another addition in 8². In 4¹⁰ they omit *ἐνώπιον τ. θρόνου* and have other omissions in 4⁴ 5¹² 7⁴ 9⁹. They invert the order in 3⁸ and attest the same impossible readings in 5¹ 6¹⁴ 7¹ 9⁶.

From 11⁹ to 20¹¹ where it ends, the text is largely free from corruptions of the later cursives. It often supports A against most other authorities (cf. 11¹¹ *εἰσῆλθεν ἐν αὐτοῖς*, 12¹² *οἱ οὐρανοὶ*) and *κ* and less often 025. But its excellence is still more clearly shown by the fact that in 11⁹-20¹¹ it agrees with the majority of uncials against the majority of cursives. The latter half, therefore, of 2040 is of so high a character as to entitle it to be ranked with 046, and after *κ*.

2050. This MS, which consists only of 1-5, 20-22, and was clearly copied from a defective MS, stands in point of excellence alongside the uncials. In about 80 passages it agrees with the

majority of the uncials against the majority of the cursives. Thus in 1⁴ it reads ἀπὸ δ ὧν with A^{NC} 025 al⁸⁰ fl gig vg s¹⁻² bo against 046 and most cursives. In 1⁹ ἐν Ἰησοῦ with A^C 025. 2020 gig vg s¹ bo against the rest; Ἰησοῦ (without Χριστοῦ) with A^N* 025 al¹⁶ fl gig vg^d arm^a against the rest. In 1¹² καί (without ἐκεῖ A^C 025. 045 al Tyc Pr fl vg s¹⁻² bo against the rest. In 1¹⁸ λυχνῶν (without preceding ἐπτά) ACP al¹⁰ Tyc Pr fl s¹⁻² arm¹⁻² 4. 4. 4 bo against the rest. In 2¹⁸ > τὰ ἔργα σου καί (added by 046 al^{pl} s² arm³⁻⁴) with A^{NC} 025. 2020 and versions (- s² arm³⁻⁴): δ πιστός μου AC 61. 69 Or^a s² against rest. These suffice to show the character of this cursive. This cursive shows some slight affinities with A, as in 1¹⁸ 4⁴ 5⁴ 22¹¹ etc., and still more with K. Thus with the latter it agrees in 1⁸ (+ ἡ ἀρχὴ κτλ.), 1¹⁵ πεπυρωμένῳ (a correction), 1¹⁷ ἐπέθηκεν, 2³⁰ 4³⁰ etc. It agrees with 025 in 1¹⁶ χάλκῳ λιβάνῳ, al⁶: 2³⁰ τὴν λέγουσαν (also K^a al⁶), etc.

This cursive has a conflate reading in 2³⁷ καὶ συντρίβει αὐτοὺς ὡς τὰ σκεύη τὰ κεραμικὰ συντρίβεται. Such a conflation is not found in any other MS or in any version. But gig arm⁴ bo eth read συντρίβει αὐτοὺς. Is 2050 influenced by gig or some ancestor of these versions? In 1¹⁶ 2050 with 920. 2040 Tyc fl gig vg read δεξιᾷ αὐτοῦ against all other Greek authorities. Is there a trace of Latin influence here?

149. 386. 201. Of these 201 was not collated for this edition. The first of these cursives, 149 (xv cent.), is a slavish copy of 386 (xiv cent.). It reproduces it where it is absolutely wrong: cf. 2¹⁴ ἐδίδασκεν τ. Βαλαάμ, 3¹⁴ ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς πίστεως, 14¹⁹ 18⁴ λάβητε. In 13⁶ it reads κατοικοῦντας with 201 against 386. 2019 οἰκοῦντας. Where 386 is quoted in the *Appar. Crit.* it carries 149 with it, unless 149 is quoted to the contrary. 201 (xiii cent.) is a member of this group. It agrees with 149. 386 in unique (or almost unique) readings in 3² (> πεπληρωμένα): 3¹⁴ ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς πίστεως: 10² ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν (also 1): 11⁴ οἱ ἐνώπιον: 14¹⁸ βοτάνας: 15⁶ οἱ ἐπὶ τὰ ἄγγ. ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ οἱ ἔχοντες τ. ἐπὶ πληγίας (also s¹ bo): 16¹⁷ τοῦ θρόνου + τοῦ θεοῦ. This is a conflation of τοῦ θρόνου, A 046 al^{pl}, all versions (- gig) and K τοῦ θεοῦ, 18⁷ εἰμὶ καθώς, 20⁶ ἐδόθη κρίμα, and others. This group gives a late cursive text.

175. 617. 1934. These cursives form a group, but one much less closely connected than the one immediately preceding. In 2¹⁹ they stand alone in reading χείρονα τῶν πρώτων, and in 17¹⁵ ἀ εἶδες + καὶ ἡ γυνή: with 141. 242 in 6¹⁷ in reading σωθῆναι. In the following passages these cursives attest the same text in conjunction now with one set of authorities now with another—not consistently with any—10⁸ 17⁸ 18⁸. 22 19⁷. 11. 13 20¹² 21⁶. 27 22⁸. 12. 18. 16. 20. 31. 175 and 617 several times agree where 1934 diverges: 18¹⁶ 19²⁰ 20⁶ 21⁸ 22⁶ etc. and generally in conjunction

with the 025 text. This group gives a very late form of the cursive text, except in chapters 16-22 where they agree generally with 35. 205.

325. 456. 468. The first two members of this group are closely connected. They stand alone in adding in *κατά σου* in 2⁵ and the marginal note *ἐν ἄλλῳ β* in 14²⁰, in omitting *καὶ ἐνώπιον . . . αὐτοῦ* in 3⁶ and *ἔχων . . . τέταρτον ζῶον* in 4⁷, in reading (325**) δῶ in 4⁹ and *χρόνον* for *ἔτι χρ. μικρόν* in 6¹¹, in omitting *γεμούσας* in 15⁷. In very many passages these two cursives attest the same text in conjunction with a variety of others: cf. 6¹⁷ 7⁵ 8³ 9²⁻⁹ 14⁸ etc. 468 agrees frequently (but apparently always in conjunction with others except in 15⁶ *οἱ ἄγγ. οἱ ἐπτά*) with 325. 456. See 1⁶ *καὶ ποιήσαντι ἡμῖν βασιλεῖον ἱεράτευμα* and *> εἰς τ. αἰῶνας*, 2²² *βάλω*, 3² *τήρησον*, 7² *τοῦ θεοῦ ζῶντος*. See also 9⁶⁻¹¹ 14¹⁴.

85. 205. 205 may be directly derived from 35, though other links may have come between. They stand alone in 3² *κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ*, 9¹⁸ *τῶν τριῶν τούτων πληγῶν*. In conjunction with a variety of uncials, these two cursives agree in over 110 passages. This number would be still greater but that 18¹⁴-20⁹ (= one page of 205) was not photographed through an error of the photographer. Hence for the number 110 we should read 120 or thereabouts. But dealing with the passages actually given in the *Appar. Crit.* 35. 205 agree 20 times with each of AN 025 and ANC 025; 3 times with each of AN and ANC; 2 times with AC 025; 5 with A; 1 with A 046. All these are first class groups, and nearly all the readings so attested are right. *Thus so far 35. 205 exhibit a good uncial type of text.* But 35. 205 show affinities with another type of readings, a considerable number of which have originated with the recension of 025, which they have followed 28 times, and almost always wrongly.

The influence of this recension of 025¹ is seen clearly in 1. 35. 67^{ms} (?). 104 (?). 205. 468^{**}. 620 (?). 632^{**}. 1957. 2015. 2019 (?). 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2041. 2067, etc. I add here three examples of the influence of 025 on later MSS. 2⁵ *ἐκπέτωκας* (instead of *πέπτωκας*) 025. 1. 35. 104. 205. 620. 1957. 2015. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2041. 2067. 21⁷ + *ἀπό* before *τοῦ μάνα* 025 (where the slip *ξύλου* in 025 is rightly corrected in later MSS). 1. 35. 61^{ms}. 104. 205. 468^{**}. 620. 632. 2015. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2041. 2067. 2⁹ *βλασφημίαν ἐκ (>025) τῶν λεγόντων*. Here this obvious correction is followed by 1. 35. 205. 1957. 2015. 2019. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2041. 2067 Or².

Of groups of the second or third class 35. 205 follow NC

¹ 35, but not 205, adopts the correction of 046 in 3¹², i.e. *ἡ καταβαίνει*. Some 20 other cursives do likewise.

025, \aleph 025. 046, \aleph 046 once each: \aleph (or \aleph^o) C 025 3 times
 \aleph 025. 11: \aleph 6.

205 presents two conflate readings in 13¹⁴ 14⁶.

Thus group (35. 205) has quite the value of an uncial—superior in the main to 046, but falling short of 025.

§ 10. *Origen's so-called text—in this edition Or^a.*—Whether the text which accompanies undoubted scholia of Origen is really the text of Origen, Harnack in his edition (*Der Scholienkommentar des Origenes zur Apokalypse Johannis*, 1911), p. 81, leaves undecided. He claims that it is a text of the highest character of the 10th century, which “though it may not prove to be even a rival of C, perhaps even not of A, is at all events on an equality with \aleph and 025, while it is certainly superior to the text of 046 and Andreas.”

But this text is not deserving of such praise. (a) It has nothing to do with the text that Origen used. I will compare the texts in a few passages. In 3⁷ Or^a reads: *τάδε λέγει ὁ ἀγγελὸς ἀληθινός . . . ὁ ἀνοίγων καὶ οὐδεὶς κλείσει αὐτὴν καὶ κλείων καὶ οὐδεὶς ἀνοίγει, εἰ μὴ ὁ ἀνοίγων καὶ οὐδεὶς ἀνοίξει*. Here, as the *Appar. Crit. in loc.* shows, the text which Origen used differed in two respects (see heavy type) in this verse, and agreed in these with the text of this edition. Or^a alone is conflate. It combines *καὶ κλείων . . . ἀνοίγει* (the text of A 025) and *εἰ μὴ ὁ ἀνοίγων . . . ἀνοίξει* (the text of 046 and most cursives). Again Origen > ἀκούσῃ τ. φωνῆς μου καὶ always when quoting 3²⁰, but not so Or^a. This may be an accident. In 5¹ Origen reads *ἴσωθεν κ. ὀπισθεν* and also *ἔμπροσθεν κ. ὀπισθεν*, but Or^a *ἴσωθεν κ. ἔξωθεν*. In 5⁶ Origen rightly reads *ἀνοίξαι*, but Or^a *ὁ ἀνοίγων* with 046 and cursives. In 7³ Origen reads *μήτε τ. θάλασσαν*, but Or^a *καὶ τ. θάλασσαν*, and *ἄχρι* against Or^a *ἄχρις οὗ*. In 1⁶ Origen (*c. Celsum*, viii. 5) has *βασιλείαν* where Or^a gives merely a cursive reading. A multitude of such divergences will be found in Harnack's work (p. 76 sqq.). In the face of such divergences it is impossible to identify Or^a with the text of Origen.¹

But a more important task awaits us. We have to define the relations of Or^a and determine its position with reference to the main texts of J^{ap}. We shall find that *this position is not high amongst the uncials, as Harnack would have it, but low amongst the cursives*. It will not be necessary to bring forward the entire evidence, but the following will suffice.

(a) *Or^a is full of corrections like 046, or rather in dependence on it.*—In 1²⁰ it reads *ἀστέρων ὧν* with 046. But our author never uses the attracted relative. After 046 it corrects 2²⁰ *τὴν*

¹ Naturally some points of agreement are found. Cf. the addition with \aleph alp in 1⁶ *ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος* and others, for any MS of J^{ap} has of necessity many points of contact with every other.

γυναῖκα . . . ἡ λέγουσα into τὴν γυν. . . ἡ λέγει, and 3¹² τῆς καινῆς Ἱερ. ἡ καταβαίνουσα into τ. καινῆς Ἱερ. ἡ καταβαίνει. With cursives only it corrects 10⁸ λάλουσαν . . . λέγουσαν into λάλουσα . . . λέγουσα. Now this last correction is most probably the correction of an original slip of the author, but the other two constructions are Hebraisms in the text and should not have been altered. 5¹⁰ βασιλείαν καὶ ἱερεῖς into βασιλεῖς κ. ἱερεῖς.

(b) *It makes additions to the text with 046*: 2¹³ + τὰ ἔργα σου καί: and with \aleph 046: 2⁹ + τὰ ἔργα καί.

(c) In 8¹² we have a conflation of A and 046: καὶ τὸ τρίτον αὐτῆς μὴ φάνη ἡμέρα καὶ ἡ ἡμέρα μὴ φάνη τὸ τρίτον αὐτῆς, where 046 comes first and A second. Another conflation appears in 4⁸ (see (g) below).

(d) *A few of the passages where it follows 046 and some cursives*.—1¹⁰ φωνὴν ὀπίσω μου μεγάλην: 1¹² καὶ + ἐκεῖ: 2¹⁰ παθεῖν: ἰδοὺ + δῆ. δῆ does not belong to our author's vocabulary. 2¹⁴ + καί before φαγεῖν: 4⁴ τοὺς θρόνους + τοὺς: 4⁷ > ὡς before ἀνθρώπου: 4¹¹ ἡμῶν + ὁ ἅγιος: 5⁵ ὁ ἀνόγων (where the text is ἀνοίξει): 9² καμίνου καιομένης.

(e) *Directly or indirectly it follows 025 in the following corrections*.—2⁹ τὴν βλασφημίαν τῶν λεγόντων: 2¹⁷ δώσω αὐτῷ + φαγεῖν: 7⁹ ὄχλος . . . περιβεβλημένοι.

(f) *Or^a is not infrequently without any support but that of cursives*.—1¹⁶ δεξιᾷ αὐτοῦ χειρί: 2¹⁴ δς ἐδίδαξεν τὸν Βαλ: 3⁷ τοῦ before Δαυεῖδ: 3¹⁸ ἵνα ἐγχερίσῃ: 5¹⁸ ὅσα ἐστίν: 6⁹ ἐσφραγισμένων (for ἐσφαγμένων!): 10⁴ γράφης with only 205: 11⁷ > καὶ ὅταν τελώσωσιν with 617. 920. 2040 arm^{2.8}: 13⁷ πόλεμον ποιῆσαι.

(g) Thus every step we have taken proves in an increasing degree the secondary, eclectic and cursive character of the text. It now remains to define *the group of cursives with which it is most intimately connected*. These are 61 (xvi cent.) and 69 (xv cent.). With these cursives it agrees against all other authorities in the following: 4⁵ καὶ (for ἃ ἐστίν): 4⁸ κυκλόθεν ἔσωθεν καὶ ἔξωθεν, where 61. 69 have κυκλ. ἔξωθεν κ. ἔσωθεν—conflations of κυκλ. κ. ἔσωθεν A^m etc., and κυκλ. κ. ἔξωθεν 1957. 2050: 11⁶ ἐκπορεύεται: 13⁵ πολεμήσαι (instead of ποιῆσαι): 13¹⁵ ἀποκτανθῆναι (instead of ἵνα . . . ἀποκτανθῶσω). In 3¹⁸ with 69 alone Or^a reads φανῇ for φανερῶθη.

Again with 61. 69 al⁸ Or^a agrees against all authorities in 1⁸ βασιλεῖον ἱεράτευμα: with 046 in 12¹⁶ ἀνέβαλεν (where 61. 69, however, have ἀνέλαβεν): in 3⁹ γνώσει with \aleph 69 γνώσῃ.

From (g) it follows that Or^a belongs to a very small and late group. So far as is known as yet, Or^a 61. 69 are the only members of this group. It could not well have originated earlier than the 9th or 10th century. Hence it should be numbered as cursive 2293.

§ 11. *Some account of the Versions.*

(i.) Latin Versions: (a) Tyconius; (b) Primasius; (c) Codex Floriacensis (= fl); (d) Codex Gigas (= gig); (e) Vulgate.

(a) *Tyconius*.—There is no critical edition of this text. Dr. Prinz has such a text in preparation. The readings in the *Appar. Crit.* of the present work are taken from Professor Souter's "Tyconius' Text of the Apocalypse, a partial restoration," *J.T.S.*, April 1913.

(b) *Primasius* (= Pr).—Haussleiter has published a critical edition of Primasius' text in his work, *Die lateinische Apokalypse*, 1891, pp. 80-175.

(c) *Codex Floriacensis* (= fl).—Only fragments of this Latin version made in Africa survive. These amount to 61 verses: 1-21, 87-91, 111-114, 141-165. They are preserved in a palimpsest in the National Library of Paris—No. 6400 G (formerly in the library of Fleury). This palimpsest has been deciphered and published by Vansittart, *Journal of Philology*, iv. (1872) pp. 219-222; Omont, *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, xlv. (1883) pp. 445-451, Belsheim in 1887; Berger, *Le palimpseste du Fleury*, 1889; Haussleiter in his edition of Primasius, 1891, and a recent collation in 1906, *J.T.S.* p. 96 sqq.

Pr and fl render mutual service to each other. They make the detection of intrusions of vg in one or other of these two versions an easy task. The canon of criticism here is that where Pr and fl differ, such variants as agree with vg are to be rejected and the remainder to be retained as the older text.

(d) *Codex gigas* (= gig).—This codex of the xiii cent., formerly in Prague, is now in Stockholm. It contains the whole Bible, but only Acts and the Apocalypse are Old Latin. This codex was edited by Belsheim in 1879, but inaccurately. For the collation used in the present work I am indebted to Professor White, who has put at my service the fresh collation made by Dr. Karlsson in 1891 for John Wordsworth, bishop of Salisbury. It appears to have an Italian character (Gregory).

(e) *Vulgate* (= vg).—I have used Professor White's *Editio Minor* of the Vulgate—*Novum Testamentum Latine*, Clarendon Press, 1911. In this edition the following seven MSS ^{a. c. d. f. g. h. v.} are used:

a—Amiatinus (vii-viii) cent.	g—Sangermanensis (ix).
c—Cavensis (ix).	h—Hubertianus (ix-x).
d—Armachanus (812 A.D.).	v—Vallicellanus (ix).
f—Fuldensis (vi).	

ii. Syriac Versions: (a) Philoxenian, (b) Harkleian or Syriac Vulgate.

(a) *Philoxenian* (=s¹). This version was discovered and edited by Professor Gwynn in 1897. He ascribes it on good grounds to the 6th century. It is perhaps the most valuable of all the versions, its only rival being arm⁴ (see p. clxvi sqq.). It is remarkable that with the Armenian versions it has many readings in common with the Latin versions (see Gwynn, p. cxliii), where these differ from all Greek MSS (though the list is not quite correct). Thus in 5⁴ s¹ arm¹ Pr read λῖσαι τὰς σφραγίδας αὐτοῦ for βλέπειν αὐτό: in 13¹⁰ s¹ gig sa eth read ἐν μαχαίρᾳ ἀποκτανθήσεται: in 9¹⁷ s¹ Tyc Pr gig vg arm^{1.2.3.5} read τοῦ στόματος; but this is found in one Greek cursive—35. The presence of a common Latin (?) element in s¹ arm sa eth calls for investigation. Most of this element, no doubt, goes back to lost Greek MSS, but there appears to be a residuum of Latin readings which made their way into s¹ arm and other versions.

s¹ exhibits conflations in 5¹⁰ 6³ 11¹¹ 18¹⁷ ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν πλοίων ἐπὶ τόπον πλέων.

Gwynn puts forward two hypotheses to account for the form of the text of s¹. The translator formed the text for himself, taking as basis our main exemplar, but modifying it to the extent of about one-third by the introduction of readings from a secondary subsidiary exemplar. Otherwise he followed a single exemplar in which the primary and secondary factors stood to each other in the ratio of two to one.

(b) *The Harkleian* (=s²).—This version was made about 616. As yet no critical edition of the text has appeared. It preserves very ancient readings lost in most of the Latin versions, but it is decidedly inferior to s¹. See above, p. clxviii, and Gwynn (*op. cit.*), pp. lxxi-lxxv, lxxxii-lxxxiv.

iii. *Armenian Versions*.—The Armenian version was admitted into the Armenian canon in the 12th century through the agency of Nerses. But the Armenian version was known in the earliest years of the 5th century. There are in reality two distinct Armenian versions. The first is exhibited in arm¹, arm², arm³, arm⁶, which on the whole form, notwithstanding many differences, a homogeneous whole over against arm⁴. Arm^{1.2.3} represent the sources of the older and unrevised text, and arm⁶ the Nersesian 12th century recension, which was based on arm^{1.2.3} etc. Arm⁴ and arm^{1.2.3} represent, according to Conybeare, "two independent renderings of a common Greek text." But this statement needs drastic revision. The Greek source of arm⁴ differed very much from that of arm^{1.2.3}. Conybeare ascribes arm^{1.2.3} to a 5th century text and arm⁴ to a redaction of the early 8th.

As in the case of s¹, so here the Latin element is evident. In 19¹ arm² this influence is undeniable. Thus, where the

Greek has ὄχλου πολλοῦ, vg^a α^v have *tubarum multarum*, and so arm². This corruption could only have arisen in Latin, *i.e.* *tubarum* corrupt for *turbarum*. The same corruption reappears in 19⁶, where ὄχλου πολλοῦ is rendered by Pr vg^a α^d ε^v by *tubarum* (-ae -vg) *magnarum* (-nae vg).

Conybeare thinks that the early Armenian version "was made from an old Latin copy, or perhaps from a bilingual Greco-Latin codex." The latter appears the more probable, but the question requires thorough investigation, not only in regard to arm, but also in regard to s¹ bo sa and eth.

It is much to be regretted that Conybeare did not print in its entirety arm⁴ alongside arm^{1.2.3.4}, seeing that it represents a more ancient type of Greek text than arm^{1.2.3.4}. Arm⁴ is alone complete, and yet neither is its text nor even a single variant from it given in Armenian. Only English renderings of the variants and of 16¹⁷-19¹⁸ are supplied. It is rather strange for a scholar, who is editing both a text and a translation, to translate two chapters (16¹⁷-19¹⁸) from a text which he does not give, and print a text (arm²) of these chapters, which he does not translate save in the case of its variants. For the text of arm⁴ he refers his readers to Dr. F. Murat's edition of it "in the great university libraries of our country," or "to the Armenian Convent of St. James in Jerusalem."

Students of the J^{ap} cannot be other than most grateful to Dr. Conybeare for his edition of the Armenian version, but it does not bear the character of a final one.

(d) *Bohairic Version* (= bo).—The Bohairic (or Memphitic) version has been edited with great care by the Rev. G. Horner. This editor prints J^{ap} from the Curzon MS 128 with variants from other MSS. He has provided an English version of this MS, but unfortunately the variants are not translated. The result is that the reader who does not know Bohairic cannot get to know anything beyond MS Curzon 128.

(e) *Sahidic Version* (= sa).—The same scholar is engaged on an edition of the Sahidic. He has most generously supplied the present editor with some hundreds of readings from this fragmentary version. This version appears to agree more with A and its allies than do bo eth.

(f) *Ethiopic Version* (= eth).—Only two uncritical editions of this version exist—that of Platt and that contained in Walton's Polyglott. I have used the edition of Platt published in 1899, and only consulted the other version that is printed in Walton's Polyglott.

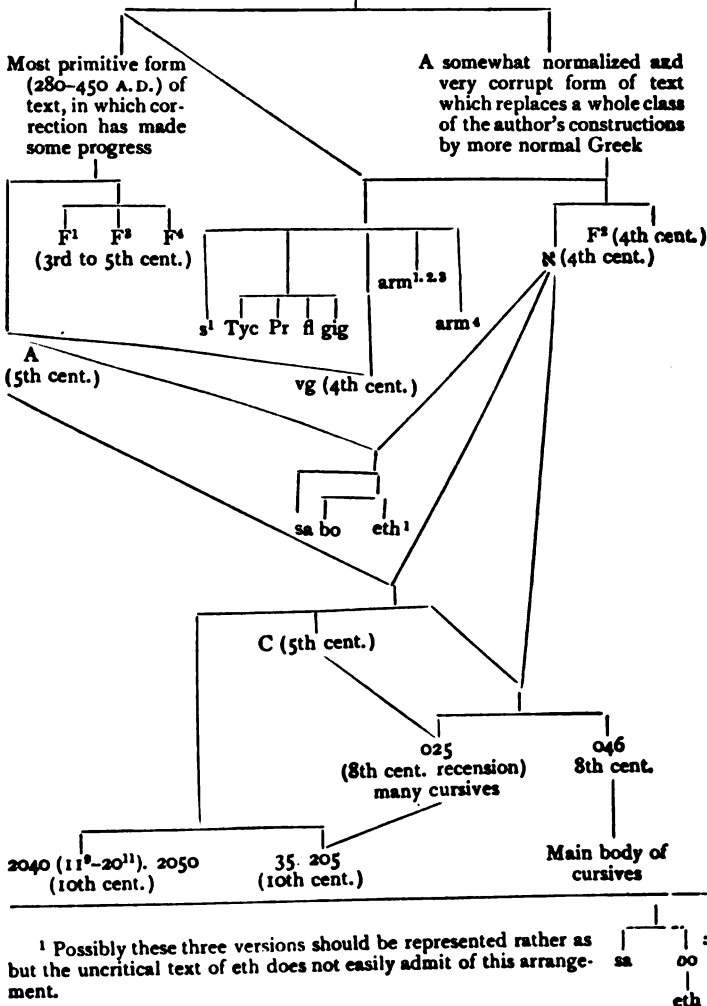
Bo sa and eth form one group as we have already seen, but their exact relations cannot be determined till critical editions of the three are accessible, and a scholar who has a mastery of the three languages takes the task in hand.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF AUTHORITIES clxxxi

The Archetype of John, completed about 95 A.D.

Edited soon after 95 by an unknown disciple with many dislocations of the text and interpolations

Correction of text begins in the 2nd cent. and goes on steadily but sporadically towards a normalized form of text



For the meaning of the above symbols and abbreviations of MSS and versions, see vol. ii. pp. 227 sqq., 234 sqq. For F^{1.2.3.4} (*i.e.* Papyri Fragments), see vol. ii. pp. 447-451.

Though the above table must in many of its features be regarded as purely hypothetical, the editor is convinced of its general accuracy down to A^κ F^{1.2.3.4}; also that, though C belongs to the family of A, it has been influenced by that of ^κ, besides showing signs of frequent correction.

So far the evidence is on the whole clear. Henceforth the relations of the MSS and versions can only be partially and, until several important questions are investigated, provisionally represented. 025 and 046 are certainly descendants of A and ^κ, or of the families of which these are representatives; for 025, 046 preserve primitive readings lost in A^κ. Thus in 4⁴ ἐπὶ τ. θρόνους (+ τοὺς 046) εἴκοσι τέσσαρας πρεσβυτέρους is undoubtedly right where A^κ are wrong and C is defective; for s^{1.2} arm^{2.3.4} * Pr gig vg bo eth here support 025, 046. In 6⁸ ὁ θάνατος of 025, 046 is right, where A is corrupt and C^κ wrong. In 9¹⁰ οὐρὰς ὁμοίας σκορπίους of 025, 046 is again right against the greater uncials, and also in 19¹⁸ τῶν καθημένων ἐπ' αὐτῶν. This fact cannot be represented in the above table.

Further, a study of 025, 046 shows that these two MSS are connected; for they have 36 (more or less) readings in common against A^κC. This connection is accordingly represented in the above table. But 025 and 046 are related differently to A and ^κ. 025 is more closely associated with the text of A, and 046 with that of ^κ. Moreover, 025 shows signs of a deliberate recension, whereas 046 exhibits rather signs of a progressive correction. But these MSS have other connections. Thus in 14¹⁸ 025 unites with C in reading κρηνῇ (a wrong reading) against φωνῇ of A^κ 046: in 14¹⁸ in reading ἐν Χριστῷ against ἐν κυρίῳ of all other MSS. This connection is represented in the above table.

Certain cursives, *i.e.* 35, 205, 2040 (11⁸-20¹¹ only), 2050 preserve some original readings lost wholly in ^κ 025, 046 (see clxxiii sqq.). These cursives are in many respects as valuable as the later uncials, while in a few they are superior.

Of the remaining cursives a considerable number follow for the most part 025, while the main body appears to follow 046. But the exact differentiation of these cursives has not yet been investigated.

Turning from the Greek MSS to the versions, we enter on a more difficult task. Of the versions, Tyc sa eth and s² have not yet been critically edited. All the materials for such a critical edition of bo are given in Horner's edition of the Bohairic N.T., but they are accessible only to Coptic scholars. The internal relations of the Latin versions Tyc Pr fl gig which are still un-

determined, and likewise the influence of the Latin versions (or of the Greek MSS from which a large part of this peculiar (?) Latin element may be derived) on arm s¹ bo eth form attractive problems for future researchers.

Since we know that the Latin versions (or their Greek progenitors) exercised some influence on arm and s¹, I have placed these versions in close connection on the above table. But the Latin influence on bo eth is not represented, nor is s³ even mentioned.

XV.

THE METHODS OF INTERPRETATION ADOPTED IN THIS COMMENTARY.

In my *Studies in the Apocalypse* I have given a short history of the interpretation of the Apocalypse, dealing with each method as it arose, its contribution to the elucidation of our author, its developments, or, it may be, its final condemnation and rejection at the bar of criticism. Here there is no historical treatment of the subject, but merely an enumeration of the methods, which have stood the test of experience and been found necessary for the interpretation of the Apocalypse.

§ 1. *The Contemporary-Historical Method.*—This method rightly presupposes that the visions of our author relate to contemporary events and to future events so far as they arise out of them. The real historical horizons of the book were early lost. Yet, even so, traces of the Contemporary-Historical Method still persist in Irenaeus, Hippolytus, and Victorinus of Pettau. But with the rise of the Spiritualizing Method in Alexandria this true method was driven from the field and lost to use till it was revived by the Roman and non-Roman Christian scholars of the 17th century. These scholars established as an assured result that the Apocalypse was originally directed against Rome. The Apocalypse is not to be treated as an allegory, but to be interpreted in reference to definite concrete kingdoms, powers, events, and expectations. But, though the visions of our author related to contemporary events, they are not limited to these. For, as I have said in vol. ii. 86, "no great prophecy receives its full and final fulfilment in any single event or series of events. *In fact, it may not be fulfilled at all in regard to the object against which it was primarily delivered by the prophet or seer.* But if it is the expression of a great moral and spiritual truth, it will of a surety be fulfilled at sundry times and in divers manners and in varying degrees of completeness" in the history of the world.

§ 2. *The Eschatological Method.*—But the Apocalypse deals

not only with contemporary events but also with future events. So far as these future events arise naturally out of contemporary events their elucidation can to a certain extent be brought under § 1. But the last things depicted by our author contain a prophetic element. These in a certain sense arise out of the past and yet are inexplicable from it. The future events depicted in the Apocalypse are not to be treated symbolically or allegorically (save in exceptional cases), but as definite concrete events.

§ 3. *The Chiliastic Interpretation.*—Strictly speaking, Chiliasm forms a subdivision of Eschatology. But in point of fact there are interpreters who, while applying the Eschatological Method rightly on the whole, treat everything relating to Chiliasm in our author purely symbolically. But the prophecy of the Millennium in chap. xx. must be taken literally, as it was by Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Victorinus of Pettau. These writers were acquainted with the original interpretation of this chapter. But this interpretation was soon displaced by the spiritualizing methods of Alexandria. Tyconius, adopting these methods, rejected the literal interpretation of chap. xx., treated the Millennium as the period between the first and second advents of Christ. Jerome and Augustine followed in the footsteps of Tyconius, and a realistic eschatology was crushed out of existence in the Church for full 800 years. The Eschatological Method, including Chiliasm, was revived by Joachim of Floris (*arc.* 1200 A.D.), but the latter element was again abandoned for some centuries and declared heretical by the Augsburg and Helvetic Confessions. In England, where these Confessions were without authority, Chiliasm was revived by Mede, Sir Isaac Newton, and Whiston.

§ 4^a. *The Philological Method in its earlier form.*—This method was resorted to in the 16th cent. as a counsel of despair. The Church and World-Historical Methods which originated in the 14th cent. as well as the Recapitulation Method of Victorinus had, combined with other more reasonable methods, been applied to the Apocalypse by numberless scholars, with the result that the best interpreters of the 16th cent. confessed that the Apocalypse remained more than ever the Seven-sealed Book.

But the value of the Philological Method was only in part recognized. The chief philological problems were either not recognized at all or only in part, and so this method failed to make the indispensable contribution that could be made by it and by it alone, and that could put an end to the wild vagaries of the Literary Critical School which had its founder in Grotius. To this method I will return after § 9 under the heading § 4^b.

§ 5. *The Literary-Critical Method.*—If the methods just

mentioned were the only valid methods, and if at the same time the absolute unity of the Apocalypse were assumed as given or proved, then large sections of it would have to be surrendered as unsolved and unsolvable. But there is no such *impasse*. In the Apocalypse there is no such rigid unity of authorship and consistency of detail as has been constantly assumed. A new method of interpretation was initiated by Grotius—the Literary-Critical. Grotius, observing that there were conflicting elements alike in tradition and within the text itself, conjectured that the Apocalypse was composed of several visions written down at different times and in different places, some before and some after the destruction of Jerusalem. This method finally gave birth to three different hypotheses, each of the three possessing some element of truth, but especially the third. These hypotheses are :

- (a) The Redactional-Hypothesis.
- (b) The Sources-Hypothesis.
- (c) The Fragmentary-Hypothesis.

(a) *The Redactional-Hypothesis*.—Many interpreters have availed themselves of this hypothesis, but a thorough study of John's style and diction makes it impossible to recognize the Apocalypse as the result of the work of a series of successive editors, such as we recognize in the Ascension of Isaiah. That the Apocalypse suffered one such redaction appears to the present writer to be a hypothesis necessarily postulated by the facts ; see vol. i. pp. 1-1v, vol. ii. pp. 144-154.

(b) *The Sources-Hypothesis*.—This theory assumes a series of independent sources connected more or less loosely together as 1 Enoch. That this theory can be established to a limited extent, I have sought to show in 7¹⁻⁸ 7⁴⁻⁸ 11¹⁻¹³ 12. 13. 17. 18 (see pp. lxii-lxv). Some of these sources are purely Jewish, or Jewish-Christian in origin, and one at least of them—*i.e.* chap. 12—is derived ultimately from a heathen expectation of a World Redeemer (see vol. i. 310-314). But this theory, which breaks up the entire book into various sources, cannot explain the relative unity of the work as a whole—nay more, a unity which might be described as absolute in respect to its purpose steadily maintained from the beginning to the close, its growing thought and dramatic development, its progressive crises, and its diction and style, which are unique in all Greek literature.

(c) *Fragmentary-Hypothesis*.—From the above two forms of the Literary-Critical Method we turn to its third and most satisfactory form—the Fragmentary-Hypothesis—a most unhappy designation. This hypothesis presupposes an undoubted unity of authorship, though the author has from time to time drawn

on foreign sources (as we have pointed out in the preceding section), and has not always assimilated these fragmentary elements in all their details to their new contexts.

§ 6. *Traditional - Historical Method.*—This method was applied first by Gunkel to the Apocalypse, and subsequently by many other scholars in an extravagant degree. Each new apocalypse is to some extent a reproduction and reinterpretation of traditional material—whether in the form of figures, symbols, or doctrines. Hence it is necessary to distinguish between the original meaning of a borrowed symbol or doctrine and the new turn given to it by our author. This is done in the introduction to each chapter in this Commentary. In nearly every case our author has transformed or glorified the borrowed material. Thus the sealing in 7¹⁻⁸, which in its Jewish source carried with it the thought of security from *physical* evil, is a pledge of God's protection from *spiritual* evil. The doctrine of the Antichrist as it appears in our author is unique: see vol. ii. 76-87, where the various stages of the development of this idea are given. Occasionally details in the borrowed material are inapplicable to our author's purpose (see notes on 12¹³⁻¹⁶ 18⁴), or possibly unintelligible to him. In these cases he omits all reference to such details in his interpretation of the source of which he has availed himself. But it is probable that these defects and inconsistencies would have been removed by our author if he had had the opportunity of revising his book.

§ 7. *Religious-Historical Method.*—There are certain statements and doctrines in the Apocalypse which could not have been written first hand by a Christian. These are in some cases of Jewish origin, but others are ultimately derived from Babylonian, Egyptian, or Greek sources; see vol. i. 121-123 on the Cherubim, vol. i. 310-314 on the doctrine of a World-Redeemer. The order of the twelve precious stones, see vol. ii. 165-169, points to our author's knowledge of the heathen conception of the City of the Gods and of contemporary astronomy, and his deliberate deviation from them.

§ 8. *Philosophical Method.*—Apocalyptic is a philosophy of history and religion. The Seer seeks to get behind the surface and penetrate to the essence of events, the spiritual motives and purposes that underlay and gave them their real significance. Hence apocalyptic takes within its purview not only the present and the last things, but all things past, present, and to come. Apocalyptic and not Greek philosophy was the first to grasp the great idea that all history, alike human, cosmological, and spiritual, is a unity—a unity following naturally as a corollary of the unity of God. And yet serious N.T. scholars of the present day have stated that apocalyptic has only to deal with the last things!

§ 9. *Psychological Method*.—Are the visions in the Apocalypse the genuine results of spiritual experience? That our author speaks from actual spiritual experience no serious student of to-day has any doubt. The only question that calls for solution is the extent to which such experience underlies the visions of the Apocalypse. On pp. ciii–cix the present writer has made an attempt to discuss this question.

§ 4^b. *The Philological Method in its later form*.—This method has already been dealt with in the order of its historical appearance under § 4^a above. But its value in determining some of the chief questions of the Apocalypse has never yet been appreciated. It has therefore been all but wholly neglected, and no writer has made a really serious study of the style and diction of our author save Bousset, and that only in a minor degree. Hence on every hand individual verses and combinations of verses have been unjustifiably rejected as non-Johannine, and others just as unjustifiably received as Johannine. After working for years on the Apocalypse under the guidance of all the above methods, I came at last to recognize that no certain conclusion could be reached on many of the vexed problems of the book till I had made a thorough study of John's grammar. On pp. cxvii–clix I have given the results of a study extending over many years. In not a few respects it is revolutionary. To give a few examples. As regards John's Greek it shows that constructions (such as τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῷ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, and so in the other six passages), which every modern German scholar has rejected, were exactly the constructions which a complete study of John's grammar *required*. Next, this study revolutionizes the translation of the Apocalypse. Frequently it is not the Greek but the Hebrew in the mind of the writer that has to be translated. Thirdly, as regards large sections which have been rejected by most modern scholars as non-Johannine, this grammar shows that such sections are essentially Johannine—and *vice versa*.

XVI.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.¹

Editions.—Greek Commentaries.—The Apocalypse does not owe much to Greek expositors. The earliest were probably the best. Fragmentary expositions are preserved in Justin and Irenaeus

¹ This bibliography is abbreviated as much as possible. For fuller bibliographies in various directions the reader should consult Lücke, *Eint. in d. Offenbarung*², 518 sqq., 952 sqq.; Bousset, *Offenbarung Johannis*, 1906, pp. 48–118; Holtzmann-Bauer's *Hand-Commentar*, iv. 380–390; Walch, *Bibl.*

which are referred to by Jerome, *De vir. illustr.* ii. 9. The two earliest complete Commentaries by Melito (cf. Eus. *H.E.* iv. 26. 2) and Hippolytus (Jerome, *op. cit.* 61) are lost. Clement of Alexandria (Eus. *H.E.* vi. 14. 1) commented on the Apocalypse, and Origen recorded his intention of so doing, *In Matt.* 49 (Lommatzsch, iv. 307). That his Scholia on the Apoc. have been preserved is highly probable: see p. clxxvi. Commentary by Oecumenius (discovered by Diekamp; see *Sitzungsberichte der Kön. preuss. Akad. der Wiss.*, 1901, 1046 sqq.). The Commentary ascribed by Cramer (*Catena*, viii. p. vi, 497-582) to Oecumenius is, according to Diekamp, a compendium of Andreas (ed. Sylburg, 1596; Migne, *P.G.* cvi) and Arethas (Cramer's *Catena*, viii. 171-496; Migne, *P.G.* cvi).

Latin Commentaries.—Victorinus (iii cent.). This Commentary appears in a shorter and in a longer form. For the latter see Migne, *P.L.* v. Haussleiter is engaged on a critical edition. Tyconius (iv-v cent. See Souter in *J.T.S.* xiv. 338 sqq. A critical edition is promised by Haussleiter); Primasius (vi cent., ed. by Haussleiter, *Die Lateinische Apokalypse*, 1891); Apringius (vi cent. ed. by Férotin, Paris, 1900). Bede, Ansbertus, Beatus, Haymo, and others carried on the tradition of the Church in the West.

There were some Syriac Commentaries, the most important of which is that of Baršalibi (see Gwynn in *Hermathena*, vi-vii).

In the mediaeval period the most important commentator was Joachim, abbot of Floris, 1195 (ed. Venice, 1519, 1527).

Commentaries since the Reformation.—Since the Reformation the number of writers on the Apocalypse is almost beyond count. Only a few of the chief names can be given. Erasmus, *Annotationes in N.T.*, 1516; Bibliander, *Comment. in Apoc.*, 1549; Bullinger, *In Apoc. Conciones*, 1557; Ribeira, *In sacram b. Joannis . . . Apoc. Commentarius*, Lyons, 1593; Pereyra, *Disputationes selectissimae super libro Apocalypsis*, Venice, 1607; Salmeron, *In Johannis Apoc. Praeludia*, 1614; Alcasar, *Vestigatio arcani sensus in Apoc.*, Lyons, 1618; Juan Mariana, *Scholia in . . . N.T.*, 1619; Brightman, *Revelation of St. John*, 1616; Cornelius a Lapide, *Comm. in Apoc.*, 1627; Mede, *Clavis Apocalypseos*, Cambridge, 1627; Grotius, *Annotationes*, 1644; Hammond, *Paraphrase and Annotations upon the N.T.*, 1653; Coccejus, *Cogitationes in Apoc.*, 1673; Marekcius, *In Apoc. . . . Commentarius*, Amsterdam, 1689; Vitringa, *Ἀνάκρισις Apocalypsios*, 1719; I. Newton,

Theol. selecta, iv. 760 sqq.; Stosch, *Catalogus rariorum in Apoc. Joannis Commentariorum*; Elliott, *Horae Apocalypticæ*, iv. 275-528. In my *Lectures on the Apocalypse*, pp. 1-78, I have combined a bibliography and a history of the interpretation of the Apocalypse, as Bousset and Holtzmann-Bauer have done, though on a smaller scale than Bousset.

Observations upon . . . the Apoc., 1732; Bengel, *Offenbarung Johannis*, 1740; Wetstein, *N.T. Graecum*, 2 vols., 1751-52, Amsterdam; Eichhorn, *Commentarius in Apoc.*, Göttingen, 1791. Amongst the Commentaries of the nineteenth century should be mentioned: Vogel, *Commentationes vii. de Apocalypsi*, Erlangen, 1811-16; H. Ewald, *Comm. in Apoc. Joannis*, 1828, *die Johanneischen Schriften*, Göttingen, 1862; Lücke, see *Studies*, below; Züllig, *Offenbarung Johannis*, Stuttgart, 1834-40; M. Stuart, *Comm. on the Apoc.*³, 1845; De Wette, *Erklärung der Offenbarung*, 1848; Hengstenberg, *Die Offenbarung . . . erläutert*, Berlin, 1849-51; Elliott, *Horae Apocalypticæ*², 4 vols., 1851; Ebrard, *Die Offenbarung Johannis*, 1853; G. Volkmar, *Commentar zur Offenbarung*, Zurich, 1862; C. Wordsworth, *New Testament*, vol. ii., London, 1864; Kliefoth, *Offenbarung des Johannis*, Leipzig, 1874; C. J. Vaughan, *Revelation of St. John*, London, 1870; J. C. A. Hofmann, *Offenb. Johannis*, 1874; A. Bisping, *Erklärung der Apoc.*, Münster, 1876; C. H. A. Burger, *Offenb. Johannis*, 1877; J. P. Lange, *Bibelwerk*², 1878; E. Reuss, *L'Apocalypse*, Paris, 1878; W. Lee, *Revelation of St. John*, London, 1881; Düsterdieck, *Offenb. Johannis*⁴, Göttingen, 1887; W. Milligan, *Book of Revelation*, London, 1889; Simcox, *Revelation of St. John*, Cambridge, 1893; Kübel, *Offenbarung Johannis*, Munich, 1893; Trench, *Comm. on the Epistles to the Seven Churches*¹, 1897; Bousset, *Offenbarung Johannis*, Göttingen, 1896; new ed. 1906; Benson, *The Apocalypse*, London, 1900; C. A. Scott, *Revelation (Century Bible)*, Edinburgh, 1902; Crampon, *L'Apocalypse de S. Jean*, Tournai, 1904; Th. Calmes, Paris, 1905; H. B. Swete, *Apocalypse of St. John*², London, 1907; H. P. Forbes, New York, 1907; Hort, *Apoc. of St. John*, i.-iii., London, 1908; Holtzmann-Bauer, *Offenbarung des Johannis*³ (*Hand-Comm.*), Tübingen, 1908; J. M. S. Baljon, *Openbaring van Johannes*, Utrecht, 1908; Moffatt, *Revelation of St. John (Expositor's Gk. Test.)*, London, 1910; E. C. S. Gibson, *Revelation of St. John*, London, 1910; A. Ramsay (*Westminster N.T.*), 1910; Diobouniotis and Harnack, *Der Scholien-Kommentar des Origenes zur Apokalypse Johannis*, Leipzig, 1911; J. T. Dean, Edinburgh, 1915.

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Versions.—See vol. i. pp. clxvi-clxxi, vol. ii. 234 sq.

SOME OF THE ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS WORK.

Versions.¹

Aq. or α' Version of Aquila or α.

A.V. Authorized Version.

LXX or ο' Septuagint.

¹ For those used in the Greek text see vol. ii. 227-235.

R.V.	Revised Version.
Symm. or σ'	Symmachus.
Theod. or θ'	Theodotion.
Abbott, <i>Gram.</i>	Abbott, <i>Johannine Grammar</i> , 1906.
" <i>Voc.</i>	" <i>Johannine Vocabulary</i> , 1905.
Blass, <i>Gram.</i>	Blass, <i>Grammar of N.T. Greek</i> (transl. by Thackeray), 1898.
D.A.C.	Hastings' <i>Dictionary of the Apostolic Church</i> .
D.B.	Hastings' <i>Dictionary of the Bible</i> .
J	The Fourth Gospel.
1. 2. 3 J.	Johannine Epistles.
J ^{ap}	The Apocalypse.
K.A.T. ^s	Schrader's <i>Die Keilinschriften und das alte Testament</i> , edited and rewritten by H. Zimmern and H. Winckler, 1903.
M.-W.'s <i>Gram.</i>	Moulton's edition of Winer, 1882.
Moulton, <i>Gram.</i>	Moulton's <i>Grammar of N.T. Greek</i> ^s , vol. i., 1906.
MT	Massoretic Text.
N.T.	New Testament.
O.T.	Old Testament.
Robertson, <i>Gram.</i>	Robertson, <i>Grammar of the Greek of the N.T.</i> , 1914.
S.B.E.	<i>Sacred Books of the East</i> (edited by Max Müller), Oxford.
Thackeray, <i>Gram.</i>	Thackeray, <i>Grammar of the O.T. in Greek</i> , vol. i., 1909.
T.L.Z.	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i> .
Weber ^s	Weber's <i>Jüdische Theologie</i> , 1897.
WH	Westcott and Hort, <i>The N.T. in Greek</i> .
Völter i.	See above under the Section "Studies mainly Critical."
ii.	" "
iii.	" "
iv.	" "
Z.A.T.W.	<i>Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i> .
Z.f.N.T.W.	Preuschen's <i>Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i> .
Z.K.W. or Z.K.W.L.	<i>Zeitschrift für Kirchliche Wissenschaft und Kirchliches Leben</i> .
Z.W.T.	<i>Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftliche Theologie</i> .

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

VOLUME I.

Page 215, line 22 *ab imo*. After "unexampld" add "except perhaps in Aq. Ex. xxiv. 16."

Page 224, footnote, line 11. After "xvi. 19" add "(an interpolation)," and see the emended form of this note in vol. i. Introd. p. clix *ad init.*

Page 294. Paragraph beginning "It is noteworthy," etc., was written before I recognized that xvi. 5^b-7 should be restored after xix. 4.

Page 297, line 8. Delete "A slip for the dative." See also text in vol. ii. 306 : 415, 416 footnote.

THE REVELATION OF ST. JOHN.



CHAPTER I.

§ 1. *The Contents and Authorship of this Chapter.*

THE Superscription (i. 1-3) falls into three parts, each part of which in turn is formed of three elements. The first sets forth the source of the Apocalypse, the second its contents, and the third the blessedness of those who receive and fulfil its teachings. As regards the source—it was God by whom the Apocalypse was given to Christ: it was Christ who sent His angel and signified it to John: it was John who bare witness to it as from God and Christ. As for its contents—these were the word of God and the truth attested by Christ, which were embodied in the visions which John had seen. As for the blessedness that attends on its reception—this blessedness is to be the portion of those that read it in the Churches, of those that hear, and of those that observe it.

After the Superscription follows the Introduction (i. 4-8), which is composed of three stanzas of three lines each. In these John salutes the Seven Churches, invoking upon them grace and peace from God, which is and which was and which is to come,¹ and from Jesus Christ. Of these two Divine Beings he proceeds to speak more definitely—of Christ in 5-7 and of God in 8. Christ is the faithful witness, the sovereign of the dead, the ruler of those that rule the living. To Him is to be ascribed glory and power, inasmuch as loving us with an everlasting love He hath redeemed us from our sins and endowed us with the offices of kingship and priesthood unto God (i. 4-6), and will speedily come in the clouds—whose advent His crucifiers will witness to their cost and the heathen-hearted nations with fear and anguish. Of God our author does not speak in the third person, but intro-

¹ The clause that follows relating to the seven spirits is an interpolation (see note *in loc.*).

duces the Supreme Being as declaring: I am the Alpha and the Omega—the Lord of the past, the present and the future.

In i. 9–20 we have the Seer's call by the Son of Man and his vision of the Son of Man, standing in the midst of seven golden candlesticks and holding seven stars, risen and glorified. By Him the Seer is bidden to write what he saw and to send it to the Seven Churches. Any paraphrase of this sublime description of the Son of Man would only hopelessly weaken it. It may, however, be observed that it contains the attributes of the Ancient of Days and of one like a Son of Man in Daniel (vii. 9, 13) as well as of the nameless angel in Dan. x. 5–6, and that nearly every phrase in this description of the Son of Man (13–16) and of His words (17–20) recurs in ii.–iii. to which it forms an introduction, just as x. does to xi. 1–13.

In 17^o–18 the Son of Man declares who He is (even as God does in 8), *i.e.* the First and the Last, He that liveth and was dead and had thereby become the holder of the keys of death. As such He bids the Seer afresh to write what he saw, and to learn the mystery that the seven candlesticks were the Seven Churches and the seven stars the heavenly ideals of the Seven Churches, which could only be realized through Him.

As regards the authorship of this chapter, whilst there is no evidence either in point of idiom or diction against its being from the hand of John the Seer, there is, as I have shown in the summary in § 2, the most positive evidence for its derivation from him.

§ 2. *Diction and Idiom.*

There can be no question as to the authorship of this chapter. Alike in its diction and its idiom it is from the hand of John the Seer.

(a) *Diction.*—This subject is dealt with in detail in the notes. But the results can be shortly summarized and some of the chief parallelisms in phraseology within the rest of the Book emphasized. But first of all it is to be observed that whereas none of the diction and phraseology is against our author's use, much of it is specifically Johannine and all of it in keeping with his use.

I. 1. δεῖξαι τοῖς δούλοις αὐτοῦ, ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐν τάχει. This clause recurs as a whole in xxii. 6 and in part in iv. 1. δείκνυμι is characteristic of our author in its apocalyptic sense.

τῷ δούλῳ αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννῃ. Cf. xi. 18, τοῖς δούλοις σου τ. προφήταις.

2. ἐμαρτύρησεν. Cf. xxii. 16, 18, 20.

τ. λόγον τ. θεοῦ καὶ τ. μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ. Cf. i. 9, vi. 9, xii. 11 (τ. λόγον τ. μαρτυρίας), 17 (τ. μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ only and in xix. 10), xx. 4.

8. μακάριος . . . τ. λόγους τ. προφητείας καὶ τηρούντες. Cf. xxii. 7, 10. We have here the first of the seven beatitudes in this Book: cf. xiv. 13, xvi. 15, xix. 9, xx. 6, xxii. 7, 14.

δ γὰρ καιρὸς ἐγγύς. Cf. xxii. 10.

9. ὁ μάρτυς ὁ πιστός. Cf. ii. 13, iii. 14.

10. ἐποίησεν ἡμᾶς βασιλείαν, ἱερεῖς. Cf. v. 10.
εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας [τ. αἰώνων]. Cf. i. 18, iv. 9, 10, v. 13, vii. 12, x. 6, etc. But in Gospel and 1 and 2 John always εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.
8. τὸ Α καὶ τὸ Ω . . . ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος, ὁ παντοκράτωρ. Cf. i. 8, iv. 8, xi. 17, xvi. 5, xxi. 6, xxii. 13.

Κύριος ὁ θεὸς . . . ὁ παντοκράτωρ. Cf. iv. 8, xi. 17, xv. 3, xvi. 7, 14, xix. 6, 15, xxi. 22. Παντοκράτωρ occurs eight times in the rest of the Apocalypse and not once elsewhere in the N.T. except in an O.T. quotation (2 Cor. vi. 18).

10. ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι. Cf. iv. 2.

12. βλέπειν. Our author uses this verb twice in i., once in iii. and thirteen times in the rest of the book, and never in the aorist; for in xxii. 8 Α is to be followed.

13. ὅμοιον υἶν ἀνθρώπου. Only elsewhere in xiv. 14, in this form in all literature.

ἐνδεδυμένον ποδήρη καὶ περιεζωσμένον πρὸς τοῖς μαστοῖς ζωνὴν χρυσᾶν. Cf. xv. 6.

14. οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς φλῶξ πυρός. Cf. ii. 18, xix. 12.

15. ἡ φωνὴ αὐτοῦ ὡς φωνὴ ὑδάτων πολλῶν. Cf. xiv. 2, xix. 6.

16. ἡ ὄψις αὐτοῦ ὡς ὁ ἥλιος. Cf. x. 1.

ἔχων ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ δαστέρας ἑπτὰ. Cf. ii. 1, iii. 1.

ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ ῥομφαία διστομος ὀξεῖα. Cf. ii. 13.

17. ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος. Cf. ii. 8, xxii. 13.

19. οὖν. Here used (probably owing to its fourfold occurrence in ii.—iii.) of logical appeal, never of historical transition as in the Fourth Gospel: cf. ii. 5, 16, iii. 3, 19. In the later chapters our author uses διὰ τοῦτο instead: cf. vii. 15, xii. 32 [xviii. 8]. Thus this *entire* chapter is most closely connected by its distinctively Johannine phraseology with ii.—vi., x.—xi., xiv.—xvi., xix.—xxii. Let us now turn to the most striking idioms in this chapter.

(b) *Idiom*.—These are dealt with fully in the notes. But we shall mention a sufficient number to confirm beyond question the conclusion that this chapter comes from the hand of our author.

I. 4. ἀπὸ ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος. On this wholly abnormal construction with ἀπό, which is nevertheless quite intelligible in our author and yet not in any other, see note *in loc*. As regards ὁ ὢν . . . ἐρχόμενος—this title recurs wholly or in part in i. 8, iv. 8, xi. 17, xvi. 5.

5. Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁ μάρτυς πιστός. This anomalous con-

struction of the nominative in apposition to an oblique case recurs ii. 13, 20, iii. 12, vii. 4, viii. 9, ix. 14, xiv. 12, 14, xx. 2. That this solecism is characteristic of our author cannot be denied, since it occurs so frequently, whereas it is exceptional in the *Κοινή* and the LXX, in the latter of which it is clearly, as in our author, a Hebraism.

5-8. τῷ ἀγαπῶντι . . . καὶ ἐποίησεν. This Hebraism recurs frequently in our author: cf. i. 18, ii. 2, 9, 20, iii. 9, vii. 14, xiv. 2-3, xv. 3.

10. φωνήν . . . ὡς σάλπιγγος λεγούσης. Here we should expect λέγουσαν. But cf. iv. 1.

18. ὅμοιον υἰδὸν ἀνθρώπου. Cf. xiv. 14 for this otherwise unexampled construction. See Additional Note, p. 36.

16. ἔχων = εἶχε or ἔχει as elsewhere in our author: cf. x. 2, xii. 2, xxi. 12, 14. Moreover, ἐκπορευομένη is used as ἐξεπορεύετο in this same verse. In our author these are Hebraisms, though this usage is found occasionally in the *Κοινή*. Again, the Hebraism ἡ θύς αὐτοῦ ὡς ὁ ἥλιος φαίνει though not found elsewhere in this Book, is closely akin to our author's many Hebraisms, especially in connection with ὡς = ᾤ. See p. 36.

20. τὰς ἐπὶ λυχνίας—this is a slip for the genitive. There are other analogous slips in our author, which are best explained as due to his not having had an opportunity to revise his text.

Thus this chapter is connected by Johannine idioms with ii.-iv., vii.-xii., xiv.-xvi., xx.-xxi. There can be no doubt as to the genuineness of the text.

§ 3. *Order of Words.*

The order is Semitic. Thus the verb is before the subject and object once, before the subject twice, before the object five times. It stands at the beginning of the clause or sentence followed by adverbial phrases eleven times. On the other hand, the verb follows the subject (9) once, the object (a pronoun) once. The participle, where it stands for a finite verb, occurs once at the close of a clause (16^b). These facts are in keeping with our author's style.

Ἀποκάλυψις Ἰωάννου.

The word ἀποκάλυψις is not used as the title of any work before the time of our Apocalypse, though it is used by St. Paul exactly in the same sense of minor revelations: cf. 1 Cor. xiv. 26. So far as the word itself goes it is found in Sir. xi. 27, xxii. 22 (μυστηρίου ἀποκαλύψεως), xlii. 1, while ἀποκαλύπτειν is found in Amos iii. 7, ἀποκαλύψη παιδείαν πρὸς τοὺς δούλους αὐτοῦ τοὺς

προφήτας, in the sense of a "revealing" of something hidden. In the second passage we have an approach to the use of the word in our text. In Theodotion's rendering of Daniel the verb ἀποκαλύπτειν is used exactly in the sense of the noun ἀποκάλυψις in the title: cf. ii. 19, 22, 28, 29, 30, 47, x. 1. It appears in the title of 2 Baruch—"The Book of the Apocalypse of Baruch the son of Neriah"—the publication of which was nearly contemporary with that of our Apocalypse. It signifies a vision and its interpretation. Elsewhere in the N.T. it is found with the same meaning in the Pauline Epistles (Rom. xvi. 25; 2 Cor. xii. 1; Gal. i. 12, etc.). In 1 Pet. i. 7, 13, iv. 13, Luke ii. 32, etc., this word is not used in quite the same sense, but means rather, manifestation, appearance. ἀποκάλυψις is found also in Classical Greek in the sense of to lay bare, to disclose, in Plato, *Protag.* 352 D, *Gorg.* 460 A; while ἀποκάλυψις is found in Plutarch, *Paul. Aemil.* 14, *Cat. Maj.* 20, *Quom. Adul. ab Am.* 32 (ἀποκ. ἀμαρτίας) in the sense of a laying bare. The verb frequently bears this meaning in LXX, and the noun once. But the special religious meaning of ἀποκάλυψις in Greek and *revelatio* in Latin was unknown to the heathen world.

ἀποκάλυψις Ἰωάννου was the title of our Book in the 2nd cent.: cf. Murat. i. 71 sq.: "Scripta apocalypse(s) etiam johanis et petri tantum recipimus." That the Book was ever known by the bare term ἀποκάλυψις cannot safely be inferred from Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.* iv. 5, or Irenaeus, v. 30. 3 (τοῦ καὶ τὴν Ἀποκάλυψιν ἑωρακότος); for in both these passages the context clearly defines whose apocalypse is in question. V. 30. 2, "Propter hoc non annumeratur tribus haec in Apocalypsi," would be more relevant here; but even this passage is wholly indecisive, since the authorship of the Apocalypse is stated in v. 26. 1.

I. 1-3. THE SUPERScription.

1-3. The Superscription, which sets forth (1) the source of the Apocalypse, (2) its contents, and (3) the blessedness of those who receive its teachings. (1) There are three definite stages in the transmission of this Apocalypse from its source to its publication. First it is God Himself who gave it to Christ to make it known unto His servants—ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ ὁ θεὸς δεῖξαι τ. δούλοις αὐτοῦ . . . ἐν τάχει (cf. the declaration of God in xxi. 6^b-8), and the statement as to God's sending the angel, in δεῖξαι . . . ἐν τάχει in xxii. 6. Next, Christ sent and signified it through His angel to John—ἐσήμανεν ἀποστείλας διὰ τοῦ ἀγγέλου αὐτοῦ τῷ δούλῳ αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννῃ (cf. the declaration of Christ in xxii. 6-7, 16, 13, 12, 10, 18^a). Thirdly, John bare witness to this Apocalypse accorded by Christ to him, *i.e.*, the word of God and the truth

attested by Christ—τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅσα εἶδεν (cf. the testimony of John in xxii. 8-9, 20-21). This correspondence between i. 1-2 and xxi. 6^b-8, xxii. 6-21, is, therefore, not accidental. But if we desire further confirmation of the close connection of 1-3 with the xxi.-xxii., we have it in the repetition by Christ in xxii. 7 of the beatitude pronounced by John in i. 3.

(2) Its contents are "the word of God and the testimony of Jesus Christ, everything that He saw." Here there are three elements corresponding to the three agents mentioned above. First, there is the word of God. Secondly, this word is attested by Christ. Thirdly, it is seen by John in vision.

(3) The blessedness of those who receive and observe its teachings. Here, again, there is a threefold division: blessed is he that reads them in the public assemblies: blessed is he that hears these prophecies: blessed is he that observes them.

1. ἀποκάλυψις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. The genitive here is subjective. The revelation is given by Jesus Christ to John as God gave it to Him. Cf. John vii. 16, ἡ ἐμὴ διδαχὴ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐμὴ ἀλλὰ τοῦ πέμψαντός με, and iii. 35, v. 20 sqq., 26, xvi. 15, etc. The title Ἰησοῦς Χριστός is found only here and in verses 2, 5: Ἰησοῦς alone nine times; Κύριος Ἰησοῦς twice (xxii. 20, 21); Κύριος once only, xiv. 13; ὁ Κύριος αὐτῶν (xi. 8). Χριστός, when used alone, always has the article (xx. 4, 6, + αὐτοῦ, xi. 15, xii. 10. In the Johannine Epistles Ἰησοῦς Χριστός occurs nine times, Ἰησοῦς six, ὁ Χριστός three times.

ἦν ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ ὁ θεὸς δεῖξαι τοῖς δούλοις αὐτοῦ. Cf. Amos iii. 7, οὐ μὴ ποιήσει Κύριος ὁ θεὸς πρᾶγμα ἔαν μὴ ἀποκαλύψῃ παιδείαν πρὸς τοὺς δούλους αὐτοῦ τοὺς προφῆτας. In our text the servants, who are God's servants (αὐτοῦ), are the Christian prophets. Cf. x. 7, xi. 18, xxii. 6. δεῖξαι. This word is characteristic of our author when it means to communicate a divine revelation by means of visions.

ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐν τάχει. The δεῖ denotes not the merely hasty consummation of things, but the absolutely sure fulfilment of the divine purpose. That this fulfilment would come "soon" (ἐν τάχει: cf. xxii. 6; Deut. ix. 3; Ezek. xxix. 5 (not in Mass.); Luke xviii. 8; Rom. xvi. 20), has always been the expectation of all living prophecy and apocalyptic. ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι is drawn from Dan. ii. 28 (ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν), 29. ἃ . . . ἐν τάχει recurs in xxii. 6.

ἐσήμανεν—a Johannine word: cf. John xii. 33, xviii. 32, xxi. 19. It is Christ that is the subject of the verb here.

ἀποστείλας. Cf. xxii. 16, where Christ sent (ἐπέμψε) His angel, and xxii. 6, where God sent (ἀπέστειλε) His angel. Once again this verb is used in v. 6. ἀποστέλλειν διὰ = בִּיחַ כְּשֶׁ. Ex.

iv. 13; Matt. xi. 2, *πέμφας διὰ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ*: Acts xi. 30, *ἀποστειλάντες . . . διὰ χειρὸς Βαρνάβα*.

2. *ὅς ἐμαρτύρησεν*. *μαρτυρεῖν*, which is found four times and always with the acc. in our author—for this is the best way of treating xxii. 18—occurs more frequently in the Johannine Gospel and Epistles than elsewhere in the N.T. (*i.e.*, 33 + 10 = 43 times). The aorist *ἐμαρτύρησεν* is epistolary: the author transports himself to the standpoint of his readers.

τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ = the revelation given by God and borne witness to by Christ (subjective genitive). It means the Christian revelation as a whole in i. 9, vi. 9, xx. 4, but in the present passage the expression is limited by the words that follow *ὅσα εἶδεν*—to the revelation made in this Book. Kindred expressions occur in xii. 17, *τὰς ἐντολάς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ . . . τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ*, and xix. 10, *τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ*: but in the last passage the phrase may have a different meaning in the traditional text, and *Ἰησοῦ* be the objective genitive. The *λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ* is not to be limited in our text to the O.T. It embraces the entire revelation of God which now in its fulness is attested by Christ.

ὅσα εἶδεν. These words limit, as we have said, the scope of the two preceding phrases. On the significance of *εἶδεν* in our author, see note on iv. 1. We should observe how the ministry of angels (1^d) and the visions of the Seer are here closely combined, as also later.

3. This verse consists of a stanza of four lines. We have here the first of the *seven* beatitudes in the Apocalypse (xiv. 13, xvi. 15, xix. 9^a, xx. 6, xxii. 7, 14). The last beatitude, which is pronounced by Christ and is given in xxii. 7^b (for the present text of xx. 4–xxii. is in disorder), reaffirms the beatitude here pronounced by John.

ὁ ἀναγινώσκων. This is not the private student but the public reader, the *ἀναγνώστης* or *lector*, as the sing. *ὁ ἀναγινώσκων* as opposed to the plural *οἱ ἀκούοντες* shows. At the close of the first century A.D., the reader was probably any suitable person who was nominated for this purpose by the presbyters or president from among the congregation. The reader in time acquired an official position and became a member of the clergy, and is first mentioned in this capacity in Tertullian (*De Praescr.* 41). The books which were read were originally those of the O.T., as in the synagogues, and afterwards the books of the N.T., as well as the sub-apostolic epistles: cf. Justin Martyr (*Apol.* i. 67), *τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων ἢ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν προφητῶν ἀναγινώσκειται*. This practice of reading at public worship was adopted from the Jews: cf. Neh. viii. 2; Ex. xxiv. 7; Luke iv. 16; Acts xiii. 15; 2 Cor. iii. 15. Amongst the Jews the Scripture

lessons from the Law and the Prophets could be read by any member of the congregation, but if any priests or Levites were present they took precedence. The earliest mention of the reading of the Prophets is found in Luke iv. 17, Acts xiii. 15 (comp. Megilla iv. 1-5); but they were not read on week-days nor on Sabbath afternoon services, but only at the chief service by one person (Megilla iv. 5) on the morning of the Sabbath. See Schürer², ii. 456.

οἱ ἀκούοντες . . . καὶ τηροῦντες. These two participles are, as the Greek shows, to be taken closely together. These two lines therefore reproduce the words of Christ in Luke xi. 28, μακάριοι οἱ ἀκούοντες τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ φυλάσσοντες. Cf. also John xii. 47, ἂν τίς μου ἀκούσῃ τ. ῥημάτων καὶ μὴ φυλάξῃ. But our author does not use φυλάσσειν, and replaces it with the familiar Johannine word τηρεῖν. Ps. i. represents on a large scale this combination of faithful reading and faithful living.

τοὺς λόγους τῆς προφητείας. Here as in xxii. 7, 10, 18 the Seer claims for his Book a place in the forefront of prophetic literature.

ὁ γὰρ καιρὸς ἐγγύς. These words relate to the blessedness of those who are faithful in the present evil time; for they will not have long to wait; the season of their deliverance is at hand. Cf. Rom. xiii. 11; 1 Cor. vii. 29, ὁ καιρὸς συνεσταλμένος ἐστίν. The beatitude, of course, is true in itself independently of the time of consummation (cf. xxii. 7), but the closely impending recompense is repeatedly dwelt upon by our author to encourage his readers in the face of universal martyrdom.

4-8. INTRODUCTION. JOHN'S GREETING TO THE SEVEN CHURCHES.

4. Ἰωάννης ταῖς ἐπὶ ἐκκλησίαις. This is the usual form for beginning a letter (cf. Gal. i. 1, etc.). Indeed the whole Book from i. 4 to its close is in fact an Epistle.

ταῖς ἐπὶ ἐκκλησίαις ταῖς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ. The article before ἐπὶ refers proleptically to ver. 11, where these Churches are enumerated. Other Churches existed at the time with which the Seer must have been familiar, such as Colossae (Col. i. 2, ii. 1), Hierapolis (Col. iv. 13), Troas (Acts xx. 5 sqq.), Magnesia (Ignatius, *Ad Magn.* i. 1), Tralles (Ignatius, *Ad Trall.* i.). Why the particular seven Churches mentioned in i. 11 were chosen by our author cannot now be determined (see, however, note on i. 11); but the fact that seven were chosen, and no more and no less, can occasion no difficulty. For seven was a sacred number not only in Jewish Apocalyptic and Judaism generally,

but particularly in our Author: cf. i. [4^a] 12, 16, iv. 5, v. 1, 6 [viii. 2], x. 3, xi. 13 [xii. 3], xiii. 1, xv. 6, 7, 8, xvi. 1, xvii. 1, etc.

ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ. According to the usage of the Maccabean Books (1 Macc. viii. 6, xi. 13, xii. 39, xiii. 32; 2 Macc. iii. 3, x. 24; 3 Macc. iii. 14; 4 Macc. iii. 20), Asia embraces the empire of the Seleucids. In the Sibylline Oracles, iii. 168, 342, 350, 351, 353-4, 367, 381, 388, 391, 450, 599, 611, iv. 1, 71, 76, 79, 145, 148, v. 99, 118, 287, etc., the extension of the term varies—at times apparently comprehending the entire continent, at others restricted to the coast cities and the lower valleys of the Maeander, Cayster, etc. But on the transference of the kingdom of Attalus III. to Rome, the Roman province of Asia conterminous with the limits of this kingdom was formed in 133-130 B.C., and this province was subsequently augmented by the addition of Phrygia in 116 B.C. Ἡ Ἀσία in the N.T. is all but universally (contrast Acts ii. 9) identified with Proconsular Asia.

χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντος καὶ τοῦ ἔρχομένου
[καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπὶ πνευμάτων τῶν ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου αὐτοῦ].

Ὁ καὶ ἀπὸ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁ μάρτυς ὁ πιστός.

In these three lines the second is beyond question an interpolation of a later hand (probably early in the 2nd cent.). Since xxii. 8-9, and (possibly) xix. 9-10 are from the hand of our author, he cannot have put forward such a grotesque Trinity as the above. In the passages just cited the worship of angels (see note on xxii. 8) is denounced in most forcible terms, and from the class of subordinate beings co-ordinate with the seven archangels we cannot exclude "the seven spirits." The Seer cannot therefore have accorded divine honours to these seven spirits at the very opening of his Book. Moreover, when this interpolation is removed, we have three stanzas of three lines each beginning with χάρις 4^b, and ending 7^c αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς. Thus in 4^b-5^a as in 5^c-6^a only God and Christ are mentioned.

4^b. χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη. These words do not form a mere salutation, for this has been given in the preceding words, but a benediction from God. Grace and peace cannot be said to emanate from angels—even from the seven archangels. The χάρις here is the favour of God and of Jesus Christ. It is only found once again in our author, *i.e.* in xxii. 21, where this spiritual endowment is derived from Jesus Christ. See notes on χάρις and εἰρήνη in Sanday's *Romans*, 10 sq., 15 sq.; Milligan, 1 *Thess.* i. 1. The εἰρήνη is the harmony restored between God and man through Christ. In all the Pauline Epistles these are said to proceed from God the Father and from Jesus Christ, *just as in the original text here*. In 1 and 2 Timothy we have the fuller form χάρις, ἔλεος, εἰρήνη. Moreover, in nine of the Pauline

Epistles the phrase is exactly as here, *χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη*, while in 1 and 2 Timothy it stands as in the preceding sentence.

ἀπὸ δὲ ὧν καὶ ὅ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος. Cf. i. 8, iv. 8, and δὲ ὧν κ. δὲ ἦν in xi. 17, xvi. 5. We have here a title of God conceived in the terms of time. The Seer has deliberately violated the rules of grammar in order to preserve the divine name inviolate from the change which it would necessarily have undergone if declined. Hence the divine name is here in the nominative. It could have been preserved in classical Greek, *i.e.* ἀπὸ τοῦ δὲ ὧν. But our author shows no knowledge of this construction. But there are other irregularities—as, for instance, δὲ ἦν. The ἦν is said to have been used because there was no past participle of εἰμί. But this does not really explain ἦν nor yet δ. Besides he could have used δὲ γεγινώς (cf. xvi. 17, xxi. 6) or δὲ γενόμενος (i. 18). I offer, therefore, the following explanation. Our author could have written here δὲ ὧν καὶ ἦν, in keeping with a Hebraism which he frequently avails himself of; for δὲ ὧν καὶ ἦν would be an exact reproduction of the Hebrew הָיָה וְהָיָה. See note on 5°. Herein we have a probable explanation of ἦν. It is harder to explain the δ which precedes it. The article here may be inserted before the ἦν since it accompanies the other two elements in the divine name: δὲ ὧν . . . καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος.

As for δὲ ἐρχόμενος, where our author returns to the participial construction, it is clear that he uses *ἐρχόμενος*, instead of *ἐσόμενος*, with a definite reference to the contents of the Book and especially to the coming of Christ, i. 7, ii. 5, 16, iii. 11, xxii. 7, 12, etc., in whose coming God Himself comes also.

Besides, our author does not use the future participle.

Passing now from the grammar of this clause to its meaning, we find that this divine name was common to both Jews and Gentiles. Thus the Targ. Jon. on Ex. iii. 14 (הָיָה אֲשֶׁר אָמַר אֱלֹהִים, where the LXX has ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ ὧν, and Aquila and Theod. ἔσομαι <ὅς> ἔσομαι) has הָיָה וְהָיָה וְהָיָה אֲנִי = "Ego sum, qui sum et futurus sum," and Deut. xxxii. 39, הָיָה וְהָיָה אֲנִי וְהָיָה אֲנִי = "Ego sum qui sum, et fui, et ego sum qui futurus sum." Also Shem. rab. iii. f. 105^b, "Dixit Deus . . . ad Mosen: Ego fui, et adhuc sum et ero in posterum" (this last from Wetstein). In the Greek we find analogous titles of God. Cf. Pausanias, x. 12. 5: for the songs of the doves at Dodona, Ζεὺς ἦν, Ζεὺς ἔστιν, Ζεὺς ἔσεται: in the inscription at Sais (Plutarch, *De Iside*. 9), ἐγὼ εἰμι πάντων τῶν γεγονόνος καὶ ὄντος καὶ ἐσόμενον καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν πέπλον οὐδεὶς πώ θνητῶν ἀπεκάλυψεν: in the Orphic lines, Ζεὺς πρῶτος γένητο, Ζεὺς ὑστάτος ἀρχικέραυνος, Ζεὺς κεφαλῇ, Ζεὺς μέσση, Διὸς δ' ἐκ πάντα τέτυκται. Finally, in reference to Ahuramazda it is stated in the Bundahis, i. 4 (*S.B.E.* v. 4), "Aūharmazd and

the region, religion and time of Aôharmazd were and are and ever will be."

[καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἑπτὰ πνευμάτων κτλ.]

Although I have without hesitation bracketed these words as an early interpolation, we must consider the explanations of those who have accepted them as from the hand of our Seer, and also deal briefly with the probable origin of this conception.

1. First of all we have the interpretation—more or less of Victorinus, Primasius, Apringius, Beatus among the earlier commentators, and in modern times Alford and Swete—which regards the seven spirits here as the sevenfold energies of God or of the Holy Spirit. In support of this view Swete quotes Heb. ii. 4, πνεύματος ἁγίου μερισμοῖς: 1 Cor. xii. 10, διακρίσεις πνευμάτων: xiv. 32, πνεύματα προφητῶν: Apoc. xxii. 6, ὁ θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων τῶν προφητῶν. "Here the 'spirits' are seven, because the Churches in which they operate are seven" (Swete). This reason is less convincing than that adduced by other supporters of this view, who trace the conception of the seven spirits to an erroneous though not unnatural interpretation of Isa. xi. 2, 3, whereby the six spiritual endowments that are to be given to the Messiah were transformed into seven: cf. 1 Enoch lxi. 11; Targ. Jon. on this passage; also the LXX; Justin, *Dial.* 87, ἐπ' αὐτὸν πνεῦμα θεοῦ, πνεῦμα σοφίας καὶ συνέσεως, πνεῦμα βουλῆς καὶ ἰσχύος, πνεῦμα γνώσεως καὶ εὐσεβείας, καὶ ἐμπλήσει αὐτὸν πνεῦμα φόβου θεοῦ: also 39; *Cohort. ad Gentiles*, 32, οἱ ἱεροὶ προφήται τὸ ἐν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα εἰς ἑπτὰ πνεύματα μερίζεσθαι φασιν.

But that we have here to deal, not with impersonal energies but with concrete beings, may be inferred from iii. 1 of our text, where the seven spirits and the seven stars are regarded as parallel conceptions. Further, the scribe who interpolated 4° between 4^b and 5^a manifestly regarded these seven spirits as much concrete beings as God and Jesus Christ. Hence the seven spirits here cannot be interpreted either as abstractions or impersonal energies.

2. The seven spirits are to be identified with the seven archangels. Judaism was familiar with seven archangels: cf. Ezek. ix. 2; Tob. xii. 15; 1 Enoch xx. 7, xc. 21 ("the seven first white ones"); T. Levi viii. 2. This number, it is said (cf. Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, 294-302; Zimmern, in Schrader's *K.A.T.*³ ii. 620-626; Bousset, *Offenbarung*, 184-187, 291 sq.), presupposes a religion of which the worship of seven gods was a characteristic. Now we find such a religion in the Zend with its seven Amshaspands (*S.B.E.* v. 10 n.; xxiii. 291; xxxi. Introd. pp. xviii, xxiv, 77, 179 sq.), which in their turn were derived from the Babylonish cult of the seven

star deities.¹ The existence of these astral divinities Judaism did not question any more than in earlier times it questioned the existence of the tribal deities of the nations that surrounded Israel, but in the interests of Monotheism, Judaism degraded these foreign deities into angels—subject beings in the service of Yahweh. In due time the source of these conceptions was wholly forgotten as well as the historical development involved. Like his contemporaries, the Seer accepted the traditional Jewish formula,—God and the seven spirits,—and to this formula appended the specifically Christian element. Thus according to Bousset originated one of the most extraordinary Trinities in Christianity: cf. Justin, *Apol.* i. 6, quoted on xxii. 9. As furnishing parallel trinities, Luke ix. 26, 1 Tim. v. 21 have been adduced. But in neither passage is there any ground for such a view. It might as reasonably be contended that every time God and the angels were mentioned together a duality of the Godhead was involved.

Now, if we identify "the seven spirits" and the seven arch-angels, it is inconceivable that the Seer, who issued so emphatic a polemic against angel worship, could have inserted such a clause as 4° between 4^b and 5°.

3. The seven spirits and the seven archangels are not identical in the mind of the Seer, according to Bousset (on viii. 2) and others. Whether this is so or not does not affect the question of the originality of 4°. For whatever be the dignity possessed by the seven spirits, they were after all merely created beings in the opinion of the Seer, and could not therefore be put by him on a level with God and Jesus Christ or represented as fitting objects for man's worship.

But, though 4° is due to the hand of an interpolator, the phrase τὰ ἐπτὰ πνεύματα in iii. 1, ὁ ἔχων τὰ ἐπτὰ πνεύματα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἐπτὰ ἀστέρας, is a redactional addition of our Seer. It is therefore our task to define, if possible, the nature of these spirits. Now the conjunction of the πνεύματα and the ἀστέρες in iii. 1 suggests that they are to some extent kindred conceptions. But this does not take us far, unless we can gain some definite idea of the meaning of both ἀστέρες and πνεύματα in our author. Happily this we can do in part. First, in i. 20 the ἐπτὰ ἀστέρες are definitely stated to be the ἄγγελοι τῶν ἐπτὰ ἐκκλησιῶν, and

¹ Jewish tradition seemingly testifies to a certain connection between the great golden candlestick with seven arms and the seven planets: cf. Josephus, *Ant.* iii. 6. 7; *Bell. Jud.* v. 5. 5, ἐνέφαινον δ' οἱ μὲν ἐπτὰ λύχνοι τοῖς πλανήταις: Philo, *Quis rerum divinarum haeres* (ed. Cohn), 221 sq., τῆς κατ' οὐρανὸν τῶν ἐπτὰ πλανήτων χορείας μνημῶν ἐστίν ἡ ἱερὰ λυχνία καὶ οἱ ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἐπτὰ λύχνοι. Josephus states also that the twelve loaves of the shewbread pointed to the twelve signs of the zodiac: *Bell. Jud.* v. 5. 5. Possibly these are merely after-thoughts of both Josephus and Philo.

Christ is said to hold these *δοστέρες*, *i.e.* *ἄγγελοι*, in His right hand in i. 16: that is, to have supreme authority over them. Hence in iii. 1 the seven *πνεύματα* of God and the seven *ἄγγελοι* of the Churches are conjoined, as apparently kindred conceptions. We might here for a moment turn aside to observe that in 2 Enoch xxx. 14 angels are spoken of as stars, in 1 Enoch xli. 5, 7 the stars have a conscious existence, and hence are capable of disobedience, xviii. 13-16, xxi. 1-6, while in lxxxvi. 1, 3 stars are used to symbolize angels.

So much for the *δοστέρες*. Now as to *πνεύματα*. Over these also Christ has supreme authority, iii. 1. In v. 6 these *πνεύματα* are identified with the seven eyes which are sent forth unto all the earth, and in iv. 5 with the seven fiery lamps that burn before the throne of God. In the former passage they are obviously conceived as having a personal existence. As the servants of the Lamb they are described as His eyes. That the lamps and the eyes are identical is clear from our text and from Zech. iv. 10 where, in the vision which our Seer has in view, it is said "these seven (lamps) are the eyes of the Lord, they run to and fro through the whole earth."

From the above examination it may be concluded that the *πνεύματα* are angelic beings. In Jub. ii. 2 the chief orders of spirits are called angels: cf. Heb. i. 7, 14. Whether these seven spirits are to be identified with the seven archangels cannot be inferred with certainty, but this identification may be regarded as highly probable; since thereby Christ's sovereignty is asserted over the highest order of the angels, as it is elsewhere declared by the Seer to be paramount over all creation.

ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου. Cf. iv. 5, 6, 10, vii. 9, etc.

5. *ἀπὸ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*. Since 4° is an interpolation, the grace and peace proceed from God and Christ as in the Pauline Epistles. In 2 John 3 we find *παρά* instead of *ἀπὸ* in a like context. This is the last passage where the title *Ἰησοῦς Χριστός* occurs. From this onward *Ἰησοῦς* stands alone save in xxii. 20, 21, where we have *κύριος Ἰησοῦς*.

ὁ μάρτυς ὁ πιστός. Cf. iii. 14; also ii. 13. This anomaly, which recurs not infrequently—cf. ii. 13, 20, iii. 12, ix. 14, xiv. 12, 14, xx. 2, is best explained as a Hebraism. Since the Hebrew noun in the indirect cases is not inflected, the Seer acts at times as if the Greek were similarly uninflected, and simply places, as in the present instance, the nominative in apposition to the genitive; *i.e.* *ὁ μάρτυς* in apposition to *Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*. We have here a frequent solecism in our author. While it is found occasionally in the LXX, as might be expected in a translation from Semitic (cf. Ezek. xxiii. 12; Zeph. i. 12), it is here almost a characteristic construction: cf. ii. 13, 20, iii. 12,

vii. 4, viii. 9, ix. 14, xiv. 12, 14, xx. 2. The participle is also put in the nominative when the normal construction would be the gen. or acc. Cf. ii. 20, iii. 12.

μάρτυς appears only here and in iii. 14 in the N.T. in reference to Christ. Christ is here conceived not in a limited sense in reference to His earthly life or the present Apocalypse, but as the true witness of every divine revelation (so Düsterdieck, Bousset, and others). Cf. John xviii. 37, εἰς τοῦτο ἐλήλυθα εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἵνα μαρτυρήσω τῇ ἀληθείᾳ. The phrase ὁ μάρτυς ὁ πιστός, when taken in connection with the words that follow, ὁ πρωτότοκος . . . τῶν βασιλείων τῆς γῆς, furnishes strong evidence that our author had Ps. lxxxix. in his mind; for the former phrase is found in 38, where the moon is said to be יָרֵחַ רָשָׁע רָשָׁע (LXX, ὁ μάρτυς¹ ἐν οὐρανῷ πιστός), and the latter in 28,

κἀγὼ πρωτότοκον (רִבְכָּא) θήσομαι αὐτόν,
ὑψηλὸν παρὰ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν τῆς γῆς.

Here our author appears to have had the LXX before him. This passage is given a Messianic reference by R. Nathan in Shem. rab. 19, fol. 118⁴. As I made Jacob a firstborn, so also will I make King Messiah a firstborn (Ps. lxxxix. 28). Thus "the firstborn" became a Messianic title (see Lightfoot, *Col.* i. 15).

ὁ πρωτότοκος τῶν νεκρῶν. See preceding note on Ps. lxxxix. 28. In *Col.* i. 18 we have ὅς ἐστιν ἀρχή, πρωτότοκος ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν, and in 1 *Cor.* xv. 20, ἐγίγερται ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀπαρχή τῶν κεκοιμημένων. In these Pauline passages Christ's resurrection is undoubtedly referred to, which carries with it His claim to headship of the Church, as in *Col.* i. 15 πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως implies His claim to headship over all creation by virtue of His primogeniture. But the sense of being first in point of time appears in certain passages to be displaced wholly by the secondary idea of Sovereignty. Thus in Heb. xii. 23 the phrase ἐκκλησία πρωτοτόκων emphasizes wholly this latter idea. Even God Himself was called עֶלְיוֹן בְּכֹרִי (= πρωτότοκος τοῦ κόσμου). (See Lightfoot on *Col.* i. 15.) Our present context appears to require the secondary meaning of πρωτότοκος, and accordingly Christ is here said to be "the true witness of God, the sovereign of the dead, the ruler of the living" (*i.e.* the kings of the earth and their subjects). See note on iii. 14.

ὁ ἀρχων τῶν βασιλείων τῆς γῆς. Cf. Ps. lxxxix. 28; also *Isa.* lv. 4.

5^c-6. We have here the second of the three stanzas which compose 4^b-7. The second line is to be taken as forming a perfect parallelism with the first; for in the τῷ ἀγαπῶντι . . . καὶ ἐποίησεν

¹ In Ps. lv. 4, David is given as a witness (τῷ) to the nations.

we have a pure Hebraism, in which the participle of the first line is resolved into a finite verb in the second. This second line is therefore no parenthesis, nor from the standpoint of the Seer is there the slightest irregularity in the construction. He is simply reproducing a common Hebrew idiom literally in Greek. The A.V., the Syriac and Latin versions are here, therefore, right, and the R.V. is wrong—wrong as a translation and bad as a piece of English. Hence we are to translate, "To Him that loveth us . . . and hath made us." This Hebrew idiom recurs frequently in our author (i. 18, ii. 2, 9, 20, iii. 9, vii. 14 (see note), xiv. 2-3, xv. 3), and in none of the instances has it been recognized as such by any commentator. This Hebrew idiom has become so naturalized in our author's style that I cannot but regard the οἵτινες in xx. 4, τῶν πεπελεκισμένων . . . καὶ οἵτινες οὐ προσεκύνησαν, as an addition by John's literary executor in order to make the text better Greek. John's words were most probably τ. πεπελεκισμένων . . . καὶ οὐ προσεκύνησαν. In i. 18 the failure to recognize this idiom has led most scholars to mispunctuate the text, and the rest, like Wellhausen and Haussleiter, to excise ὁ ζῶν. The ἐγὼ εἰμι . . . ὁ ζῶν is to be taken closely with καὶ ἐγενόμην νεκρός (cf. Amos vi. 3 for this Hebrew construction) = I am . . . He that liveth and was dead." Hence the first two lines =

אֲנִי הָאֵלֶּה
וְהַזֶּה הוּא

τῷ ἀγαπῶντι ἡμᾶς καὶ λύσαντι. As Swete well remarks, the two participles bring out "the contrast between the abiding ἀγάπη and the completed act of redemption."

λύσαντι ἡμᾶς ἐκ κτλ. This is by far the best attested reading. With the idea in λύσαντι we might compare the somewhat kindred ἀγοράζειν in v. 9; the Pauline ἐξαγοράζειν, Gal. iii. 13, iv. 5; ἀπολύτρωσις, Rom. iii. 24, viii. 23; 1 Cor. i. 30; Eph. i. 7, iv. 30; Col. i. 14. The weakly attested reading λούσαντι . . . ἀπό is not really supported by vii. 14, ἐπλυναν τὰς στολὰς αὐτῶν . . . ἐν τῷ αἵματι τοῦ ἀρνίου, and xxii. 14, though these passages have been brought forward in favour of it. For, whereas these two passages express man's own action in the working out his own salvation, the λούσαντι . . . ἀπό denotes God's part in man's salvation, i.e. his deliverance from sin by Christ. At the same time it is to be observed that this metaphor is a familiar one in the N.T. in this connection: cf. 1 Cor. vi. 11; Eph. v. 26; Tit. iii. 5; Heb. x. 22.

Swete aptly compares Plato, *Crat.* 405 B, where the two verbs are brought together in a similar connection, οὐκοῦν ὁ καθαίρων θεὸς καὶ ὁ ἀπολύων τε καὶ ἀπολούων τῶν τοιούτων κακῶν αἷτιος ἂν εἴη.

WH explain the corruption of λύσαντι into λούσαντι as "due to failure to understand the Hebraic use of ἐν to denote a price . . . and a natural misapplication of vii. 14."

ἐν τῷ αἵματι. Here as in v. 9 ἐν denotes the price by means of which a thing is bought : cf. 1 Chron. xxi. 24.

6. καὶ ἐποίησεν. As we have shown in the note on 5^c-6 above, this is a Hebraism for καὶ ποιήσαντι. Christ not only delivers men from sin—the negative side—but also makes them a kingdom and priests.

βασιλείαν, ἱερείς. These words go back to Ex. xix. 6, מְלִכִּים וְכֹהֲנִים. This the LXX renders βασιλειον ἱεράτευμα (see 1 Pet. ii. 9); Aquila, βασιλεία ἱερέων : Symmachus and Theodotion, βασιλεία ἱερείς. The last rendering is that of our text and presupposes מַמְלָכָה וְכֹהֲנִים. This last reading is in part supported by Jub. xvi. 18, which gives "a kingdom and priests"; so also the Syriac version of Ex. xix. 6. With this last we may compare the Jer. Targ. on Ex. xix. 6, "kings . . . and . . . priests," and Onkelos, "kings, priests." It is clear that our text presupposes the same text as Symmachus and Theodotion.

Our text then means that Christ has made us a kingdom, each member of which is a priest unto God. The kingship here involved was to be an everlasting possession (xxii. 5). Of the like duration of the priesthood nothing is said in the closing chapters. As respects the priesthood, the privileges of ancient Israel have passed over to the Christian Church. Even to pre-Christian Judaism it was foretold that all true Israelites would become in a certain sense priests—priests as compared with the nations that served them. "And strangers shall feed your flocks, and aliens shall be your plowmen . . . but ye shall be named the priests of the Lord : men shall call you the ministers of our God" (Isa. lxi. 5-6). But that this general priesthood of Israel as regards the heathen nations was not to supersede the special ministries of priests and Levites in the redeemed Israel is clear from lxvi. 21 : "And of them will I take for priests for Levites, saith the Lord." But in the spiritual kingdom of Christ no such distinction is recognized : all the faithful are already kings and priests to God (i. 6). On the other hand, when the Messianic kingdom is established the glorified martyrs will in a special sense be kings and priests ; for in that kingdom the priesthood and kingship of the glorified martyrs will come into actual manifestation relatively to the heathen nations, who will then be evangelized by them (xx. 6). ἔσονται ἱερείς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ βασιλεύσουσιν μετ' αὐτοῦ τὰ χίλια ἔτη. But this special and limited priesthood and kingship belong only to the Messianic kingdom. It should be observed in this connection that, although all the faithful were to become kings and priests, it is

never implied that they should likewise become prophets. The prophetic office may have been conceived by our author in a limited sense and as bestowed on a limited class of men for a special purpose. When this purpose was once achieved, the prophetic gift may in his view be no longer necessary.

After the final judgment the limited kingship and priesthood of the martyrs will be succeeded by an eternal kingship of *all the faithful*: xxii. 5, βασιλεύσουσιν εἰς τ. αἰῶνας τ. αἰώνων. But the special priestly office will no more exist; and so far as the priestly blessing is given, it will be given by God Himself: xxii. 5, κύριος ὁ θεὸς φωτίσει ἐπ' αὐτούς (see note in *loc.*).

τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ. The αὐτοῦ is to be taken with τῷ θεῷ as well as with πατρὶ.

αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος, *i.e.* τῷ ἀγαπῶντι κτλ. Similar doxologies addressed to Christ are to be found in v. 13, vii. 10, 2 Pet. iii. 18, and most probably in 2 Tim. iv. 18, Heb. xiii. 21, and possibly in 1 Pet. iv. 11. In 4 Macc. xviii. 24 we have a good parallel in diction, as ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων: in the Didache viii. 2, x. 5, ὅτι σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, at the conclusion of the Lord's Prayer—the doxology in Matt. vi. 13 not being original, but adopted, according to Hort, into some forms of the text through liturgical use in Syria as early as the 2nd century. 1 Chron. xxix. 11, "Thine, O Lord, is the greatness and the power and the glory," appears to be the original source of most of the doxologies of later times. See Chase, *Lord's Prayer in the Early Church*, 168 sqq.

7-8. The prophet's thought is carried forward to the Second Advent of Christ in glory (7). It must be confessed that 8 has no obvious links with what precedes or follows.

7. Here again we have a stanza of three lines—which are a reminiscence and an adaptation of Dan. vii. 13 and Zech. xii. 10. In both cases, as we shall see, the text presupposed by our author is mainly that presupposed by Theodotion's version; but their combination here is best explained as due to our author's acquaintance with the Jewish Christian Apocalypse, which has been worked into the text of Matt. xxiv. (= Mark xiii. = Luke xxi.), and which in Matt. xxiv. 30 represents this combination as already achieved (see below). But not only does our text agree in combining Zech. xii. 10 and Dan. vii. 13, but also in transforming the original meaning of Zech. xii. 10. Thus, whereas in the O.T. text we have "they shall mourn for him," in Matt. xxiv. 30 and in our text "the tribes of the earth shall mourn (for themselves) because of Him" (ἐπ' αὐτόν omitted in Matt.).

The fulfilment of this prophecy of the visible and victorious return of Christ with a view to judgment is dealt with in the

vision of the Seer in xiv. 14, 18-20, in xix. 11-21, and most probably in xx. 7-10.

ἰδοὺ ἔρχεται μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν. Cf. Dan. vii. 13, יְהוֹנָתָן בֶּן־אֶחָיָה וְכָל־הָעָם יִשְׁתַּחֲוּּ וְיִרְאוּ. Here Theodotion renders καὶ ἰδοὺ μετὰ (LXX, ἐπὶ = ὕψ: cf. xiv. 14 sqq.; Matt. xxiv. 30, xxvi. 64; Didache xvi. 8 (ἐπάνω), Justin, *Apol.* i. 51 sq. (ἐπάνω); ἐν = ἐν, Mark xiii. 26; Luke xxi. 27: cf. Dalman, *Words of Jesus*, 242). But the ἐπὶ in xiv. 14 of our text is due to our author's use of καθήμενον in this connection) τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενος (LXX, ἤρχετο). Cf. Mark xiv. 62, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου . . . ἐρχόμενον μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ: 4 Ezra xiii. 3. It does not necessarily follow from the above that our author used an early translation similar in character to that of the later Theodotion, but that the Semitic text he followed was such as that followed by Theodotion.

ἔρχεται. The idea of the impending Advent is resumed in iii. 11, xiv. 7, xvi. 15, xxii. 7, 12, 20.

ὄψεται αὐτὸν . . . καὶ ἐξεκέντησαν . . . καὶ κόψονται ἐπ' αὐτὸν πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς. These words, with the exception of the last four, are based on Zech. xii. 10 and agree for the most part with the versions of Theodotion, Aquila, and Symmachus against the LXX. The LXX reads καὶ ἐπιβλέψονται πρὸς μέ, ἀνθ' ὧν κατωχρήσαντο (= ἦσαν) καὶ κόψονται ἐπ' αὐτόν. Theod. and Aquila, καὶ ἐπιβλέψονται πρὸς μέ, εἰς ὃν (σὺν ᾧ, Aquila) ἐξεκέντησαν καὶ κόψονται αὐτόν. Symmachus, ἐμπροσθεν ἐπεξεκέντησαν κτλ. Here the three latter translators support the Massoretic ἦσαν by ἐξεκέντησαν. It is a question whether our author used an early Greek version—the parent of Theodotion's and others—or whether he translated directly from the Hebrew. The evidence on the whole is in favour of his translating directly from the Hebrew. His use of ἐξεκέντησαν¹ marks his independence of the LXX; and the fact that ἐκκεντεῖν is the stock rendering in the versions of ῥῥ, shows that our author's use of this verb cannot be advanced as evidence for his dependence on any Greek translation here. Whilst there is thus no trustworthy evidence of his dependence, there is some evidence of his independence of all the versions. This we find in ὄψεται αὐτόν, where the versions have ἐπιβλέψονται πρὸς μέ. Our author, it is true, does not use ἐπιβλέπειν, but he uses βλέπειν frequently in the sense required here. Moreover, the last words, πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς (found also in Matt. xxiv. 30), are a free adaptation of the Hebrew in Zech. xii. 12, where the LXX gives the literal rendering, ἡ γῆ κατὰ φυλάς φυλάς.

¹ In Justin, *Apol.* i. 52, we find, κόψονται φυλὴ πρὸς φυλὴν, καὶ τότε ὀφθαλμοὶ εἰς ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν: *Dial.* 14, 32; 64, ἐπιγνώσασθε εἰς ὃν ἐξεκέντησατε: 126. The reference in all these passages is eschatological.

It is noteworthy that in John xix. 37, the passage in Zechariah is rendered in a way closely akin to that in our text *ὄψονται εἰς δι' ἐξέκστησαν*. But, whereas our author applies the prophecy to the whole world, the Fourth Gospel limits to the four soldiers "the looking" to Him whom they had pierced. Abbott (*Johannine Gram.*, p. 247) writes: "They look to Him now in amazement; they will look to Him for forgiveness and salvation." In the Gospel the main reference is to the crucifixion: whereas in our author it is eschatological.

In Matt. xxiv. 30 we have an analogous combination of the passages in Daniel and Zechariah to that in our text, *καὶ τότε φανήσονται τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ τότε κόψονται πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ ὄψονται τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενον ἐπὶ τ. νεφελῶν*. Here, as in our text, the reference is eschatological. Swete writes that both Gospel and Apocalypse "were indebted . . . perhaps to some collection of prophetic testimonies." This is a good suggestion, but the explanation is, I believe, to be found elsewhere. A large body of scholars are agreed that in Matt. xxiv. (as in the parallel chapters in Mark and Luke) there are two distinct apocalypses worked together. One of these is from our Lord, xxiv. 4-5, 9-14, 23-25, 32 sqq., while the other is a later Jewish Christian Apocalypse consisting of xxiv. 6-8, 15-22, 29-31, 34, 35 (see my *Eschatology*², 379-385). Now the close parallelism of our text, i. 7 and Matt. xxiv. 30 (observe use of *ὄψεσθαι* in both, as well as the phrase *πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς*—unique as regards the N.T. and the LXX), presupposes some real connection; and since the Jewish Apocalypse just referred to was written before 70 A.D., it is reasonable to conclude that the indebtedness lies on the side of our author, and that Matt. xxiv. 30 first suggested to him the combination of Zech. and Daniel, though the diction is mainly his own, and due to his independent translation of the O.T. passages; for he keeps more closely to Daniel and Zechariah and reproduces their text more fully.

ναί, ἀμήν. We have here the Greek and Hebrew forms of affirmation side by side—a fact which would tempt us to take them as synonymous, as in *ἀββὰ ὁ πατήρ* in Mark xiv. 36. But this does not appear to be so here. And yet it is hard to bring out the distinction. In our author *ἀμήν* is used (a) at the close of one's own doxology or prayer: i. 6, vii. 12 (*ad fin.*). (b) It is used for the purpose of adopting as one's own what has just been said: v. 14, vii. 12 (*ad init.*), xix. 4, xxii. 20. (c) It is used at the close of a solemn affirmation: i. 7 (*ναί, ἀμήν*). (d) It is used as a designation of Christ: iii. 14, ὁ Ἀμήν. Here Christ is represented as the personalized divine Amen. the guarantor in person of the truth declared by Him. Cf. Isa. lxxv. 16, *יְהוָה אֱמֵן*,

"God of the Amen," which, however, is by the best critics emended into אֱלֹהֵי אֱמֶן = "God of truth."

The meaning of *vaí* in this context is difficult to determine. It occurs four times in all. In xxii. 20 it denotes a divine promise, where the *ἀμην* expresses the trustful acceptance of this promise (cf. 2 Cor. i. 20). In xiv. 13, xvi. 7, it is used to confirm what has just been said of the heavenly voice. But in xiv. 13 it could be taken as the affirmation of a promise by the Spirit: "Yea—in that they shall rest," etc.

If xiv. 13 is to be taken as just suggested, then, since xvi. 7 is not from our author's hand, it would follow that in our author *vaí* "expresses," as Hort says, "affirmation or reaffirmation divine or human," and that they are here purposely combined to express the same ideas as in xxii. 20, "It is so, amen."

8. The Speaker is God.

τὸ Ἄλφα καὶ τὸ Ὠ. This is a natural symbol for the first and last of all things. It was known among the Romans: cf. Martial, v. 26. Among the later Jews the whole extent of a thing was often denoted by the first and last letters of the alphabet, אה. Thus (Schoettgen, *Hor. Heb. in loc.*) Adam transgressed the whole law from aleph to tau (*Jalkut Rub.* f. 17⁴); Abraham observed the whole law from aleph to tau (f. 48⁴); when God blesses Israel, He does it from aleph to tau (f. 128³). It represented the entirety of things, and thus could fitly express the Shekinah, Schoettgen, i. 1086. Hence it is not improbable that "Alpha and Omega" is a Greek rendering of a corresponding Hebrew expression. The thought conveyed by this title is essentially that of Isa. xlv. 6: θεὸς Σαβαώθ· ἐγὼ πρῶτος καὶ ἐγὼ μετὰ ταῦτα אֲנִי אֶחָד וְאֲנִי אֶחָד וְאֲנִי אֶחָד וְאֲנִי אֶחָד: cf. xli. 4, xliii. 10).

κύριος ὁ θεός . . . ὁ παντοκράτωρ (= יהוה אלהי צבאות, Hos. xii. 6; Amos ix. 5). A favourite title in our author: cf. iv. 8, xi. 17, xv. 3 [xvi. 7], xix. 6, xxi. 22. In iv. 8 (cf. xi. 17) we have the entire passage, κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος ὁ παντοκράτωρ, save that the ὁ παντοκράτωρ precedes the ὁ ὢν. ὁ παντοκράτωρ is not found in the N.T. outside our author save in 2 Cor. vi. 18 in a quotation.

ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν κτλ. See note on i. 4.

9-20. JOHN'S CALL AND COMMISSION. HIS VISION OF THE SON OF MAN—RISEN AND GLORIFIED.

9. Ἐγὼ Ἰωάννης. Cf. xxii. 8; Dan. vii. 15, 28, viii. 1, ix. 2 (ἐγὼ Δανιήλ); 4 Ezra iii. 1; 1 Enoch xii. 3, etc. The insertion of the name is required after 8.

ὁ ἀδελφὸς ὁμῶν καὶ συνκοινωνὸς ἐν. The absence of the article before the second noun shows that the two nouns are to be taken closely together. Cf. vi. 11, οἱ σύνδουλοι αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μέλλοντες ἀποκτείνεσθαι ὡς καὶ αὐτοί: xii. 10. Here, as in its pagan use, ἀδελφός means a fellow-member in the same religious society. With ὁ ἀδελφὸς ὑμῶν cf. 2 Pet. iii. 15, ὁ ἀγαπητὸς ἡμῶν ἀδελφὸς Παῦλος. With συνκοινωνός cf. συνκοινωνεῖν in xviii. 4; and for ἐν after κοινωνός cf. Matt. xxiii. 30. Fellowship in suffering naturally was an essential mark of early Christianity. Cf. 2 Cor. i. 7, κοινωνοὶ ἐστε τῶν παθημάτων: Phil. iii. 10, κοινωνίαν τῶν παθημάτων: iv. 14, συνκοινωνήσαντές μου τῇ θλίψει.

ἐν τῇ θλίψει καὶ βασιλείᾳ καὶ ὑπομονῇ ἐν Ἰησοῦ. The θλίψις here is the tribulation of the last time: cf. vii. 14, τῆς θλίψεως τῆς μεγάλης. It is the same as the τῆς ὥρας τοῦ πειρασμοῦ τῆς μελλούσης ἔρχεσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ὅλης in iii. 10. This last great tribulation necessarily precedes the Millennial Kingdom—hence καὶ βασιλείᾳ: but to have part in the kingdom faithful endurance throughout the tribulation is necessary—hence καὶ ὑπομονῇ: cf. ii. 2, 3, 19, iii. 10, xiii. 10, xiv. 12. ὑπομονή being the spiritual alchemy, which transmutes those who share in the θλίψις into members of the βασιλεία, can only achieve its end in fellowship with Jesus (ἐν Ἰησοῦ)—a Pauline conception which recurs in xiv. 13, but is set forth under another figure in iii. 20, ἐάν τις ἀκούσῃ τῆς φωνῆς μου καὶ ἀνοίξῃ τὴν θύραν, εἰσελεύσομαι πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ δειπνήσω μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτὸς μετ' ἐμοῦ. It is a question whether ἐν Ἰησοῦ should be connected with all three nouns or with ὑπομονή only. Probably the latter is best: cf. 2 Thess. iii. 5, τὴν ὑπομονὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, though the idea here is somewhat different.

ἐγενόμην ἐν = "I found myself in." We might conclude from this clause that when he wrote he was no longer in Patmos. Patmos was one of the Sporades, a barren rocky island about ten miles long and five wide. It is first mentioned by Thucydides, iii. 33, and later by Strabo, x. 5. 13, and Pliny, *H.N.* iv. 12. 23, the last of whom states that it was used as a penal settlement by the Romans, as were other islands, *i.e.* Pontia, off the coast of Latium, to which Domitian banished Flavia Domitilla (Euseb. *H.E.* iii. 18. 5), and Gyara and Seriphus in the Aegean (see *Encyc. Bib.* iii. 3603).

διὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ. These words define the ground for his presence in Patmos, *i.e.* his preaching of the Gospel and his loyalty to it in a time of tribulation. The phrase τ. λόγον τ. θεοῦ καὶ τ. μαρτυρίαν I. here give the contents of his preaching, whereas in 2 they describe the Apocalypse itself: cf. ὅσα εἶδεν. It has been urged by many scholars that

John had gone to Patmos for the purpose of receiving this revelation, *i.e.* that mentioned in 2. But this interpretation appears to be inadmissible on several grounds. 1. In our author *διά* never means "for the sake of" (= *ἕνεκα*) receiving the word of God, etc., but "because of," "in consequence of" the word of God which he had preached. In other words, *διά* denotes the ground and not the purpose in this Book: cf. ii. 3, iv. 11, vi. 9, vii. 15, xii. 11, 12, xiii. 14, etc. 2. In two passages our author speaks of death by persecution in connection with these very phrases, *i.e.* vi. 9, *ἐσφαγμένων διὰ τ. λόγον τ. θεοῦ καὶ διὰ τ. μαρτυρίαν*, and again in xx. 4. These passages in themselves indicate the interpretation to be adopted in the present passage. 3. The fact that our author has just described himself as *συνκοινωνὸς ἐν τῇ θλίψει . . . καὶ ὑπομονῇ* suggests that he has in a special—and not in any ordinary—manner suffered for the faith. If he suffered no more than the average Christian, it is not in keeping with his reticence as to himself that he should lay emphasis on what after all was the common lot of the faithful. 4. An early tradition, in itself not uniform nor quite credible in its details, testifies to the banishment of John to Patmos. Cf. Tert. *De Praescript.* 36, "Apostolus Ioannes . . . in insulam relegatur"; Clem. Alex. *Quis dives*, 42, *ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τοῦ τυράννου τελευτήσαντος ἀπὸ τῆς Πάτμου τῆς νήσου μετῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐφέσον*: Origen, *In Matt.* i. xvi. 6, *ὁ δὲ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς, ὡς ἡ παραδοσις διδάσκει, κατεδίκασε τὸν Ἰωάννην μαρτυροῦντα διὰ τὸν τῆς ἀληθείας λόγον εἰς Πάτμον τὴν νήσον*. If we combine this tradition with the fact cited above that Patmos was a penal settlement (Pliny, *H.N.* iv. 12. 23), as well as 1, 2, and 3, the evidence for John's exile is adequate. There is no just ground for the suggestion that the tradition arose as an elaboration of the present passage.

10. *ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι*. Not merely "I was in," but "I fell into." These words denote the ecstatic condition into which the Seer has fallen, just as *ἐν ἑαυτῷ γενόμενος* (Acts xii. 11) describe the return to the normal condition. We have equivalent phrases in Acts xi. 5, *εἶδον ἐν ἑκστάσει*, and xxiii. 17, *γενέσθαι με ἐν ἑκστάσει*. Apart from extraordinary ecstatic experiences, all Christians could be said to be *εἶναι ἐν πνεύματι* (Rom. viii. 9) as opposed to the faithless, who were *ἐν σαρκί*.

In this passage, then, *ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι* denotes nothing more than that the Seer fell into a trance. It was not until he was in this trance that Christ addressed him. But in iv. 2 (see note), where this phrase recurs, if the text is right, it must mean something more, since the Seer is already in a trance.

ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ ἡμέρᾳ. This is the first place in Christian literature where the Lord's Day is mentioned. Some scholars

have proposed to take this phrase as meaning "in the day of the Lord," i.e. "the day of Yahweh," the day of judgment—in the LXX, ἡ ἡμέρα τοῦ κυρίου, and elsewhere in our text, ἡ ἡμέρα ἡ μεγάλη, vi. 17, xvi. 14. It is sufficient to mention this interpretation and pass on to the generally accepted and, in the opinion of the present writer, the right interpretation, which takes these words to mean "on the Lord's day," i.e. the day consecrated to the Lord. We might compare an analogous phrase in 1 Cor. xi. 20, οὐκ ἔστιν κυριακὸν δαίπνον φαγεῖν. In the 2nd cent. we have the following undisputed testimonies to the use of this phrase for Sunday: Didache xiv. 1, κατὰ κυριακὴν δὲ κυρίου συναχθέντες κλάσατε ἄρτον: Evang. Petri, 35, ἐπέφωσκεν ἡ κυριακή: ib. 50, ὄρθρου δὲ τῆς κυριακῆς: Ignatius, *Ad Magn.* ix. 1, μηκέτι σαββατίζοντες ἀλλὰ κατὰ κυριακὴν ζῶντες, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἡ ζωὴ ἡμῶν ἀνέτειλεν: Melito of Sardis—the title of one of his writings, περὶ κυριακῆς, preserved in Euseb. *H.E.* iv. 26. 2. Here "Lord's Day" has become a technical designation of Sunday. Since all these writings emanate from Asia Minor, the term may first have arisen there, but that it was in general use before the close of the 2nd cent. may be inferred from the statement of Dionysius of Corinth in Euseb. *H.E.* iv. 23. 11, τὴν σήμερον οὖν κυριακὴν ἀγίαν ἡμέραν δηηγάγομεν: Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vii. 12; Tert. *De Cor.* iii., "Die dominico jejuniū nefas ducimus," etc.

The reason given by the early Christians for naming the first day of the week "the Lord's Day," was that it was the day of His resurrection. But how it came to be celebrated weekly and not only yearly seems to be first explained by Deissmann (*Bible Studies*, 218 sq.; *Encyc. Bib.* iii. 2815 sq.). It appears that the first day of each month was called "Emperor's Day" (Σεβαστή) in Asia Minor and Egypt before the Christian era, Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, i. ii. 714; nay more, according to two inscriptions from Ephesus and Kabala—to which might be added an Oxyrhynchus papyrus (*circa* 100 A.D.)—it is inferred by Buresch (*Aus Lydien*, 1898, pp. 49–50) and Deissmann that Σεβαστή was a day of the week. If these conclusions are valid we can understand how naturally the term "Lord's Day" arose; for just as the first day of each month, or a certain day of each week, was called "Emperor's Day," so it would be natural for Christians to name the *first* day of each week, associated as it was with the Lord's resurrection and the custom of Christians to meet together for worship on it, as "Lord's Day." It may have first arisen in apocalyptic circles when a hostile attitude to the Empire was adopted by Christianity.

ἡκουσα φωνὴν μεγάλην ὀπισθέν μου. Our author has probably Ezek. iii. 12 in his mind, καὶ ἀνέλαβέν με πνεῦμα, καὶ ἡκουσα κατόπισθέν μου φωνὴν σεισμοῦ μεγάλου. Wetstein quotes a good

parallel from Plutarch, *Lycurg.* 54 C, ἀκούσαι δὲ φωνὴν ὡς περ ἀνθρώπου τινὸς ἐξόπισθεν ἐπιτιμῶντος αὐτῷ . . . ὡς δὲ μεταστραφέντος οὐδαμοῦ φανερός ὁ φθεγξάμενος ἦν, θεῖον ἡγησάμενον.

φωνὴν μεγάλην . . . ὡς σάλπιγγος. Cf. iv. 1 note. The voice is loud and clear as a trumpet blast. It appears to be that of the Son of Man (so Alcasar, Ewald, Hengstenberg, Bousset), who bids the Seer ὁ βλέπεις γράψον εἰς βιβλίον (11), and at the close of this theophany repeats the command in 19, γράψον οὖν ἃ εἶδες. This is the natural interpretation. Düsterdieck and Alford take the voice to be that of an unnamed angel.

ὡς σάλπιγγος. In ὡς we have to deal with the most difficult particle in all our author's vocabulary. See the Additional Note at the close of this chapter on ὡς and ὁμοίως.

λεγοῦσης. We should expect λέγουσαν. But this is no oversight of our author; for the same construction recurs in iv. 1, ἡ φωνὴ ἡ πρώτη . . . ὡς σάλπιγγος λαλοῦσης, when we should expect λαλοῦσα.

This connection of the participle with the dependent genitive instead of with the governing nouns we find also in vi. 7, ἤκουσα φωνὴν τ. τετάρτου ζῶντος λέγοντος, though here this construction is very intelligible.

11-16. These verses appear to be composed of four stanzas, the first three of four lines each and the fourth of three.

11. βλέπεις. Our author, like most of the N.T. writers (including Johannine Gospel and Epistles), uses βλέπειν and not ὁρᾶν in the present tense, except in the case of ὁρα in the imperative—"beware." For the future of βλέπειν he uses ὀψεσθαι, and for the passive aorist ὀφθῆναι.

γράψον εἰς. For other constructions with ἐν and ἐπί see i. 3, ii. 17, iii. 12, xiv. 1, xvii. 5, etc. The Seer is repeatedly bidden to write down his visions, except in the case of the Seven Thunders.

ταῖς ἐπτά ἐκκλησίαις. According to Ramsay (*Letters to the Seven Churches*, p. 191), "the Seven groups of Churches, into which the province had been divided before the Apocalypse was composed, were seven postal districts, each having as its centre or point of origin one of the Seven Cities, which (as was pointed out) lie on a route which forms a sort of inner circle round the Province." Ramsay's reason for these Seven Churches—including two comparatively small towns, Thyatira and Philadelphia, and excluding the well-known cities of Colossae, Hierapolis, Troas, Tralles, etc.—being chosen and none others, is (*op. cit.* p. 183) that "all the Seven Cities stand on the great circular road that bound together the most populous, wealthy, and influential part of the Province, the west-central region." If delivered at these Seven Cities, the Apocalypse would easily spread throughout the rest of the Province; for "they were the best points on

that circuit to serve as centres of communication with seven districts: Pergamum for the north (Troas, doubtless Adramyttium, and probably Cyzicus and other cities on the coast contained Churches); Thyatira for an inland district on the north-east and east; Sardis for the wide middle valley of the Hermus; Philadelphia for Upper Lydia, to which it was the door (iii. 8); Laodicea for the Lycus Valley and for central Phrygia, of which it was the Christian metropolis in later time; Ephesus for the Cayster and Lower Macander Valleys and coasts; Smyrna for the Lower Hermus Valley and the North Ionian coasts" (p. 191 sq.). This is an attractive hypothesis. The fact, however, that seven, and just seven, were chosen, is determined apparently by the sacredness of this number in the eyes of our author. This fact, however, does not exclude the possibility that the Seven Churches in our author were selected on the ground of their fitness as desirable centres of publication. To each of these centres the roll would be carried in turn and then copied. Smyrna lay 40 miles north of Ephesus, Pergamum 40 north of Smyrna, Thyatira 45 S.E. of Pergamum, Sardis 30 nearly due S. of Thyatira, Philadelphia 30 E.S.E. of Sardis, and Laodicea 40 S.E. of Philadelphia (see map in Ramsay).

12. βλέπειν τὴν φωνήν. Cf. Aesch. *Theb.* 126, κτύπον δέδορκα. The voice is here used for the person from whom it comes.

ἥτις ἐλάλει μετ' ἐμοῦ. The ἥτις here represents an indirect question, and accordingly the construction is classical. On ἐλάλει μετ' ἐμοῦ, see note on iv. 1.

12^b. ἐπὶ λαυχίας χρυσᾶς. On the position of ἐπὶ as contrasted with its position in 16, see note on viii. 2. These seven lampstands recall Zech. iv. 2, where, however, only one lampstand appears with seven lamps, which, as the LXX and Vulg. rightly testify, were each fed by a pipe from one common reservoir of oil. In Ex. xxv. 31 sqq. there is a description of a seven-branched candlestick (λαυχία = מנורה), which was said to stand outside the second veil of the Tabernacle. The candlestick or lampstand carried seven lamps (λύχνοι = נרות). In our text the lampstands are separate. Their function is to embody and give forth the light of God on earth. Should the lamps fail to do so, their lampstand is removed (ii. 5).

Various scholars (Gunkel, *Chaos*, 294 sqq.; Zimmern, *K.A.T.*³ 624 sqq.) have drawn attention to the original connection between the seven-armed candlestick and the seven planets, and quoted the passages from Josephus and Philo (see note on p. 12) to this effect. But of this our Seer was probably wholly unconscious.

13-18. If the student studies the titles of the Son of Man in these verses, he will see that they recur at the beginning of six of the letters, but not in that to the Church of Laodicea.

Thus it seems to have been the intention of our author to connect each of the Seven Letters with a special title. But this intention was carried out only partially and in a superficial manner in this preliminary sketch of his work. For, as already observed, the title at the beginning of the letter to Laodicea is not found in i. 13-18; and in the letters to Ephesus and Sardis the same title is used twice: cf. ii. 1, ὁ κρατῶν τοὺς ἑπτὰ ἀστέρας ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ (cf. i. 16^a), and iii. 1, ὁ ἔχων . . . τοὺς ἑπτὰ ἀστέρας.

Again, that the titles were intended to have some connection with the letters in which they respectively appear is clear in most of the cases. Thus in the letter to the Church in Ephesus the title, ὁ περιπατῶν ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἑπτὰ λυχνιῶν τῶν χρυσῶν (ii. 1), is at all events related verbally to the words of warning in ii. 5, εἰ δὲ μὴ . . . κινήσω τὴν λυχνίαν σου ἐκ τοῦ τόπου αὐτῆς. In the letter to the Church in Smyrna the title, ὃς ἐγένετο νεκρὸς καὶ ἔζησεν (ii. 8), may contain a reference to ii. 10^d, γίνου πιστὸς ἄχρι θανάτου, καὶ δώσω σοι τὸν στέφανον τῆς ζωῆς. In the letter to the Church in Pergamum ὁ ἔχων τὴν ῥομφαίαν τὴν δίστομον (ii. 12) is anticipatory of the words in ii. 16^c, πολεμήσω μετ' αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ ῥομφαίᾳ τοῦ στόματός μου. In the letter to the Church in Thyatira the title, ὁ ἔχων τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὡς φλόγα πυρὸς (ii. 18), may be chosen with reference to the claim in ii. 23, ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ ἔραυνῶν νεφροὺς καὶ καρδίας. In the case of the three remaining Churches the connection between the introductory title of Christ and the contents of the letters is obscure except in the letter to the Church in Philadelphia. In the letter to the Church in Sardis the title, ὁ ἔχων τὰ ἑπτὰ πνεύματα τοῦ θεοῦ (iii. 1), may point to the need of watchfulness (iii. 2), since the seven spirits are sent forth by Christ to witness the doings of men (v. 4). In the letter to the Church in Philadelphia the title, ὁ ἔχων τὴν κλεῖν Δαυείδ, ὁ ἀνοίγων κτλ. (iii. 7), is introduced to justify Christ's power to fulfil His promise that He will cause the Jews after the flesh to bow down before the true spiritual Israel (iii. 9), and will make the latter pillars in the spiritual community of God (iii. 12). It is Christ that shuts out the one from this community and admits the other to it. Finally, in the letter to the Church in Laodicea the title, ὁ μάρτυς ὁ πιστὸς καὶ ἀληθινός (iii. 14), may have reference to the testimony given against the Laodicean Church in iii. 16-19.

The above facts show that, whereas only in the case of the Churches of Philadelphia and Thyatira is there any sort of organic connection between the divine title and the contents of the letter, in the case of the rest the connection is at the best either artificial or doubtful. Thus these titles give the impression of being an afterthought on the part of our author—inserted by him in order to link up chap. i. (whence the titles are drawn) and chaps. ii.-iii. This supposition gains confirmation from the fact

that the Seven Letters were undoubtedly written before the time of Domitian, and in fact before our author had any apprehension of a world-wide persecution, whereas the rest of the Apocalypse is saturated through and through with this conviction.

18. *ὅμοιον υἱόν*. Cf. xiv. 14. Here, as I have shown in the Additional Note (p. 36) on *ὡς* and *ὅμοιος*, *ὅμοιος* is used as the equivalent of *ὡς*, not only in meaning but in construction.

ὅμοιον υἱόν ἀνθρώπου. Cf. xiv. 14. The fact that the articles are absent (*i.e.* *τὸν υἱόν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*) is so far from being a matter of difficulty that in this context they could not be present. The Being whom the Seer sees is not "like the Son of Man," but is "the Son of Man." But the Seer can rightly describe Him as being "like a son of man." This technical phraseology in Apocalyptic means that the Being so described is not a man. Further, since Ezekiel, and particularly 1 Enoch xxxvii.-lxxi. (also lxxxiii.-xc.), used the term "man" in their *visions* to symbolize an angel, *υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου* would most naturally bear the same meaning in this passage. Thus *ὅμοιον υἱόν ἀνθρώπου* would = "like an angel." Hence the Being so described is a supernatural Being, *like* an angel and yet not an angel. Cf. 1 Enoch xlv. 1, where the supernatural Messiah is described as a "being whose countenance was as the appearance of a man" (= כְּמֹרֶא עֲנִי). Such is the literal rendering of this latter passage. Further, there can be no doubt that long before the time of our Seer the phrase "like a Son of Man" (*כְּבֶרֶךְ אֲנִי*) in Dan. vii. 13 was taken as a Messianic designation. Thus *ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου* in Apocalyptic is the exact equivalent of *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* in the Gospels and Acts vii. 56.

ἐνδεδυμένον ποδήρη. Cf. Dan. x. 5, *καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀνὴρ εἰς ἐνδεδυμένους βύσσιν* (LXX: *βαδδεῖν*, Theod.), *i.e.* *עֲנִי עֲנִי*; Ezek. ix. 2, *εἰς ἀνὴρ . . . ἐνδεδυκὼς ποδήρη* (also in 3, 11)—a rendering of the same Hebrew phrase. Since in xv. 6 we have *ἐνδεδυμένοι τὸ λίθον* . . . *καὶ περιεζωσμένοι περὶ τὰ στήθη* used in reference to angels, there is not necessarily any reference here to the priestly character of Christ. In Ex. xxviii. 4, xxix. 5, *ποδήρης* is used as a rendering of the high priestly robe (*עֵצָה*). Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* iii. 7. 4, *ὁ δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς . . . ἐπενδυσάμενος δ' ἐξ ὑακίνθου πεποιημένων χιτῶνα, ποδήρης δ' ἐστὶ καὶ οὗτος, μεῖρ καλεῖται τὴν ἡμετέραν γλῶσσαν, ζώνη περισφίγγεται*: iii. 7. 2, where the linen vestment of the priests is called *ποδήρης χιτῶν*. See also Wisd. xviii. 24, *ἐπὶ γὰρ ποδήρους ἐνδύματος ἦν ὅλος ὁ κόσμος*. But even if *ποδήρης* was in the mind of the Seer a rendering of *עֵצָה*, the priestly reference is still doubtful; for the *עֵצָה* was commonly used by men of high rank (cf. 1 Sam. xviii. 4, xxiv. 5, 12; Ezek. xxvi. 16, etc.). The long robe is used here simply as an Oriental

mark of dignity, though it may have had originally a very different meaning and origin: cf. Gressmann, *Eschatologie*, 346 sq.

περιεζωσμένον πρὸς τοῖς μαστοῖς ζώνην χρυσᾶν. This phrase recurs in a slightly different form in xv. 6. Both this and the preceding phrase were suggested by Dan. x. 5, ἐνδεδυμένος βαδδεῖν, καὶ ἡ ὁσφὺς αὐτοῦ περιεζωσμένη ἐν χρυσίῳ Ὠφάξ, where there is no connection of any kind with the priestly dress. The golden clasp or πόρπη was worn by the king and his chosen friends (φίλοι), 1 Macc. x. 89, xi. 58. The high priest also wore a girdle (ῥυζα), but it was a loosely-woven scarf: cf. Ex. xxviii. 4, xxxix. 29; Lev. xiii. 7. This priestly girdle was worn on the breast a little above the armpits: cf. Josephus, *Ant.* iii. 7. 2, ποδήρης χιτῶν . . . ὃν ἐπιζώννυνται κατὰ στήθος ὀλίγον τῆς μασχάλης ὑπεράνω τὴν ζώνην περιάγοντες. πρὸς in local sense with dative is rare in the N.T. Here only in the Apocalypse: cf. Mark v. 11; John xviii. 16, xx. 11, 12.

14. ἡ δὲ κεφαλὴ αὐτοῦ καὶ αἱ τρίχες λευκαὶ ὡς ἔριον λευκόν [ὡς χιών]. Our text presupposes Dan. vii. 9 and 1 Enoch xlv. 1. The former, according to Theod., Vulgate, and most commentators, is to be rendered: "his raiment was white as snow, and the hair of his head like pure wool"; while 1 Enoch xlv. 1 = ἡ κεφαλὴ αὐτοῦ ὡς ἔριον λευκὴ (or λευκόν). Thus in the first place we explain the combination of ἡ κεφαλὴ and αἱ τρίχες in our text. But our text diverges clearly from Theodotion's version and the Massoretic of Dan. vii. 9; for the latter read "the hair of his head like pure (*i.e.* cleansed) wool." But unless we assume that the wool is white, which, of course, it sometimes is, the comparison is not a good one. Since the LXX here has τὸ τρίχωμα τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ ὡσεὶ ἔριον λευκὸν καθαρὸν ("spotless as white wool"), it is clear that our author had either it or the Aramaic text presupposed by it before him. 1 Enoch xlv. 1 could be either "his hair was white like wool" or "like white wool," the latter being the more likely. Hence our text agrees with the LXX and 1 Enoch here against the Massoretic of Dan. vii. 9. It should be observed that the description which in Daniel and 1 Enoch belongs to the Ancient of Days, is here transferred to the Son of Man. The term κεφαλὴ may refer to the hair.

[ὡς χιών.] This was manifestly a marginal gloss. It is extremely awkward in its present context. Moreover, in Dan. vii. 9 it is the raiment that is "white as snow," not the hair of his head.

οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς φλόξ πυρός. Cf. ii. 18, xix. 12, where the same description is again applied to Christ. The phrase is suggested by Dan. x. 6, "His eyes were as lamps of fire" (λαμπάδες

πυρός); 2 Enoch i. 5, "Their eyes were like burning lamps." The metaphor is a very common one in Latin and Greek, as Wetstein has shown on this passage.

15. οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ ὅμοιοι χαλκολιβάνῳ. Here again our author has drawn upon Daniel. Cf. x. 6, "His feet like in colour to burnished brass" (LXX, ὡσεὶ χαλκὸς ἑξαστράπτων: Theod. ὡς ὄρασις χαλκοῦ στίλβοντος (לְךָ נִשְׁתָּה רַעֲבָ): Ezek. i. 4, 27, viii. 2, "From the appearance of his loins and downward, fire: and from his loins and upward, as the appearance of brightness, as the colour of amber"; also i. 7, "they sparkled like the colour of burnished brass" (LXX, ὡς ἑξαστράπτων χαλκός—רַעֲבָ דִּישָׁן לְךָ נִשְׁתָּה). χαλκολίβανος (here and ii. 18 only) is as yet an unidentified metal. Hence, whatever translation we assign it is purely provisional. Suidas defines it as εἶδος ἡλεκτρον τιμιώτερον χρυσοῦ· ἔστι δὲ τὸ ἡλεκτρον ἀλλότῳ πον χρυσίον μεμιγμένον ὑέλφ και λιθεία . . . ἡλεκτρον, ἀλλοίωσις χρυσοῦ, μεμιγμένον ὑέλφ και λιθείαις. The word, which is of uncertain derivation, is rendered in Latin by *aurichalcum*. Pliny, *H.N.* xxxiii. 4, writes: "Omnino auro inest argentum vario pondere. Ubicunque quinta argenti portio est, electrum vocatur." ix. 41, "Argentum auro confundere, ut electra fiant." Servius on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 402, "Electrum . . . quod fit de tribus partibus auri et una argenti." Eustathius on *Od.* iv. p. 150. 13, ἡλεκτρος . . . μίγμα τι χρυσοῦ και ἀργύρου. (These last three quotations are drawn from Wetstein.)

ὡς ἐν καμίνῳ † πεπυρωμένης †. So AC. But, if this is original, it can only be a slip for πεπυρωμένη on the part of the Seer, which he would have corrected in a revision of his text. For the explanation given by Hort and Swete, that πεπυρωμένης is explained by χαλκολιβάνου understood, is too prosaic and intolerable, *i.e.* "like burnished brass as in a furnace of burnished brass." Hence I assume that our author intended to write πεπυρωμένη—a correction which was early and rightly introduced into the text as the following authorities testify: *i.e.* 8, some cursives, s¹. 2, vg., Sah., Eth. Vict. Thus we have the vigorous and fitting conception: "like burnished brass as when it is smelted (or 'refined') in the furnace." πυροῦν is used only in the passive in the N.T. In the present passage and in iii. 18 it is used as the equivalent of שָׂרַף (in Ps. xii. 6, lxvi. 10; Dan. xii. 10; Zech. xiii. 9), of which it is the stock translation.

ἡ φωνὴ αὐτοῦ ὡς φωνὴ ὑδάτων πολλῶν. The voice of the Son of Man is described in exactly the same terms as the voice of God in Ezek. xliii. 2, כָּל־קוֹל מִן־רַבִּים, קוֹל־קוֹל (so the Heb. but not the LXX). Here our author rejects the corresponding simile in Dan. x. 6—קוֹל חֲמַס "like the voice of a multitude."

16. ἔχων = εἶχε, a Semitic idiom, though the participle is used in the *Koinḗ* occasionally as a finite verb. The reading of A, καὶ

ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ ἀστέρας ἑπτὰ, seems to assimilate the text to the adjoining clauses, but it may be original.

ἔχων ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ ἀστέρας ἑπτὰ. Cf. ii. 1 (where the clause is probably an interpolation), iii. 1. This clause is to be interpreted purely symbolically and not literally. It means that these seven stars were subject to him, and wholly in his power. On the other hand the words ἔθηκεν τὴν δεξιὰν αὐτοῦ ἐπ' ἐμέ in 17 are to be taken literally.

In 20 these seven stars are interpreted as symbolizing the Seven Churches. That they were originally conceived as forming the constellation of the Bear has been suggested by Bousset, who quotes Dieterich (*Eine Mithrasliturgie*, p. 14, line 16 sq., pp. 72, 76 sq.), where the God Mithras is represented as appearing to the mystic . . . κατέχοντα ἐν δεξιᾷ χειρὶ μόσχου ὄμιον χρύσειον, ὃς ἐστὶν ἄρκτος ἡ κινούσα . . . τὸν οὐρανόν. But, whatever may be the original derivation of this conception, it could hardly be present to the mind of the Seer in the present passage, else we should have τοὺς ἑπτὰ ἀστέρας and not ἀστέρας ἑπτὰ. The number seven, in itself sacred, determined the number of the Churches (i. 20), and thus by a coincidence the number of the stars as seven. See Jeremias, *Babylonisches im Neuen Testament*, 24-26. But the seven stars may be the seven planets.

ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ ῥομφαία δίστομος ὀξεῖα ἐκπορευομένη. Cf. ii. 12, 16. These words go back to Isa. xi. 4, "He shall smite the earth with the rod of his mouth" (here the LXX has τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ), xlix. 2; "He hath made my mouth like a sharp sword" (ὡς μάχαιραν ὀξεῖαν). See also note on xix. 15, where part of the above clause recurs: cf. Heb. iv. 12; 2 Thess. ii. 9; 4 Ezra xiii. 4. The sword that proceeds from the mouth of the Son of Man is simply a symbol of his judicial authority. Religious art has been very unhappy in representing this symbol literally as a sword proceeding from the mouth of Christ.

ῥομφαία δίστομος. Cf. Ps. cxlix. 6 (ῥομφαῖαι δίστομοι = ררר חרפ'ים); Sir. xxi. 3.

ἐκ τ. στόματος . . . ἐκπορευομένη. Cf. ix. 17, xix. 15.

ἡ ὄψις αὐτοῦ, ὡς ὁ ἥλιος φαίνει ἐν τῇ δυνάμει αὐτοῦ. ὄψις = "face"; ὄψις is found only here and in John vii. 24, xi. 44 in the N.T., but this usage is not infrequent in the LXX. Part of the clause ὁ ἥλιος and ἐν τ. δυν. αὐτοῦ goes back to Judg. v. 31, "Let them that love him be as the sun when he goeth forth in his strength" (ὡς ἔξοδος ἡλίου ἐν δυνάμει αὐτοῦ = שמשו כחצו בבגברו).

ὡς ὁ ἥλιος. Cf. Matt. xvii. 2, ἔλαμψεν τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ὡς ὁ ἥλιος. The faces of the righteous are also to shine like the sun, Matt. xiii. 43; as do also those of the angels: x. 1; 2 Enoch i. 5, xix. 1.

ὅς δ ἡλιος φαίνει. We have here a Hebrew construction, the same as in Deut. xxxii. 11; Job vii. 2, ix. 26, xi. 16; Isa. lxi. 10; Jer. xxiii. 29. Hence our text = *וְיָרֵם כְּחֹמֶר הַיּוֹרֵם*. The clause should be rendered, "And his face was as the sun shining in his strength." See Additional Note on *ὥς*, p. 36.

17. καὶ ὅτε εἶδον αὐτόν κτλ. The Seer had in his mind Dan. x. 7, 9, (LXX), καὶ εἶδον ἐγὼ Δανιήλ τὴν θρασιν . . . : 9, καὶ . . . ἐγὼ ἤμην πεπτωκὼς ἐπὶ πρόσωπόν μου ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν. Cf. also Josh. v. 14; Ezek. i. 28, iii. 23, xliii. 3.

καὶ ἔθηκεν τὴν δεξίαν αὐτοῦ . . . Μὴ φοβοῦ. Cf. Dan. x. 10, 12, 19. The *μὴ φοβοῦ* is found also separately in Isa. xlv. 2; Matt. xiv. 27, xvii. 7; Luke i. 13, 30, etc. It is used to give comfort (cf. Matt. xiv. 27 = John vi. 20; Acts xxvii. 24), and to remind the Seer that He that is seen is no unknown one (Spitta).

From *μὴ φοβοῦ* to the close of this verse there is a stanza of four lines.

ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος. Cf. ii. 8, xxii. 13. In all three cases these words are used as a designation of Christ. They are derived from Isa. xlv. 6, *אֲנִי יְהוָה הָאֵל הָאֵחָד* . . . *אֲנִי הָאֵל הָאֵחָד*, and xlviii. 12, where, of course, they are used as self-designations by Yahweh. In both instances the LXX diverges from the Massoretic: xlv. 6, *οὕτως λέγει . . . θεὸς σαβαώθ*· Ἐγὼ πρῶτος καὶ ἐγὼ μετὰ ταῦτα: xlviii. 12, *ἐγὼ εἰμι πρῶτος καὶ ἐγὼ εἰμι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα*. Cf. also Isa. xli. 4 and xliii. 10.

18. This verse sets forth the threefold conception of Christ in John: the ever abiding life He had independently of the world; His humiliation even unto physical death, and His rising to a life not only everlasting in itself but to universal authority over life and death.

καὶ ὁ ζῶν καὶ ἐγενόμενος νεκρός. These words form the second line of the stanza and are to be taken closely together. Here, as in i. 5-6, ii. 2, 9, etc., the participle after the Hebrew idiom has been resolved into the finite verb. See note on i. 5-6, where it is shown that the line should be rendered

"And He that liveth and was dead."

Most recent commentators connect the *καὶ ὁ ζῶν* with the preceding words. But in every instance, whether in Isaiah or in the Apocalypse, the phrase "I am the first and the last" is complete in itself, and the phrase *καὶ ὁ ζῶν* would simply impair the fulness of the claim made in these words. On the other hand, when taken with *καὶ ἐγενόμενος νεκρός* they are full of significance in the contrast between the ever abiding eternal life which He possesses and the condition of physical death to which He submitted for the sake of man.

ὁ ζῶν. This designation is based on the O.T. phrase הַיְיָ, θεὸς ζῶν, in Josh. iii. 10; Ps. xlii. 3, lxxiv. 3, etc.

ζῶν εἰμι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. These words are used of the Father in iv. 9, 10, x. 6. They are found in this connection in Dan. iv. 31, xii. 7 (בְּיָמֵי הַיְיָ), and Sir. xviii. 1; 1 Enoch v. 1.

ἔχω τὰς κλεῖς τοῦ θανάτου καὶ τοῦ ᾗδου. θανάτου and ᾗδου can be taken as objective genitives, *i.e.* the keys that lock or unlock Hades; or as possessive genitives, seeing that they are personified in vi. 8, *i.e.* the keys held by death and Hades.¹ Hades is the intermediate abode of only the wicked or non-righteous in our author (see xx. 14 note; also vi. 8, xx. 13) as in Luke xvi. 23, where it is set over against Paradise. It has the same meaning in the Psalms of Solomon xvi. 2: cf. xiv. 6, xv. 11. In our author Paradise (cf. ii. 7) has no connection with Hades: nor yet in Luke xxiii. 43; 2 Cor. xii. 4. Hades is not spoken of in the NT as containing Paradise except in Acts ii. 27 (31), which is a quotation from Ps. xvi. 10. Hades or Sheol, however, bears many different meanings in Jewish literature; see my *Eschatology*², under "Sheol" in the Index, p. 482 sq. But to return. No soul can enter Paradise save through death. So far, therefore, death is the avenue alike to Paradise and Hades. But by submitting to death Christ has through His death and resurrection won complete authority over death. It is not improbable, further, that the text implies the same belief that underlies 1 Pet. iii. 18 sqq.³ Neither death nor Hades can resist the power of the risen Christ. It is not only that they cannot withhold from Him the faithful that have already died, but that Christ has entered their realm as a conqueror and preached there the Gospel of Redemption to those that had not as yet heard it. No soul can henceforth be a prisoner in Hades, which is there owing to spiritual and other disabilities, in the creation of which it had no part. This interpretation of the text is in keeping with the universal proclamation of the Gospel to the heathen world, which according to xiv. 6-7, xv. 4, was to precede the end. All—wherever they were—were to hear the Gospel before the Final Judgment.

Again we have here one of the earliest traces in Christian literature of the Descent of Christ into Hades, and the conquest of its powers. This idea is in certain forms pre-Christian. Thus in the Babylonian Religion we have the descent of Ishtar, of Hibil Ziwa in the Mandaean Religion, of the primitive man

¹ Sheol and death are personified in Hos. xiii. 14. They are classed together in Ps. xviii. 6; Prov. v. 5.

² Loofs, in *E. R. E.* iv. 662, accepts this view, and holds that the doctrine of the Descensus underlies Matt. xxvii. 51-53, the Epistle to the Hebrews (xi. 39 sq., xii. 22, ix. 8).

in the system of Manes (see Bousset, *Offenbarung*², p. 197 sq.; Gunkel, *Zum . . . Verständniss d. NTs*, p. 72; Clemen, *Religions-gesch. Erklärung d. NT*, pp. 153-156); but these non-Jewish sources do not appear to have given birth to the Christian doctrine of the *Descensus ad Inferos*, as Loofs, in his art. in *E.R.E.* iv. 648-663, has shown.

κλεις τοῦ θανάτου καὶ τοῦ ᾗδου. The power over these keys, according to the Targ. Jer. on Gen. xxx. 22 (cf. also on Deut. xxviii. 12), belongs to God alone: Sanh. 113^a, "Elijah asked for the key of the raising of the dead. Therefore he was told: Three keys are not committed to a messenger: those of birth, rain, and of the raising of the dead": Taan. 2^a. According to the Midrash Tehillin on Ps. xciii. the Messiah is called Jinnon because he will awake the dead (Weber², 368).

19. οὖν resumes the command given in 11, enforced with the authority of One who has power over death. This particle occurs only here and in ii. 15, 16, iii. 3, 19, in our author, but 195 times in the Fourth Gospel.

ἀ εἶδες καὶ ἀ εἰσὶν καὶ ἀ μέλλει γίνεσθαι μετὰ ταῦτα. These words summarize *roughly* the contents of the Book. The ἀ εἶδες is the vision of the Son of Man just vouchsafed to the Seer: ἀ εἰσὶν refers directly to the present condition of the Church as shown in chaps. ii.-iii., and indirectly to that of the world in general; ἀ μέλλει γίνεσθαι μετὰ ταῦτα to the visions from chap. iv. onwards, which, with the exception of a few sections referring to the past and the present, deal with the future. At the beginning of iv. the Seer is summoned to heaven, where a voice declares: δείξω σοι ἀ δεῖ γενέσθαι μετὰ ταῦτα (iv. 1).

ἀ εἶδες. Cf. i. 2, iv. 1.

ἀ μέλλει γίνεσθαι μετὰ ταῦτα. On μέλλει, which in our author is generally followed by the imperfect inf., see x. 7 note; Blass, *Gram.* 197, 202.

20. This verse is independent grammatically of what precedes. The construction of the Greek is highly irregular. In the first place, we have an accusative absolute in τὸ μυστήριον: in the second we have an accusative τὰς ἐπὶ λυχνίας where we should expect a genitive dependent on τὸ μυστήριον. These anomalies are not explicable either from the standpoint of Greek or Hebrew. The second of them is best accounted for by the hypothesis that John did not revise his work. There are, it is true, a few instances of the acc. absolute in the N.T.: cf. Acts xxvi. 3, γνώστην ὄντα σε: 1 Tim. ii. 6, τὸ μαρτύριον καιροῖς ἰδίους: Rom. viii. 3, τὸ ἀδύνατον τοῦ νόμου. To these we may add the instance in our text. This construction is very rare in the papyri as compared with earlier Greek. See Robertson, *Gram.* 490, 1130.

The verse is to be rendered: "As for the mystery of the seven

stars, which thou sawest in (lit. "upon") my right hand, and of the seven golden candlesticks, the seven stars are," etc. τὸ μυστήριον = "the secret meaning." We have analogous interpretations of mysteries in xiii. 18, xvii. 7, 9.

οἱ ἐπὶ τὰ ἑπτὰ ἄγγελοι τῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ἐκκλησιῶν εἰσὶ. See note on i. 4. Various explanations of these ἄγγελοι have been given. Some scholars take them to be the actual messengers entrusted with the delivery of the letters to the various Churches, or the delegates sent from the Asiatic Churches to Patmos who were returning with the Apocalypse. Lightfoot, Schoettgen, Bengel connect them with subordinate officials of the synagogue. Primasius, Völter (*Offenbarung Johannis*, iv. 159) and others connect them with some prominent officials of the Churches. Zahn (*Einl.* ii. 606) and J. Weiss (*Offenbarung Johannis*, 49) identify them with the bishops of the Seven Churches. But the use of ἄγγελος in Apocalyptic in general and also in our author is wholly against making ἄγγελος represent a human being. If used at all in Apocalyptic, ἄγγελος can only represent a superhuman being.

Hence the only interpretation that can be accepted is one which does justice to the term ἄγγελος. From this standpoint two interpretations are advanced. 1. The angels are guardian angels of the Seven Churches. This interpretation can be supported from Daniel, where the doctrine of the angelic guardians or patrons of the nations is definitely presupposed: cf. x. 13, 20, 21, xi. 1, xii. 1. It appears also in Sir. xvii. 17; Deut. (LXX) xxxii. 8. In the N.T. individuals are supposed to have special guardian angels: cf. Matt. xviii. 10; Acts xii. 15; Targ. Jer. on Gen. xxxiii. 10, "I have seen thy face, as though I had seen the face of thy angel": also on xlviii. 16; Chag. 16^a. But, if these angels are conceived of as distinct personalities, this interpretation is open to unanswerable objections; for Christ is supposed to send letters to superhuman beings through the agency of John, and the letters in question are wholly concerned, not with these supposed angels, but directly with the Churches themselves and their spiritual condition. Hence the only remaining interpretation is that which takes these angels to be the heavenly doubles or counterparts of the Seven Churches, which thus come to be identical with the Churches themselves. Even this last interpretation is not free from difficulty; for it in reality amounts to explaining one symbol "the stars" by another symbol "the angels." Notwithstanding, we must hold fast to the latter interpretation in some form. Perhaps the seven stars represent in Semitic fashion the heavenly ideal of the Seven Churches: while the seven candlesticks are the actual realization of those ideals. Even this view is open to criticism. Notwithstanding, it seems to express best the thought in the mind of our

author. Christ holds in His hand (*i.e.* His power) these ideals: that is, only through Him can they be realized. αἱ λυχναὶ αἱ ἐπὶ τὰ ἐκκλησῖαι εἰσὶν. Here, since the Seven Churches have been definitely enumerated in i. 11, we should probably with WH regard ἐπὶ τὰ ἐκκλ as a primitive error for ἐπὶ τὰ. We should then have "the candlesticks are the Seven Churches." But not only have the Churches been previously mentioned, but the subject and predicate are here identical. Hence the article should be used with the predicate as in i. 8, 17, iii. 17. See Robertson, *Gram.* 768.

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON ὥς AND ὅμοιος.

Our author uses ὥς in several idiomatic constructions, which if considered in relation to the bulk of his work as a whole differentiates it from all other writings.

1. φωνήν . . . ὥς σάλπιγγος = "a voice like the voice of a trumpet." The Seer has never in his earthly experience heard such a voice. It was a heavenly voice. The nearest earthly equivalent he could suggest was the sound of a trumpet. But it was not the sound of a trumpet: *it was only like it* (ὥς). The construction here is a pregnant one = כְּשֹׁפָר = כְּשֹׁפָר as in Isa. xxix. 4, lxiii. 2; Jer. l. 9. This pregnant construction recurs in iv. 1, 7, ὥς ἀνθρώπου = אִם = אִם כְּאִם, and in xiii. 2, οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ ὥς ἄρκου: xvi. 3, αἶμα ὥς νεκροῦ. The same idea is conveyed by ὡσεὶ in i Enoch xvii. 1, xxiv. 4, xxxii. 4, and by ὥς in xiv. 10, 11, 13, xvii. 1; but in none of these cases have we the pregnant construction. In xiv. 18, τροχὸς ὥς ἡλίου, it is a pregnant one.

2. ὥς is used in a certain sense as the subject or the object of the verb as = וְ in Hebrew, and *yet it does not affect the case of the noun which follows it*. It is used as the subject or, if the student prefer, in connection with the subject in ix. 7, ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν ὥς στέφανοι. Here ὥς στέφανοι = תִּרְצָרֵם = "the appearance of crowns was on their heads." In Num. ix. 15 we have this idiom: "There was upon the tabernacle the likeness of the appearance of fire" (ὥς εἶδος πυρός); also in Dan. x. 18: "then there touched me again, one like the appearance of a man." Here אִם אִם (rendered by the versions ὥς ὁμοίαν ἀνθρώπου) is the subject of the verb and = "the likeness of the appearance of a man." As the Vulgate has here "quasi visio hominis" we can determine the Hebrew behind 4 Ezra xiii 2, "quasi similitudinem hominis" (Eth. and Arab. Verss.); but here the ὥς is connected with the accusative, to which we shall now turn. Thus we have in vi. 6, ἤκουσα ὥς φωνήν, and also in xix. 1, 6—the heavenly

equivalent of an earthly voice. In v. 11 the *ὡς* is omitted; for there the voice is definitely said to be that of angels. In xv. 2, *εἶδον ὡς θάλασσαν*—"the likeness of a sea"; xviii. 21, *λίθον ὡς μύλινον μέγαν*—"the likeness of a great millstone."

3. *ὡς* is used simply as a particle of comparison in xii. 15, xiii. 2, 11, xxi. 11.

4. In vi. 1 our author has rendered *לִכְרָךְ*, which was in his mind, literally and inadvertently by *ὡς φωνή* (ACQ); but since *לִכְרָךְ* in this context = *לִכְרָבֶךָ*, it should here have been rendered by *ὡς φωνῇ*. Possibly, however, our author wrote *φωνῇ*, which was subsequently corrupted into *φωνή*.

5. *ὡς* is used with the participle as in Hebrew. Cf. Gen. xl. 10, "It was as though it budded" (*וַיִּהְיֶה כְּבֹרֵךְ אֶת־הָאָרֶץ*). Cf. in our text, *ὡς ἐσφαγμένοι*, v. 6, xiii. 3.

6. Finally, *ὡς* is followed by a finite verb where the Greek idiom requires the participle: cf. i. 16, *ἡ ὄψις αὐτοῦ ὡς ὁ ἥλιος φαίνει*, where we should expect *φαίνων*. But this is distinctively a Hebrew idiom; for in Hebrew frequently relative sentences with the relative omitted are attached to substantives which are preceded by the particle of comparison *כִּי* (= *ὡς*). Cf. Isa. lxix. 1, *כִּי לַיְלָה יִבְרַח* (LXX, *ὡς λαμπὰς καυθήσεται*), "as a lamp that burneth." See also for literal but unidiomatic renderings in the LXX of Isa. liii. 7; Ps. xc. 5. But generally the finite verb is rendered idiomatically by the participle in the LXX: cf. Hos. vi. 3; Jer. xxiii. 29, *וְגֵר גָּדֹל עָלֶיךָ כְּמַסַּח* (LXX, *ὡς πέλεκυς κόπτων πέτραν*); Ps. lxxiii. 15; Job vii. 2, ix. 26, xi. 16.

ὅμοιος.

That our author uses *ὅμοιος* as synonymous in *meaning* with *ὡς* we learn from iv. 6, *ὁμοία κρυστάλλῳ*, as compared with xxii. 1, *ὡς κρύσταλλον*, and iv. 3, *ὅμοιος . . . λίθῳ ἰάσπιδι*, as compared with xxi. 11, *ὡς λίθῳ ἰάσπιδι*. In 1 Enoch also *ὡς* and *ὅμοιος* are equivalent in meaning: cf. xviii. 13, *ἶδον ἐπὶ ἀστέρων ὡς ὄρη μεγάλα*, and xxi. 3, *τεθέσμαι ἐπὶ τῶν ἀστέρων . . . ὁμοίους ὄρεσιν μεγάλοις*.

ὅμοιος is used also like *ὡς* in our text in a pregnant sense (see 1 under *ὡς*): cf. ix. 10, *οὐράς ὁμοίας σκορπίοις*; also xiii. 11.

But there are two passages in our text in which our author attached not only the same meaning but also the same construction to *ὅμοιος* as to *ὡς*. These are i. 13, xiv. 14, where we have *ὁμοιον νιόν* where we should expect *ὁμοιον νιῶ*. We have seen that he regarded *ὅμοιος* as = *ὡς* in respect of *meaning*, but these two passages exhibit an identification of *ὅμοιος* with *ὡς* not only in respect of *meaning* but also of *construction*; and thus as *ὡς* does not affect the case that follows it, neither does *ὅμοιος*. That our author knew quite well that *ὅμοιος* was followed by the dative

is shown by his universal usage outside these two passages, which stand alone in all literature in making *ὁμοιος* as the absolute equivalent of *ὡς* alike in *construction* and *meaning*.

CHAPTER II.-III.

§ 1. *The Seven Letters—their Authorship, their present and their original meaning.*

These two chapters, to which the great vision in i. forms an introduction, contain the Seven Letters addressed to seven actual Churches in Asia Minor, in which their spiritual character and environment are distinctly and concretely described. As they stand at present, the circumstances of the Seven Churches are to be regarded as typical of the Church as a whole. Thus in addressing certain specific Churches, our author is addressing all Christian Churches. In this representative sense the Seven Churches are identified with the seven candlesticks (i. 20). That these Letters are from the hand of our author is amply proved by their diction and idiom (§ 2).

But a close examination of the Letters shows that they contain two expectations which are mutually exclusive (§ 4), one of which is in harmony with the Book as a whole, while the other clearly conflicts with it. The recognition of this fact leads to the hypothesis that our author wrote these Letters at a date anterior to that of the Book as a whole, before the all-important conflict between the mutually exclusive claims of Christianity and Caesarism came to be recognized, and that in the "nineties," when he put together all his visions, he re-edited these Letters. In re-editing these Letters he made certain changes in the beginnings of them which brought them more into harmony with i. 13-18, and inserted certain additions which adapted the Letters more or less to the expectations underlying the rest of the Book (§ 5). It is not improbable that these Letters were actually sent in their original form to the Seven Churches (§ 6).

§ 2. *Diction and Idiom.*

These two chapters, alike on the ground of diction and idiom, come from the hand of our author.

(a) *Diction*.—Though a few expressions are found in these chapters and not elsewhere in our author, they do not take the place of equivalent expressions in our author save in the case of *οὐ* (see ii. 5 below), but arise naturally from the nature of the subject.

II. 1. τὰδε λέγει seven times in ii.-iii. and only once elsewhere in N.T., *i.e.* Acts xxi. 11.

ὁ περιπατῶν. Cf. iii. 4, ix. 20, xvi. 15, xxi. 24.

2. οἶδα. Cf. 9, 17, 19, iii. 1, 8, 15, 17, vii. 14, xii. 12, xix. 12.

τὸν κόπον. Cf. xiv. 13. τὴν ὁπομονήν (not in Fourth Gospel). Cf. i. 9, ii. 3, 19, iii. 10, xiii. 10, xiv. 12. ψευδεῖς. Cf. xxi. 8. Only once elsewhere in N.T.

4. ἀλλά. Cf. ii. 6, 9 (*bis*), 14, 20, iii. 4, 9, ix. 5, x. 7, 9, xvii. 12, xx. 6.

5. οὖν. Used of logical appeal. Cf. ii. 16, iii. 3 (*bis*), 9. Also in i. 19, probably owing to its occurrence in ii.-iii.

πόθεν. Cf. vii. 13. 13 times in Gospel. δέ (also in 16, 24); cf. x. 2, xix. 12, xxi. 8.

κινήσω. Cf. vi. 14. Here only in our author.

7. ὁ ἔχων οὐς ἀκουσάτω. Cf. 11, 17, 29, iii. 6, 13, 22, xiii. 9 (Matt. xi. 15, xiii. 9, etc.).

τὸ πνεῦμα λέγει. Cf. 11, 17, 29, iii. 6, 13, 22, xiv. 13, xxii. 17.

τῷ νικῶντι δώσω. Cf. 17, iii. 21, xxi. 7, ὁ νικῶν κληρονομήσει ταῦτα.

τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς, xxii. 2, 14 [19].

8. ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος. Cf. i. 17, xxii. 13.

ὃς ἐγένετο νεκρὸς καὶ ἔζησεν. Cf. i. 17 and xiii. 14, xvii. 8 (*bis*), where the demonic Nero is somewhat similarly described.

9. θλίψιν. Cf. i. 9, ii. 10, 22, vii. 14.

βλασφημίαν. Cf. xiii. 1, 5, 6, xvii. 3.

συναγωγή τοῦ Σατανᾶ. Here only and in iii. 9. In xi. 8 we have the same attitude towards Judaism, though the diction differs.

10. ἄχρι, cum. gen. Cf. ii. 25, 26, xii. 11, xiv. 20 [xviii. 5]. Not in Gospel, which uses ἕως ὅτου (or οὐ) and ἕως. ἕως only found in Apoc. vi. 10, 11.

11. οὐ μὴ ἀδικηθῇ ἐκ τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ δευτέρου. Cf. xx. 6, ἐπὶ τούτων ὁ δεύτερος θάνατος οὐκ ἔχει ἐξουσίαν. Observe that ἀδικεῖν is a favourite word with our author, but is not found in Fourth Gospel or Epp.

12. ὁ ἔχων τ. ῥομφαίαν τ. δίστομον τ. ὀφείαν. Cf. i. 16, xix.

15. ῥομφαία is found six times in the Apoc. and only once outside it in the N.T.

18. ὅπου without complementary ἐκεῖ. Cf. xi. 8, xx. 10.

15. οὕτως. Cf. iii. 5, 16, ix. 17, xi. 5, xvi. 18, xviii. 21.

16. ἔρχομαί σοι ταχύ. Cf. iii. 11, xxii. 7, 12, 20; also ii. 5.

πολεμήσω μετ' αὐτῶν. Cf. xii. 7^b, xiii. 4, xvii. 14. Also xii. 7^c, xix. 11, and Jas. iv. 2 without μετὰ and nowhere else in N.T.

τῇ βομφαίᾳ τοῦ στόματός μου. Cf. i. 16, xix. 15.

17. ὄνομα . . . γεγραμμένον δ οὐδεὶς οἶδεν εἰ μὴ ὁ λαμβάνων. Cf. xix. 12, ὄνομα γεγραμμένον δ οὐδεὶς οἶδεν εἰ μὴ αὐτός.

18. τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὡς φλόγα πυρός. Cf. i. 14, xix. 12.

οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ ὅμοιοι χαλκολίβανῳ. Cf. i. 14.

20. ἐμούς. Here only in Apoc. but 37 times in Gospel.

21. μετανοῆσαι ἐκ. This construction is nowhere else found in the N.T. nor yet in the LXX (where ἐπί or ἀπό follow), yet it recurs in our author in ii. 22, ix. 20, 21, xvi. 11.

23. ἐν θανάτῳ = "by pestilence," as in vi. 8.

κατὰ τὰ ἔργα ὁμῶν. Cf. xx. 13.

24. τοῖς λοιποῖς. Cf. iii. 2, ix. 20, xi. 13, xii. 17, xix. 21, xx. 5. Not in Gospel.

26. ὁ νικῶν . . . δώσω αὐτῷ : see note on ii. 26.

δώσω . . . ἐξουσίαν. On the meaning of this phrase see note on ii. 26 as distinguished from δώσω . . . τὴν ἐξουσίαν.

27. ποιμανεῖ = "will destroy" (see note *in loc.*). Cf. xix. 15 (xii. 5).

ὡς καὶ γῶ. Cf. iii. 21 and vi. 11, ὡς καὶ αὐτοῖς [xviii. 6]; Gospel uses καθὼς ἐγὼ frequently.

εὐαγγελία. This perfect recurs in iii. 3, v. 7, viii. 5, xi. 17. Thus five times in all. In the rest of the N.T. only three times, Matt. xxv. 24 [John viii. 4 in the περικοπή]; 1 Cor. x. 13.

28. τὸν ἄστέρα τὸν πρωϊνόν. Cf. xxii. 16.

III. 2. γίνου γρηγορῶν. For this combination of γίνεσθαι with a participle, cf. xvi. 10, ἐγένετο . . . ἐσκοτωμένη. Gospel i. 6 only.

εὑρηκα . . . πεπληρωμένα. For combination of εὕρισκιν with part. or adj., cf. ii. 2, v. 4, xxi. 15. For πεπληρ. alone, cf. vi. 11.

τοῦ θεοῦ μου. Cf. iii. 12, where this phrase occurs four times. iii. 12 was added when our author edited the book as a whole in the nineties.

2-4. For the indubitable connections between 2-4 and xvi. 15 see notes on both these passages. xvi. 15, however, appears to have belonged originally to this Letter where it probably followed on iii. 3^b.

4. ἀλλὰ. See note on ii. 4 above.

ὀνόματα = "persons." [Cf. xi. 13.] ἐμόλυναν. Cf. xiv. 4. περιπατήσουσιν. Cf. xxi. 24. ἐν λευκοῖς. Cf. vi. 11, vii. 9, 13, xix. 14. ἄξιοί εἰσιν. Cf. [xvi. 6], where the clause recurs.

5. περιβαλεῖται ἐν ἱματίοις λευκοῖς. Cf. iv. 4, vii. 9. ἐξαλείψω. Cf. vii. 17, xxi. 4 (in a different connection). τῆς βίβλου τῆς ζωῆς. Cf. xxi. 15, xiii. 8, and βιβλίον τ. ζ. in xvii. 8 [xx. 12].

7. ὁ ἄγιος ὁ ἀληθινός. Cf. vi. 10, where the same epithets are applied to God. Observe that ἀληθινός = "faithful," a meaning confined to the Apoc. within the N.T.

8. *θύραν ἀνεφγμένην*. Cf. iv. 1.

μικρὰν . . . *δύναμιν*. Cf. x. 3, *μικρὸν χρόνον*, for this order, and contrast vi. 11.

ἐτήρησας . . . *τὸν λόγον*. Cf. xxii. 7, 9—a frequent phrase in the Gospel.

μου τὸν λόγον καὶ . . . *τὸ ὄνομά μου*. Cf. x. 9 for the same remarkable yet intelligible order of the pronouns.

9. *ἤξουσιν καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν ἐνώπιον τῶν ποδῶν σου*. Cf. xv. 4, *πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἤξουσιν καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν ἐνώπιόν σου*: xxii. 8.

10. *ἐτήρησας τὸν λόγον*. Cf. iii. 8, xxii. 7, 9; also i. 3, ii. 26, xii. 17, xiv. 12.

τῆς ὑπομονῆς μου, i.e. "the endurance practised by Me." Cf. xiii. 10, xiv. 12, *ἡ ὑπομονὴ τ. ἁγίων*, "the endurance practised by the saints."

τῆς οἰκουμένης ὀλης. Cf. xii. 9, xvi. 14, where the nature of the trial is described as demonic in connection with this phrase.

τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. Cf. vi. 10, viii. 13, xi. 10 (note). This phrase has throughout our author a technical sense.

11. *ἔρχομαι ταχύ*. Cf. ii. 16, xxii. 7, 12, 20.

12. *ὁ νικῶν ποιήσω αὐτόν*. See notes on ii. 7, 26.

ἐξέλθῃ: in later chapters 13 times.

γράψω ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὸ ὄνομα. Cf. xvii. 5, 8, xix. 16.

τῆς καινῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ, ἡ καταβαίνουσα κτλ. Cf. xxi. 2.

τὸ ὄνομά μου τὸ καινόν. Cf. xix. 12, 16.

15. *οὔτε* . . . *οὔτε*. Cf. ix. 20, 21, xxi. 4. Our author uses *οὐδέ* . . . *οὐδέ*, v. 3, vii. 16, ix. 4; also *οὐ* . . . *οὐδέ*, vii. 16, xii. 8, xx. 4, xxi. 23; *μή* . . . *μήτε*, vii. 1, 3; even *οὐδέ μή* . . . *οὐδέ*, vii. 16^b, ix. 4, but never *μηδέ* . . . *μηδέ*.

17. *οὐδὲν χρεῖαν ἔχω*. Cf. xxii. 5.

18. *ἀγοράσαι* (metaphorical sense). Cf. v. 9, xiv. 3, 4.

ἱμάτια λευκά. See on iii. 5 above.

20. *εἰσελεύσομαι*. Cf. [xi. 11], xv. 8, xxi. 27, xxii. 14.

21. *καθίσαι*. Cf. xx. 4 and note on iii. 21.

ὡς κἀγώ. See note on ii. 27 above.

μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς μου ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ αὐτοῦ. Cf. xxii. 3.

(b) *Idiom*.—Here we have idioms and solecisms which, though they may appear *abnormally* in other writings, are in our author a *normal* means of expressing his thoughts.

II. 2. *τοὺς λέγοντας ἑαυτοὺς ἀποστόλους καὶ οὐκ εἰσίν*. This resolution of the participle into a finite verb is characteristic of our author. See note on i. 5^b–6, p. 14 sq.

3. *ἔχεις καὶ ἐβάστασας* . . . *καὶ κεκοπίακες*. For similar combinations of tenses cf. iii. 3, *εἰληφας καὶ ἤκουσας*: v. 7 sq., vii. 13 sq., viii. 5.

5. *ἔρχομαι* = *ελεύσομαι*. Our author frequently uses the

present of this verb as a future : cf. i. 4, 7, 8, ii. 16, iii. 11, iv. 8, ix. 12, xi. 14, xvi. 15, xxii. 7, 12, 20, but never the future itself except in compounds *ἐξελεύσεται*, xx. 8 : *εἰσελεύσομαι*, iii. 20.

7. τῷ νικῶντι . . . δώσω αὐτῷ. See notes on ii. 7, 26.

9. τῶν λεγόντων Ἰουδαίους εἶναι καὶ οὐκ εἰσίν. See above on ii. 2 and note on i. 5^b-6.

10. βάλλειν ἐξ ὑμῶν = "some of you." Cf. iii. 9, δίδωμι ἐκ τ. συναγωγῆς : v. 9, ἡγόρασας . . . ἐκ πάσης φυλῆς : xi. 9, βλέπουσιν ἐκ τῶν λαῶν : xxi. 6, δώσω ἐκ τῆς πηγῆς.

18. ὅπου ὁ θρόνος τοῦ Σατανᾶ. For this omission of the copula in relative or dependent clause, cf. v. 13, xx. 10.

ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἀντίπας, ὁ μάρτυς μου. On this frequent solecism in our author, see p. 3 *ad fin*.

20. τὴν γυναῖκα ἰ. ἡ λέγουσα. See preceding note.

λέγουσα καὶ διδάσκει. The frequently recurring idiom already found in ii. 2, 9 above : see note on i. 5^b-6.

22. βάλλειν αὐτὴν εἰς κλίην. A phrase unintelligible in Greek unless retranslated into Hebrew. See note on ii. 22.

23. ὑμῖν ἐκάστῳ : cf. vi. 11, αὐτοῖς ἐκάστῳ. Elsewhere only once in N.T., Acts ii. 8.

26. ὁ νικῶν . . . δώσω αὐτῷ. See note on ii. 7.

δώσω αὐτῷ ἔξουσίαν. On the technical sense assigned to this phrase by our author, see note *in loc*. It is here rightly used.

Thus chap. ii. is connected by the same diction or idioms or both with portions of iv.-ix., xi.-xvii., xix.-xxii. We have already seen in the Introd. to chap. i. that i. and ii.-iii. and most of the remaining chapters are similarly bound together.

III. 3. ποῖαν ὥραν. This acc. of a point of time only here in our author.

7. ὁ ἀνοίγων καὶ οὐδεὶς κλείσει. A Hebrew idiom. See note *in loc*.

8. δέδωκα ἐνώπιόν σου θύραν ἡνεωγμένην, ἣν οὐδεὶς δύναται κλείσαι αὐτήν. We have here two Hebrew idioms in these words :

יְהוָה יִפְתָּח לָנוּ דָּלָת וְלֹא יִסְתָּם וְלֹא יִסְתָּם

For other instances of oblique forms of the personal pronoun added pleonastically to relatives (in reproduction of a Hebrew idiom), cf. vii. 2, οὗς ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς : 9, δὲν ἀριθμῆσαι αὐτόν : xii. 6, 14, xiii. 8, 12, xx. 8.

9. ἰδοὺ διδῶ ἐκ τ. συναγωγῆς. Most probably a Hebraism. יִרְאֶה יְהוָה כִּי יַעֲשֶׂה בְּיָדֵי הַיְּהוּדִים, "Behold I will make certain of the synagogue," etc. Here διδῶ anticipates ποιήσω.

τῶν λεγόντων ἑαυτοὺς . . . καὶ οὐκ εἰσίν. The same Hebrew idiom as in ii. 9.

ποιήσω . . . ἵνα ἡξουσιν . . . καὶ γνῶσιν. *ἵνα cum. ind.* occurs

9 times in the Apoc., here (iii. 9) and 8 times in the rest of the Book (see note on iii. 9, p. 88): only once in the rest of the Johannine writings, and only 10 times in all in the N.T. outside the Apocalypse. Again, *ἵνα μή cum. ind.* occurs twice in the Apoc. and only twice elsewhere in the N.T. Thus *ἵνα cum. ind.* is characteristic of our author. Next, *ἵνα cum. subj.* occurs 6 times in ii.—iii. and 17 times in the rest of the Book, and *ἵνα μή cum. subj.* once in ii.—iii. and 7 times in the rest of the Apoc.

ἵνα ἤξουσιν . . . καὶ γνῶσιν. Cf. xxii. 14 for the same combination of moods.

12. *ὁ νικῶν ποιήσω αὐτόν.* See notes on ii. 7, 26.

τῆς καινῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ, ἣ καταβαίνουσα. See Introd. to I. § 2 (δ), p. 3 *ad fin.*

16. *μᾶλλον . . . ἐμέσαι.* Cf. iii. 2, xii. 4. Elsewhere in our author 10 times with the pres. inf., which is the all but universal usage in the N.T. Only 4 times outside our author is it followed by the aor. inf. (in Lucan and Pauline writings) and twice by fut. inf. in Lucan writing (*i.e.* Acts).

17. *οὐδὲν χρεῖαν ἔχω.* Cf. xxii. 5, *ἔχουσιν χρεῖαν . . . φῶς ἡλίου.*

20. *ἴδὼν τις ἀκούσῃ . . . καὶ εἰσελεύσομαι.* This Hebraic *καὶ* introducing the apodosis recurs in x. 7, xiv. 10. It is found also in Luke ii. 21, vii. 12; Acts i. 10; 2 Cor. ii. 2; Jas. iv. 15.

21. *ὁ νικῶν δώσω αὐτόν.* On this Hebraism see note on ii. 7.

From the above evidence of diction and still more of idiom it is clear that ii.—iii. are from the hand of our author. Certain words and expressions occur in them which do not recur in the remaining chapters, but this is due to the nature of the subject (cf. *τάδε λέγει*) or to the fact that the Letters in some form were written by our author long before 95 A.D.—the date of the completed work: cf. *οὖν* (also in i. 19), *πλήν*, *ἐμός*. A comparison of the points of agreement in diction and in idiom shows that ii.—iii. are connected very closely, and in most cases essentially, with iv.—x., parts of xi., xii.—xvii., xix.—xxii.

§ 3. Order of Words and omission of Copula in relative sentences.

Though the diction and idioms of ii.—iii. are conclusive as to the authorship of the Seven Letters, it is remarkable that the order is less Semitic than in the rest of the chapters from the same hand. Thus excluding ii. 7, 11, 17, 26, iii. 5, 12, 21, where the same phrase *τῷ νικῶντι* or *ὁ νικῶν* recurs and regularly precedes the verb *for emphasis*, and is therefore perfectly justifiable in Hebrew on this ground, there are more than the average

number of passages in ii.-iii. where the object precedes the verb : ii. 1, τάδε λέγει (and at the beginning of each Letter) : 3, ὑπομονὴν ἔχεις : 4, τὴν ἀγάπην . . . ἀφῆκες : 5, τὰ πρῶτα ἔργα ποιήσον : 6, τοῦτο ἔχεις : 23, τὰ τέκνα αὐτῆς ἀποκτενῶ : 25, ὃ ἔχετε κρατήσατε : iii. 10, σε τηρήσω. The subject also precedes the verb more frequently than is usual in the remaining chapters, and yet the style is profoundly Hebraic and essentially one with the rest of the Book. These phenomena may be due to the fact that our author is here using a vigorous epistolary style, which, while comparable to or even transcending that of the finest passages of the rest of the N.T., stands in its freer play of thought, feeling and their expression in marked contrast to the unrivalled eloquence and sustained sublimity of the rest of the Book.

Turning from the order of the verb to that of the adjective, the adjective almost always follows its substantive with the repetition of the article. There are, however, some exceptions, which have their parallels in the rest of the Book. Thus we find ἄλλο prepositive in ii. 24 as always in our author and generally in the N.T. though it is post positive in Hebrew. In iii. 4, ὀλίγα ὀνόματα : cf. xii. 12, ὀλίγον καιρὸν : in iii. 8, μικρὰν . . . δύναμιν : cf. xx. 3, μικρὸν χρόνον, and contrast χρόνον μικρόν, vi. 11.

In ii. 13 we have the omission of the copula in a relative sentence : cf. v. 13, xv. 4, xx. 10 ; but this omission is frequent in the N.T.

§ 4. *The Letters were written by our Author at an earlier date and re-edited by him for the present work with certain additions.*

Since an examination of the diction and idiom leads to the conclusion that the Letters are from the hand of our author, it is not necessary to consider the theories of some critics who ascribe them to a final reviser, or of others who assign them to an original apocalypse which was subsequently edited and enlarged by later writers.

But the question does arise : were these Letters written in the time of Domitian by our author when he edited the entire work, or were they written at an earlier date ? And this question must be answered, since conflicting expectations of the end of the world find expression in them. First, there is the older expectation that the Churches will survive till Christ's last Advent : cf. ii. 25, ὃ ἔχετε κρατήσατε ἄχρι οὗ ἃν ἔξω, and iii. 3, ἔξω ὡς κλέπτῃς. The Second Advent is here referred to as in 1 Thess. v. 2, 4, where St. Paul himself expects to survive this event. In the meantime, however, the individual Churches will undergo persecution from time to time, and their members in certain cases be faithful

unto death¹ as they have been in the past;² but of a universal martyrdom there is not the slightest hint, though this expectation is taught or implied in the rest of the Book (see xiii. 15); nor is there a single reference to a world-wide persecution save in iii. 10, though this is one of the chief themes of the Apocalypse.

Again, though this world-wide persecution was to arise in connection with the imperial cult of the Caesars as the rest of the Book clearly states, there is not a single reference to this cult in the Letters: at most there may be an allusion to it in iii. 10. Moreover, so far as this persecution was conceived as involving the martyrdom of all the faithful, as in iv.-xxii., this conception is in direct conflict with ii. 25, iii. 11, where the Churches are represented as witnessing more or less faithfully till the Advent. In short, the expectation that the Church would survive till the Second Advent cannot be held simultaneously with the expectation of a world-wide persecution in which all the faithful would suffer martyrdom. These two expectations are mutually exclusive; and since the first is obviously the original teaching of our text, it follows that iii. 10 is a subsequent addition.

Accordingly the present writer is of opinion that the discordant elements in the text can best be explained by the hypothesis that our author wrote these Letters at a much earlier date than the Book as a whole, before the fundamental antagonism of the Church and the State came to be realized, and Christians had to choose between the claims of Christ and Caesarism, of Christianity and the State. When he put together his visions in the reign of Domitian, he re-edited these Letters by the insertion of iii. 10 and the addition of new material at the close of each Letter, which in some degree brought them into harmony with the rest of the Book.

§ 5. *Amongst the additions to the original Letters are the endings and in part the beginnings of the Letters in their present form.*

We have already recognized that iii. 10 is a later addition made by our author. But we cannot stop here. The endings

¹ Special visitations are threatened (ἐρχομαι σοι, ii. 5, 16) unless the Churches of Ephesus and Pergamum forthwith repent, while to the Church of Smyrna "a tribulation of ten days," issuing in the martyrdom of certain of its members, is foretold, ii. 11; in iii. 19 chastisement but not martyrdom is foretold.

² The Churches have already suffered persecution in a limited degree. Thus the Church of Ephesus is praised for its faithfulness therein: cf. ii. 3, καὶ ὑπομονὴν ἔχεις καὶ ἐβόησας διὰ τὸ βρομᾶν μου καὶ οὐ κενωτάξαι. Likewise Thyatira: cf. ii. 19, and that of Philadelphia, iii. 8; while that of Pergamum has already its proto-martyr Antipas, ii. 13. In Smyrna and Philadelphia the Christians had suffered at the hands of the Jews, ii. 9, iii. 9.

of the Letters are indeed from our author's hand,¹ but they would in many respects be incomprehensible but for the later chapters, to which in thought and diction they are most intimately related, and apart from which they would be all but inscrutable enigmas: cf. ii. 7-xxii. 2, 14 (τὸ ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς); ii. 11-xxi. 8 (where ὁ θάνατος ὁ δεύτερος is first explained); ii. 17-xix. 12 (ὄνομα καινὸν . . . ὁ οὐδεὶς οἶδεν κτλ.); ii. 26-29, xii. 5, xix. 15 (ποιμανεῖ αὐτοὺς ἐν ῥάβδῳ κτλ.); xxii. 16 (ὁ ἀστὴρ . . . ὁ πρωϊνός); iii. 5-vi. 11 (ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς ἐκάστῳ στολὴ λευκή); xiii. 8, xxi. 27 (τῷ βιβλίῳ τῆς ζωῆς); iii. 12-xxi. 22, which shows that the term ναός in iii. 12 is to be taken metaphorically); xxi. 2 (τὴν πόλιν . . . Ἱερουσαλὴμ καινὴν . . . καταβαίνουσαν κτλ.); xix. 12 (ὄνομα ὁ οὐδεὶς οἶδεν: cf. ὄνομα . . . καινόν in iii. 12); iii. 21-xx. 4.

But another characteristic of these Letters is that they all use the phrase ὁ νικῶν. That this expression designates one who has passed victoriously through the martyr's death to the life eternal, is clear from xii. 11, αὐτοὶ ἐνίκησαν . . . καὶ οὐκ ἠγάπησαν τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτῶν ἄχρι θανάτου: xv. 2, εἶδον . . . τοὺς νικῶντας ἐκ τοῦ θηρίου . . . ἐστῶτας ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν ὑαλίνην: xxi. 7. Now that ὁ νικῶν bears the same meaning at the close of the Letters is to be inferred from iii. 21, ὁ νικῶν δώσω αὐτῷ καθίσαι μετ' ἐμοῦ ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ μου, ὡς καὶ ἐνίκησα καὶ ἐκάθισα μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς μου ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ αὐτοῦ. As Christ witnessed to the truth by His death, so should His servants. Now, if ὁ νικῶν is used in this sense at the close of all the Letters, as it appears to do, we have here an allusion to the world-embracing persecution (and martyrdom), which is definitely referred to in iii. 10, though such an expectation is quite foreign to the body of the Letters, which belong to an earlier date.

Another later addition of our author common to all the Letters is, ὁ ἔχων οὖς ἀκουσάτω τί τὸ πνεῦμα λέγει ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις: ii. 7^a, 11^a, 17^a, 29, iii. 6, 13, 22. By this addition our author would teach that the Letters are not merely for their respective Churches, but for all the Churches. Thus they are adapted so far as the endings are concerned to their new context.

The later additions at the close of the Letters are accordingly: ii. 7, 11, 17, 26-29, iii. 5-6, 10, 12-13, 21-22.

But the divine titles of Christ at the beginnings of the Letters can hardly have stood in the original Letters as they now

¹ The choice of these endings on the part of our author may in some cases be determined by the diction or thought of the respective letters of which they form the close. Thus in the Letter to Smyrna, οὐ μὴ ἀδικηθῇ ἐκ τοῦ θανάτου τ. δευτέρου, ii. 11, declares the reward of him who is πιστὸς ἄχρι θανάτου, ii. 10; in the Letter to Pergamum, δώσω αὐτῷ τοῦ μάννα, ii. 17, sets forth the true food in contrast to the εἰδωλόθυτα, ii. 14; and in the Letter to Sardis, οὐ μὴ ἐξαλείψω τ. ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐκ τ. βιβλίου τῆς ζωῆς, iii. 5, may refer in the way of contrast to ὄνομα ἔχεις ὅτι ζῇς καὶ νεκρὸς εἶ, iii. 1.

do. Such a conclusion is suggested by the facts that whereas they are all, with the exception of those prefacing the Letter to the Church of Laodicea, drawn verbally from i. 13-18 (see note p. 25 sq.), they have no organic connection, except in the case of the Letters to the Churches of Philadelphia and Thyatira, with the Letters which they respectively introduce, though in several instances an artificial connection can be discovered (see note just referred to). What the titles of Christ were in the original form of the Letters cannot now be determined. Some of the existing titles may be original, but it is hard to evade the conclusion that the original titles were recast by our author, when he incorporated the Letters into the complete edition of his visions, and were brought into close conformity with the divine titles of Christ in i. 13-18. Since they have but slight affinity with the contents of the Letters at the head of which they stand, their most natural explanation is to be found in i. 13-18.

§ 6. *Were the Letters originally seven distinct Letters addressed and sent to the Seven Churches?*

On various grounds we have concluded that the Seven Letters were composed by our author before the time of Domitian: also that on their incorporation into the Apocalypse they were re-edited by him in order to adapt them to the impending crisis, by changes made in the beginnings to bring them into closer conformity with i. 14-18, and by additions such as iii. 10 and others at the close of the Letters, as ii. 7, 11, 17, 26-29, iii. 5-6, 10, 12-13, 21-22, in order to link them up with the theme of the Book as a whole—the conflict between Christ and Caesar, Christianity and the World Power, and the universal martyrdom of the faithful which the Seer apprehended as a result of this conflict.

Now, if the above conclusions are valid, it would not be unreasonable to conclude further that these Letters were actual letters sent separately to the various Churches, and are, notwithstanding their brevity, comparable in this respect to the Pauline Epp. In default of independent historical materials we are unable to test the accuracy of most of the details relating to the moral and religious life in the Seven Churches. But such materials are not wholly wanting. Thus we know that the Ignatian Epistles to Ephesus, Smyrna, and Philadelphia substantiate certain statements of our author bearing on the inner life of these Churches (see pp. 48, 50, 52, etc.). In the case of the Church of Laodicea the external evidence is fuller. Thus in iii. 17-18 the contrast drawn between the deplorable spiritual condition of Laodicea and its material and intellectual riches cannot be accidental, since we know from

external authorities that Laodicea was pre-eminent in these latter respects. But the Letter to the Church in Laodicea shows that our author is familiar with some of the Christian literature circulating within it—such as St. Paul's Ep. to the Colossians (see note on p. 94 sq.), which, according to St. Paul's directions, was to be read in the Church of Laodicea.

My hypothesis, therefore, that the Seven Letters, which originally dealt with the spiritual conditions of these Churches, and knew nothing whatever of the impending world conflict between Christianity and the Imperial Cultus, were actually sent to their respective Churches, has much to recommend it.

II. 1-7. THE MESSAGE TO THE CHURCH IN EPHESUS

1. τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῷ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐκκλησίας. The city of Ephesus lay on the left bank of the Cayster. In many inscriptions it is designated, ἡ πρώτη καὶ μεγίστη μητρόπολις τῆς Ἀσίας. It was, according to Strabo, the greatest emporium in Asia (xiv. 24, ἐμπόριον οὐσα μέγιστον τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν τὴν ἐντὸς τοῦ Ταύρου). Ephesus was the centre of Roman administration in Asia. As the Province of Asia was senatorial the governor was called pro-consul (Acts xix. 38, ἀνθύπατοι), and it was at Ephesus that he was bound to land and to enter on his office. As a free city it had a board of magistrates (στρατηγοί), a senate (βουλὴ), and a popular Assembly (ἐκκλησία).¹ Under the Empire the power of the popular Assembly, which in earlier days had really held the reins of power, had declined until its chief function was to approve of the Bills submitted by the Senate. It had its regular times of meeting, but no extraordinary meeting could be summoned except by the Roman officials. The business of the Assembly was apparently managed by the Town Clerk (γραμματεὺς τῆς πόλεως or τ. δήμου). The Senate, which in pre-Roman days had been elected annually by the citizens, came gradually, under the Roman sway, to be composed of a body of distinguished citizens chosen for life, which tended more and more to become a mere tool of the Imperial Government. Ephesus was the Western terminus of the great system of Roman roads—the great trade route from the Euphrates by way of Colossae and Laodicea, a second from Galatia *via* Sardis, while a third came up from the south from the Maeander valley. From its devotion to Artemis,

¹ Swete (p. lix) states that there were three assemblies: a council (βουλὴ) elected from the six tribes into which the population was divided; a senate (γερονσία) charged with the finance of the city and probably of public worship as well as with the care of the public monuments; a popular assembly (ἐκκλησία). Each had its γραμματεὺς.

Ephesus appropriated to itself the title Temple Warden (*νεωκόρος*, Acts xix. 35). But this word took on an additional meaning, and came most commonly to be applied to a city as a warden of a temple of the imperial cultus. The Ephesian Neocorate is first mentioned on coins of Nero. The first temple was probably erected to Claudius or Nero,¹ the second to Hadrian, and the third to Severus. A 2nd century inscription (Wood, *Arr. Inscr.* vi. 6, p. 50) speaks of Ephesus as being warden of two imperial temples as well as of that of Artemis (*δὲς νεωκόρος τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ νεωκόρος τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος*). Ephesus was also a hot-bed of every kind of cult and superstition. Its works on magic (*Ἐφίσια γράμματα*) were notorious throughout the world. Now it was at this city that Paul founded a Christian Church (50-55), whence proceeded a movement that led to the evangelization of the province (Acts xix. 10). Though of very secondary importance for a couple of decades, it must after the fall of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. have quickly risen into a position of supreme importance and become the chief centre of the Christian Faith in the East. Hence it is rightly named first in i. 11, ii. 1. It was the home of St. John in the latter part of the century; and tradition states that not only were Timothy and John, but also the Virgin Mary, buried at Ephesus. Judaizing and Gnostic teachers early showed themselves active, as we may infer from 1 Tim. i. 7 (*θίλοντες εἶναι νομοδιδάσκαλοι*), iv. 1-3, etc., and Ignatius, *Ad Ephes.* vii. 1, *εἰώθασιν γὰρ τινες δόλῳ ποτηρῷ τὸ ὄνομα περιφέρειν, ἄλλα τινὰ πράσσοντες ἀνάξια θεοῦ οὓς δεῖ ὑμᾶς ὡς θηρία ἐκκλίνειν· εἰσὶν γὰρ κύνες λυσσῶντες, λαθροδῆκται, οὓς δεῖ ὑμᾶς φυλάσσεσθαι ὄντας δυσθεραπεύτους*. The presence of such elements testified to the danger of schism. See the articles on Ephesus in Hastings' *D.B.*, and the *Encyc. Bib.* with the literature there quoted.

τάδε λέγει. This clause occurs eight times in the N.T., seven of these being in ii. and iii. of our Book. *ὁδε* occurs only twice elsewhere in the N.T. This sparing use has been observed also in the *Κοινή*.

ὁ κρατῶν τοὺς ἐπτὰ ἀστέρας ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ αὐτοῦ. This clause has no organic connection with the letter to the Church in Ephesus, and, moreover, it is repeated in iii. 1 in a slightly different form. The use of *κρατῶν*, which here means to hold fast, while in i. 16, iii. 1 we have *ἔχων*, is strange. In the case of the Son of Man *ἔχων* expresses all that is needed. His character is a guarantee that the *ἔχων* contains the *κρατῶν*. If it were a man that was in question here, the use of *κρατεῖν* (cf.

¹ The temple dedicated to Augustus some time before 5 B.C. did not entitle the city to the Neocorate; for it was not an independent foundation, being built within the precincts of the temple of Artemis; and it was a dedication by the municipality merely, and not by the Synod of Asia (*καὶνὸν Ἀσίας*).

ii. 13, vii. 1, "to lay hold of," xx. 2, and ii. 14, 15, 25, iii. 11 where both words occur) would be intelligible.

ὁ περιπατῶν ἐν μέσῳ τ. ἐπὶ λυχνίων τ. χρυσῶν. Christ's vigilance is not localized but coextensive with the entire Church. The idea of the λυχνίων returns in ii. 5, which may have occasioned the choice of the above title. That the former of these two divine titles was added by our author when editing his visions as a whole, see p. 25 sq., 45 sq.

2-3. These two verses appear to consist of three couplets.

2. οἶδα τὰ ἔργα σου, καὶ τὸν κόπον καὶ τὴν ὑπομονὴν σου
καὶ ὅτι οὐ δύνη βαστάσαι κακοῦς,
καὶ ἐπείρασας τοὺς λέγοντας ἑαυτοὺς ἀποστόλους καὶ οὐκ εἰσίν,
καὶ εὗρες αὐτοὺς ψευδεῖς.
3. καὶ ὑπομονὴν ἔχεις καὶ ἐβάστασας διὰ τὸ ὄνομά μου
καὶ οὐ κεκοπίακες.

Here the theme is τὰ ἔργα σου. These consist of τὸν κόπον καὶ τὴν ὑπομονὴν σου. These two subordinate themes are then rehandled, the κόπον in 2^{bod} and the ὑπομονὴν in 3^{ab}. There are two paronomasias which cannot be accidental: τὸν κόπον and οὐ κεκοπίακες, and οὐ δύνη βαστάσαι and ἐβάστασας.

2. The phrase οἶδα τὰ ἔργα σου recurs, but with the pronoun preceding the noun, in ii. 19, iii. 1, 8, 15. Abbott (*Johannine Gram.*, pp. 414, 422, 601-607) calls the latter the vernacular or unemphatic possessive. In ii. 19 we have a combination of both. See note. οἶδα. Christ knows everything (John xxi. 17) —alike the good (2-3, 6) and the bad (4-5) qualities.

τὸν κόπον καὶ τὴν ὑπομονὴν σου. The single pronoun links together the two preceding nouns. These two are the works of the Church in Ephesus—its severe efforts in resisting and overcoming false teachers (2^{bod}), and its steadfast endurance on behalf of the name of Christ (3^{ab}). We might compare 1 Thess. i. 3, *μνημονεύοντες ὑμῶν τοῦ ἔργου τῆς πίστεως καὶ τοῦ κόπου τῆς ἀγάπης καὶ τῆς ὑπομονῆς τῆς ἐλπίδος*, but here κόπος and ὑπομονή are co-ordinated with and not subordinated to ἔργον. κόπος with its cognate κοπιᾶν is closely associated with Christian work in the N.T. alike in our text (cf. also xiv. 13) and in the Pauline Epistles. ὑπομονή, as Trench (*Synon.* 191) points out, is used to express patience in respect of things, but μακροθυμία in respect of persons. But the patience is of a high ethical character. "In this noble word ὑπομονή there always appears (in the N.T.) a background of ἀνδρεία (cf. Plato, *Theaet.* 177b, where ἀνδρικῶς ὑπομεῖναι is opposed to ἀνάνδρως φεύγειν): it does not mark merely the endurance . . . but . . . the brave patience with which the Christian contends against the various hindrances, persecutions, and temptations that befall him in his conflict with the inward

and outward world" (Ellicott on 1 Thess. i. 3, quoted by Trench, *op. cit.*, p. 190).

οὐ δὲ δύνη βαστάσαι. δύνη for δύνασαι occurs also in Mark ix. 22, 23; Luke xvi. 2. Though not found in Attic prose it is found in Attic poetry. The intolerance here commended is of evildoers who claimed to be apostles. Clem. Alex. (*Strom.* ii. 18) well defines ὑπομονή as the knowledge of what things are to be borne and what are not (ἐπιστήμη ἐμμενετέων καὶ οὐκ ἐμμενετέων). The need of testing the claims of itinerant teachers who claimed to be prophets and apostles was early felt: cf. 1 Thess. v. 20 sq.; 1 John iv. 1. They were not to be acknowledged unless they brought with them "commendatory letters" (2 Cor. iii. 1).

That the Church in Ephesus shunned such false teachers we learn from Ignatius, *Eph.* ix. 1, ἐγνων δὲ παροδυσαντάς τινας ἐκείθεν, ἔχοντας κακὴν διδασχὴν· οὓς οὐκ εἰδάσατε σπεύρι εἰς ὑμᾶς, βύσαντες τὰ ὅτα εἰς τὸ μὴ παραδέξασθαι τὰ σπειρόμενα ὑπ' αὐτῶν. In the Didache xi. 8, 10, the ultimate test of such teachers was conformity of their lives with that of Christ. In Hermas, *Mand.* xi. 11-15, the two types of teachers are contrasted, and in xi. 16 the excellent advice is given: δοκίμαζε σὺν ἀπὸ τῆς ζωῆς καὶ τῶν ἔργων τὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν λέγοντα ἑαυτὸν πνευματοφόρον εἶναι.

καὶ ἐπείρασας. The verb points to some definite occasion. πειράζειν may be compared with δοκίμαζειν in 1 John iv. 1.

τοὺς λέγοντας ἑαυτοὺς ἀποστόλους καὶ οὐκ εἰσίν. The οὐκ εἰσίν is here a Hebraism for οὐκ ὄντας. (See note on i. 5^b-6, p. 14 sq.)

ἀποστόλους. These persons have been identified: (1) with the Judaizers sent from Jerusalem (so Spitta): cf. 2 Cor. xi. 13 sq.; (2) with the disciples of St. Paul or even St. Paul himself (Volkmar, Völter, Holtzmann⁸ (with reservations)); (3) with the Nicolaitans in 6 (Bousset). According to this view, 6 resumes 2. This explanation appears to be the best of the three. It also rightly differentiates the ἔργα in 2 (*i.e.* the vigorous action against the false teacher and the endurance under affliction) from the πρῶτα ἔργα in 5, which are identical with the ἀγάπην . . . τὴν πρώτην, or brotherly love, in 4. The Church in Ephesus still hates, 6, the evil members, the false apostles which it had tried and rejected.

3. This verse returns to the positive element in the praise given in 2: it explains τὴν ὑπομονήν σου, and refers to τὸν κόπον in οὐ κεκοπίακες, "thou hast not grown weary." Here we have ἔχεις καὶ ἐβάστασας just as in the preceding verse, δύνη . . . καὶ ἐπείρασας. In both cases an ethical characteristic is brought forward which had manifested itself in some act of the immediate past.

4. But, though the Church in Ephesus has preserved its moral and doctrinal purity and maintained an unwavering loyalty

in trial, it has lost the warm love which it had at the beginning. The love here referred to is brotherly love: cf. 19; Matt. xxiv. 12 (διὰ τὸ πλεθυνθῆναι τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ψυχὴν ἡ ἀγάπη τῶν πολλῶν), and 2 John 5-6. Some scholars see in our text a reminiscence of Jer. ii. 2, "the love of thine espousals," and interpret it of the love to God and Christ. The controversies which had raged in Ephesus had apparently led to censoriousness, factiousness, and divisions (cf. Acts xx. 29-30), and the Church had lost the enthusiastic love it had shown in the days of Paul (cf. Acts xx. 37).

ἔχω κατὰ σοῦ. Cf. 14, 20. Is this an echo of Matt. v. 23, Mark xi. 25?

ἀφῆκας. A common usage of this verb in John: cf. iv. 3, 28, 52, x. 12, etc.

5. The Church in Ephesus is bidden to recognize the spiritual declension that has taken place, to repent and do the works which characterized its first love. As Swete remarks, "μνημόνευε, μετανόησον, ποιήσον" answer to three stages in the history of conversion."

μνημόνευε οὖν. Cf. iii. 3.

εἰ δὲ μή, ἔρχομαί σοι, καὶ κινήσω τὴν λυχνίαν σου ἐκ τοῦ τόπου αὐτῆς [ἐὰν μὴ μετανοήσῃς]. Since the εἰ δὲ μή here declares that if the Church does not fulfil the triple command given in μνημόνευε . . . καὶ μετανόησον . . . καὶ . . . ποιήσον, judgment will ensue, it is manifest that the clause ἐὰν μὴ μετανοήσῃς is really a weaker repetition of εἰ δὲ μή. This is not in keeping with our author's style. After εἰ δὲ μή we must understand μνημονεύεις . . . καὶ μετανοήσεις καὶ ποιήσεις. Accordingly εἰ δὲ μή or ἐὰν μὴ μετανοήσῃς must be excised as an intrusion; and clearly it is the latter, as a comparison of ii. 5 and ii. 16 shows. The necessity for this excision becomes obvious if we compare 16 and 22 in this chapter, where we have separately the two constructions occurring in this verse. In the first case we have a good parallel to our text here; for the same sequence of ideas, *though less full*, recurs μετανόησον οὖν' εἰ δὲ μή, ἔρχομαί σοι ταχύ, καὶ πολεμήσω. Here there is no otiose repetition of the idea conveyed in εἰ δὲ μή. After εἰ δὲ μή here we have only to supply μετανοήσεις. In ii. 22 we have the second possible construction, ἰδοὺ βάλλω αὐτὴν εἰς κλίνην . . . ἐὰν μὴ μετανοήσουσιν.

When the interpolated gloss is removed we find that 5 consists of two couplets, the second of which is

εἰ δὲ μή, ἔρχομαί σοι,
καὶ κινήσω τὴν λυχνίαν σου ἐκ τοῦ τόπου αὐτῆς.

ἔρχομαί σοι. Cf. ii. 16. The dative here may be the *dativus incommodi*, or an incorrect rendering of ἤ, as in Matt. xxi. 5 (so Blass, *Gram.* 113). ἔρχομαί σοι refers here as in ii. 16 to a special

visitation or coming, though reference to the final judgment is not excluded. *ἔρχεσθαι* is practically used as equivalent to *ἐλεύσεσθαι* throughout the Apocalypse.

κινήσω τὴν λυχνίαν σου, i.e. thy Church. That the Ephesian Church paid heed to this warning for the time being we learn from the Prologue to Ignatius' Epistle to Ephesus, where he calls it *ἀξιομακάριστος*: and in i. 1, where he declares, *μνηταὶ ὄντες θεοῦ, ἀναζωπυρήσαντες ἐν αἵματι θεοῦ, τὸ συγγενικὸν ἔργον . . . ἀπηρτίσατε*. Again in xi. 2 he expresses the wish that he "may be found in the company of those Christians of Ephesus who, moreover, were ever of one mind with the apostles in the power of Christ." That the threat in our text implies not degradation nor removal of the Church to another place, but destruction, seems obvious. Yet Ramsay (*Letters*, 243 sqq.) is of opinion that the threat is so expressed as to mean only a change in local position, and supports this interpretation by the statement that "Ephesus has always remained the titular head of the Asian Church, and the Bishop of Ephesus still bears that dignity, though he no longer resides at Ephesus but at Magnesia *ad Sipylum*." Nothing now remains on the site of Ephesus (i.e. Ayasuluk = *ἄγιος θεολόγος*) save a railway station and a few huts.

6. The Seer modifies the severe criticism in 4-5 by bringing forward the redeeming characteristic in the Ephesian Church, that they hated the deeds which Christ also hated.

τὰ ἔργα τῶν Νικολαϊτῶν. These Nicolaitans have been identified from the time of Irenaeus (i. 26. 3, iii. 11. 1) and Hippolytus (*Philos.* vii. 36), who was dependent on Irenaeus, with the followers of Nicolaus the proselyte of Antioch (Acts vi. 5). Tertullian speaks apparently of a second sect (*Praesc. Haer.* 33, *Adv. Marc.* i. 29, *De Pudicitia*, 19), but Epiphanius (*Haer.* xxv.) deals with the Nicolaitans mentioned in our text. In Clem. Alex. (ii. 20. 118, iii. 4. 25), the *Constit. Apost.* (vi. 8, *οἱ νῦν ψευδώνυμοι Νικολαῖται*), and Victorinus an attempt was not unnaturally made to show that the derivation of this immoral sect from one of the seven Deacons was an error. According to Clement, Nicolaus taught *ὅτι παραχρῆσθαι τῇ σαρκὶ δεῖ*, and according to Hippolytus (*Philos.* viii. 36), *Νικόλαος . . . ἐδίδασκεν ἀδιαφορίαν βίου τε καὶ βρώσεως*. A comparison of the text here with ii. 15-16 leads to an identification of the Nicolaitans and the Balaamites not only on the ground of our text, but also from the fact that they are roughly etymological equivalents, though Heumann (*Act. Erudit.*, 1712, p. 179) urged this as a ground for regarding the names as allegorical and not historical. That is, Balaam = *בַּלַּעַם* = "he hath consumed the people" (a derivation found in Sanh. 105^a, where *בַּלַּעַם* is an alternative reading), while *Νικόλαος* = *νικᾷ λαόν*. Such a play on the etymo-

logy of words is thoroughly Semitic. There is, it is true, no exact equivalent to *νικᾶν* in Hebrew. Hence the above can stand. Furthermore a comparison of ii. 14 and ii. 20, which shows that the Balaamites and the followers of Jezebel were guilty of exactly the same vices, makes it highly probable that the latter were a branch of the Nicolaitans.

The works of the Nicolaitans, then, are those given in ii. 14, 20. They transgress the chief commands issued by the Apostolic Council at Jerusalem (Acts xv. 29).

7. ὁ ἔχων οὐς ἀκουσάτω κτλ. Cf. Matt. xi. 15, xiii. 9, 43; Mark iv. 9, 23, etc. This formula introduces the promise to him that overcomes in the first three messages and closes it on the last four. Here the speaker turns from the individual Church to the whole Christian community. Since the Book as a whole was written to be read in public worship, such a larger reference was conceivable in and for itself.

This clause, which occurs seven times,—once in each Letter,—seems to have been added by the Seer when he incorporated the Seven Letters in an edition of his visions. The seven eschatological promises, ii. 7^b, 11^b, 17^b, 26-27, iii. 5, 12, 21, appear to have been added at the same time. Such a phrase as *πάσαι αἱ ἐκκλησίαι* in ii. 23 is no evidence to the contrary.

τὸ πνεῦμα. Cf. the closing words of all the Letters; also xiv. 13, xix. 10, xxii. 17. The Spirit here is the Holy Spirit which inspires the prophets, but also the Spirit of Christ, since in ii. 1 Christ is the Speaker. The Spirit here has nothing to do with the seven spirits in iii. 1 [i. 4], iv. 5.

τῷ νικῶντι . . . τοῦ θεοῦ. Added probably by our author when he edited the visions as a whole (see p. 45).

τῷ νικῶντι δώσω αὐτῷ. We have here a well-known Hebraism. Cf. LXX of Josh. ix. 12, οὔτοι οἱ ἄνθρωποι . . . ἐφωδιάσθημεν αὐτούς. It is found sporadically in the *Κοινή*, but the *Κοινή* usage is wholly inadequate to explain the frequency and variety of the Hebraisms in our author. For the occurrence of this idiom elsewhere in the N.T., see John vi. 39, vii. 38, x. 35 sq., xv. 2-5, xvii. 2; 1 John ii. 24, 27; cf. Abbott, *Gram.* 32 sq., 309. In ii. 26, ὁ νικῶν . . . δώσω αὐτῷ is more Hebraistic than the expression in ii. 7. *νικᾶν* is a word characteristic of our author, and is used of the faithful Christian warrior in ii. 11, 17, 26, iii. 5, 12, 21^a, xii. 11, xv. 2, xxi. 8; of Christ Himself in iii. 21^b, v. 5, xvii. 14. In the remaining passages it is without this moral significance, vi. 2, xi. 7, xiii. 7. It is found once in the Fourth Gospel and six times in 1 John. Elsewhere in the N.T. only four times. Cf. 1 Enoch l. 2. The word *νικᾶν* implies that the Christian life is a warfare from which there is no discharge, but it is a warfare, our author teaches, in which even the feeblest saint can

prove victorious. But the word *νικᾶν* is not used in our author of every Christian, but only of the martyr who, though apparently overcome in that he had to lay down his life, yet was in very truth the one who overcame, "as I also have overcome," saith Christ, iii. 21 (cf. John xvi. 33). The participle *τῷ νικῶντι* is here, as elsewhere in our author, influenced by the use of the Hebrew participle, which can have a perfect sense or imperfect as the context requires (see p. 202 n.). In our author *ὁ νικῶν* = *ὁ νενικηκώς*. This warfare which faithfulness entails may be illustrated from 4 Ezra vii. 127 sq., "And he answered me and said: This is the condition of the contest which every man who is born upon earth must wage, that if he be overcome he shall suffer as thou hast said; but, if he be victorious, he shall receive what I have said."

δώσω . . . φαγεῖν ἐκ τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς. δώσω . . . φαγεῖν is a frequent construction in our author, occurring in all eleven times. In the Fourth Gospel it is found four times, and in the rest of the N.T. twenty times. Personal victory over evil is the condition without which none can eat of the tree of life. With our text we may compare xxii. 14. Test. Levi xviii. 11, *καὶ δώσει τοῖς ἁγίοις φαγεῖν ἐκ τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς*: 1 Enoch xxiv. 4, *καὶ ἦν ἐν αὐτοῖς δένδρον ὃ οὐδέποτε ὥσφρανμαι καὶ οὐδεὶς ἕτερος αὐτῶν εὐφράνθη, καὶ οὐδὲν ἕτερον ὅμοιον αὐτῷ. ὅσμην εἶχεν εὐωδουστέραν πάντων ἀρωμάτων, καὶ τὰ φύλλα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ἄνθος καὶ τὸ δένδρον οὐ φθίνει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα*: xxv. 4, *καὶ τοῦτο τὸ δένδρον εὐωδίας, καὶ οὐδεμία σὰρξ ἐξουσίαν ἔχει ἅψασθαι αὐτοῦ μέχρι τῆς μεγάλης κρίσεως . . . τότε δικαίους καὶ ὁσίοις δοθήσεται*: 5, *ὁ καρπὸς αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς εἰς ζωὴν εἰς βοράν, καὶ μεταφτευθήσεται ἐν τόπῳ ἁγίῳ παρὰ τὸν οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ*. Thus as early as the 2nd cent. B.C. it was held that the tree of life would be transferred to the temple of the Lord in Jerusalem—not apparently the Heavenly Jerusalem, but the earthly Jerusalem cleansed from all iniquity. That the earthly Jerusalem should give place to the Heavenly in this connection was inevitable. But the combination of the two ideas is of supreme importance as it prepares the way for the conception of our Seer, who places the tree of life in the street of the Heavenly Jerusalem (xxii. 2). That this *Heavenly* Jerusalem, to which belongs the tree of life (ii. 7, xxii. 2), is to be the seat of the Millennial Kingdom on the present earth before the Final Judgment, and is not to be confounded with the *New* Jerusalem, which is to descend from the new heaven to the new earth after the Final Judgment and become the everlasting abode of the blessed, I have shown at some length in the *Introd.* to xx. 4-xxii.

τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς. Cf. xxii. 2, 14. The tree of life is the symbol for immortality in our author. None can eat of it save

those who have proved victorious in the strife with sin and evil. The *ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς* is to be carefully distinguished from the *ῥόδον τῆς ζωῆς*. The latter is a free gift (xxii. 17, xxi. 6), given without money and without price to every one that thirsteth for it. It symbolizes the divine graces of forgiveness and truth and light, etc. (cf. vii. 17). If a man is faithful to the obligations entailed by these graces he becomes a victor (*νικῶν*) in the battle of life, and thus wins the right to eat of the tree of life, that is, he enters finally on immortality. In the Fourth Gospel (iv. 10, 13, 14), on the other hand, only the one symbol is used—"the water of life," and this is given a significance that embraces the two symbols used by our author.

τῇ παραδείσῳ τοῦ θεοῦ. In our author Paradise has become equivalent to the Heavenly Jerusalem, which is to descend from heaven before the Final Judgment to become the seat of the Millennial Kingdom. In Luke xxiii. 43 it is the abode of the blessed departed, and in 2 Cor. xii. 4 it is identified with the third heaven or with part of it. On some of the other meanings assigned to it and the localities identified with it, see my *Eschatology*², 244, 291 sq., 316-318, 357, 473 sq.

8-11. THE MESSAGE TO THE CHURCH IN SMYRNA.

8. *ἐν Σμύρνῃ*. The ancient city of Smyrna was destroyed early in the 6th cent. B.C. and refounded on a new site under the Diadochoi by Lysimachus (301-281 B.C.). It has continued from that date to the present one of the most prosperous cities of Asia Minor. Smyrna proved itself a faithful ally of Rome from the period that Rome began to intervene in Eastern affairs and before it had established its claim to world supremacy. It openly supported Rome against Mithridates, Carthage, and the Seleucid kings. As early as 195 B.C. (Tac. *Ann.* iv. 56) it dedicated a temple to the goddess of Rome. Lying at the end of one of the great roads leading across Lydia from Phrygia and the east, and forming the maritime outlet for the whole trade of the Hermus valley, it became wealthy and prosperous. It was an assize town, and one of the cities bearing the name *μητρόπολις*. With Ephesus and Pergamum it strove for the title *πρώτη Ἀσίας*—a strife which continued till it was settled by the Emperor Antoninus (Philostr. *Op.* 231. 24, ed. Kayser); and of all the Asiatic cities that in A.D. 26 contended for the right of erecting a temple to Tiberius, Livia and the Senate, it alone secured this privilege and could henceforth claim the Imperial Neocorate. A second Neocorate was accorded to it by Hadrian (see, however, Lightfoot, *Ignatius*, i. 467) and a third by Severus. Of the

power acquired by the Jews in Smyrna notice will be taken. As regards the origin of the Church in Smyrna the N.T. gives no information. According to *Vita Polycarpi*, 2, St. Paul visited Smyrna on his way to Ephesus. According to Acts xix. 10, "All they which dwelt in Asia heard the word of God." See the Bible Dictionaries on "Smyrna," and Ramsay, *Letters, in loc.*

ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος. Repeated from i. 17.

ὃς ἐγένετο νεκρὸς καὶ ἔζησεν. These words also go back to i. 17 sq., καὶ ἐγενόμην νεκρὸς, καὶ ἰδοὺ ζῶν εἰμὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Compare the demonic caricature in the case of the Antichrist: xiii. 14, ὃς ἔχει τὴν πληγὴν τῆς μαχαίρης καὶ ἔζησεν. The word ἔζησεν refers to Christ's resurrection: cf. Rom. xiv. 9, Χριστὸς ἀπέθανεν καὶ ἔζησεν ἵνα καὶ νεκρῶν καὶ ζώντων κυριεύσῃ. This part of the title, ὃς ἐγένετο νεκρὸς καὶ ἔζησεν, points forward to 10^d, γίνου πιστὸς ἄχρι θανάτου καὶ δώσω σοι τὸν στέφανον τῆς ζωῆς. The divine title, ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος, seems to have been added by our author when editing his visions as a whole. See p. 45 sq.

9-10. These two verses constitute three stanzas: the first verse constituting the first stanza of three lines and the second verse two stanzas of three lines and two respectively.

9. οἶδ' ἀ σου τὴν θλίψιν . . . ἀλλὰ πλούσιος εἶ. The emphatic or vernacular use of the pronoun here throws the emphasis on the context, "I know the affliction and poverty thou endurest, but thou art not poor but rich." With this we may contrast the words addressed to Laodicea, iii. 17, λέγεις ὅτι Πλούσιός εἰμι, . . . καὶ οὐκ οἶδας ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ . . . πτωχός. On the combination of material poverty and spiritual riches cf. 2 Cor. vi. 10, ὡς πτωχοί, πολλοὺς δὲ πλουτίζοντες: Jas. ii. 5, οὐχ ὁ θεὸς ἐξελέξατο τοὺς πτωχοὺς τῷ κόσμῳ πλουσίους ἐν πίστει: also Luke xii. 21; 1 Tim. vi. 18. The poverty of the Christians in Smyrna appears to be due at all events in part to the despoiling of their goods by the Jewish and pagan mobs: cf. Heb. x. 34, τὴν ἀρπαγὴν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ὑμῶν μετὰ χαρᾶς προσεδέξασθε.

τὴν βλασφημίαν ἐκ τῶν λεγόντων Ἰουδαίους εἶναι αὐτούς. Here ἐκ means "proceeding from." Hence John iii. 25 is not a true parallel. The bitter hostility of the Jews to the Christians at Smyrna is unmistakable from the context. The Jews were strong at Smyrna, and had maintained in practice their position as a distinct people apart from the rest of the citizens till the reign of Hadrian as an inscription (*CIG.* 3148, οἱ ποτὲ Ἰουδαῖοι) shows, though they had legally ceased to be so at 70 A.D. From other sources we know of their hostility to the Christians. Justin (*Dial.* xvi. 11, xlvii. 15, xcvi. 5, etc.) charges the Jews generally with cursing in their synagogues those that believed on Christ; and Tertullian with instigating the persecution of the

Christians (*Scorp.* 10, "Synagogas Judaeorum, fontes persecutionum"): cf. Euseb. *H.E.* v. 16. And this hostility was no doubt aggravated by the accession of converts from Judaism to Christianity, a fact which is attested in Ignatius (*Ad Smyrn.* i. 2, εἰς τοὺς ἀγίους καὶ πιστοὺς αὐτοῦ, εἴτε ἐν Ἰουδαίοις εἴτε ἐν ἔθνεσιν). In the martyrdom of Polycarp this enmity of the Jews was exhibited in an almost incredible degree; for they joined (xii. 2) with the pagans in accusing Polycarp of hostility to the *State religion*, crying out "with ungovernable wrath and with a loud shout: 'This is the teacher of Asia, the father of the Christians, the puller down of our gods, who teacheth numbers not to sacrifice nor to worship'" (ὁ τῶν ἡμετέρων θεῶν καθαίρετης, ὁ πολλοὺς διδάσκων μὴ θύειν μηδὲ προσκυνεῖν).

These Jews, moreover, joined with the pagans in demanding from the Asiarch and chief priest Philip the death of Polycarp, and were especially active (although it was the Sabbath day) in collecting timber and faggots with a view to burning Polycarp alive (μάλιστα Ἰουδαίων προθύμως, ὡς ἔθος αὐτοῖς, εἰς ταῦτα ὑπουργούντων) (*op. cit.* xiii. 1). Later in the Decian persecution the Jews took a prominent part in the martyrdom of Pionius, which, too, took place on the Sabbath (*Act. Pion.* 3). In our text the Jews are charged with blaspheming Christ and His followers as they had done in the earliest days of Paul's preaching in Asia Minor (Acts xiii. 45, οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι . . . ἀντέλεγον τοῖς ὑπὸ Παύλου λαλουμένοις βλασφημοῦντες). But the Christians are reminded that these Jews are Jews in name only—after the flesh and not after the spirit: cf. Rom. ii. 28, οὐ γὰρ ὁ ἐν τῷ φανερῷ Ἰουδαῖός ἐστιν . . . ἀλλ' ὁ ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ Ἰουδαῖος, καὶ περιτομὴ καρδίας ἐν πνεύματι οὐ γράμματι: Gal. vi. 15 sq. The true Jews are those who have believed in Christ, and thereby won a legitimate claim to the name and spiritual privileges belonging to the Jews. The fact that our author attaches a spiritual significance of the highest character to the name Ἰουδαῖος shows that he is himself a Jewish Christian. In such a connection the Fourth Evangelist would have used the term Ἰσραηλίτης (cf. i. 47), whereas he represents the Ἰουδαῖοι as specifically and essentially the opponents of Christianity. See Westcott, *John*, p. ix sq.

καὶ οὐκ εἰσίν. On this Hebraism for καὶ οὐκ ὄντων see note on i. 5-6.

συναγωγὴ τοῦ Σατανᾶ. Cf. iii. 9. The Jews were, as their actions showed, a Synagogue of Satan though they claimed to be a Synagogue of the Lord: συναγωγὴ τοῦ Κυρίου (Num. xvi. 3 (ληρ), xx. 4, xxvi. 9 (πηρ), xxxi. 16. Cf. Pss. Sol. xvii. 18, συναγωγὰς δόσων). The nobler word ἐκκλησία was chosen by the Church as a self-designation, συναγωγὴ being used only once in the N.T. of a Christian assembly (Jas. ii. 2). συναγωγὴ was

gradually abandoned to the Jews, and thus we find such an expression as συναγωγή τοῦ Σατανᾶ in this Book, which was almost the latest in the Canon.

10. The persecution with which the Church is here threatened shows that the Jews are acting in concert with the heathen authorities. Spitta suggests that the term διάβολος (cf. xii. 10, ὁ κατήγωρ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν) is here chosen in order to recall the calumnies of the Jews against the Christians. But in that case we should, as Düsterdieck observes, expect συναγωγή τοῦ διαβόλου in 9.

ἐξ ὧν. For the partitive genitive used as an object, cf. Matt. xxiii. 34; 2 John 4. In Rev. xi. 9; John xvi. 17, we have it used as the subject.

εἰς φυλακὴν ἵνα πειρασθῇτε. This phrase defines the character of the trial awaiting the Church in Smyrna, and therefore the meaning to be attached to πειρασθῇτε. πειράζειν and πειρασμός in iii. 10 refer to the demonic attacks which are to befall all the unbelievers on the earth, but which cannot affect those who have been sealed: see vii. 2-4 (notes); for the sealing has secured them against such attacks. But in the present verse πειράζειν is used in the sense of testing by persecution. Against such πειρασμός Christ does not shield His own: rather they must face it and be faithful under it even unto death (10^d).

θλίψιν ἡμερῶν δέκα. The round number here points to a short period: cf. Dan. i. 12, 14. The number is used in this sense also in Gen. xxiv. 55; Num. xi. 19. See in Pirke Aboth, v. 1-9, on the various things connected with the number 10.

πιστὸς ἄχρι θανάτου. Here the supreme trial of martyrdom is referred to: cf. xii. 11, οὐκ ἠγάπησαν τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτῶν ἄχρι θανάτου: Heb. xii. 4, οὐπω μέχρις αἵματος ἀνταπέστητε: also Phil. ii. 8.

τὸν στέφανον τῆς ζωῆς. The figure appears to be borrowed from the wreath awarded to the victor in the games. Cf. 1 Cor. ix. 25; Phil. iii. 14; 2 Tim. ii. 5; 1 Pet. v. 4 (τὸν ἀμαρτάντων τῆς δόξης στέφανον). Smyrna was, according to Pausanias (vi. 14. 3, cited by *Encyc. Bib.* 4662), famous for its games. In the Test. Benj. iv. 1 we have the oldest reference to such crowns in Jewish literature: cf. Jas. i. 12; Asc. Isa. vii. 22, viii. 26, ix. 10-13, etc.; Herm. *Sim.* viii. 2, 3; Polycarp, *Ad Phil.* i. 1; *Martyr. Polyc.* xvii. 1. But it is possible, as has been suggested by Dieterich, *Nekyia*, 41-45; Volz, 344; Gressmann, *Ursprung d. israel. jüd. Eschat.* 110, that these symbols are derived from heavenly beings. Thus in 2 Enoch xiv. 2 the sun is represented as adorned with a crown of glory; similarly in 3 Bar. vi. 1 with a crown of fire. Dieterich (*op. cit.*, p. 41) states that in works of art the Greek deities were very frequently represented with

crowns of light or nimbuses from the time of Alexander the Great, and that the nimbuses in works of ancient Christian art were derived from this source. These crowns are naturally associated with the blessed when once these are conceived as clothed in light: cf. p. 183 sqq. The genitive τῆς ζωῆς is therefore, as Bousset suggests, probably to be taken not epexegetically as "the crown which consists in life," but as "the crown which belongs to the eternal life." As the tree of life (cf. ii. 7 note, xxii. 2, 14) is a symbol of the blessed immortality in Christ, so the crown of life appears to symbolize its full consummation.

11. ὁ ἔχων . . . ἐκκλησίαις. Cf. 7^a.

11^b. Like 7^b, 17^{bod}, 26-28, iii. 5, 12, 21, this, too, is probably an editorial addition of our author. Here the addition is unhappy, for it comes in the form of an anti-climax after the great promise in 10^o.

ὁ νεκρὸν οὐ μὴ ἀδικηθῇ. οὐ μὴ with the future or aorist constitutes "the most definite form of a negative assertion about the future" (Blass, *Gram.* 209). οὐ μὴ is always (15 times) followed by the aorist subjunctive in our author except in xviii. 14, which is not from his hand: in the rest of the N.T. it is followed by the indicative once out of every seven or eight times; in classical Greek the present subjunctive is also found. This construction is frequent in the N.T.—in all about 96 times, but rare in non-literary papyri. Moulton (*Prol.* 190 sqq.) tries to show, notwithstanding, that the N.T. and the papyri are here in harmony.

ἀδικηθῇ ἐκ. ἀδικεῖν is always used in the sense of "to hurt" in our author: see xxii. 11, note. The agent or instrument is expressed by ἐκ after a passive verb. Cf. iii. 18, ix. 2, 18, xviii. 1. In this promise there may be a reference to 10, γίνου πιστὸς ἄχρι θανάτου. He that is ready to submit to physical death for his faith will not be affected by the second death.

τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ δευτέρου. Cf. xx. 6 [14], xxi. 8, where this expression is explained. This is a Rabbinic expression. Thus, in the Jerus. Targum on Deut. xxxiii. 6 we have, "Let Reuben live in this age and not die the second death (בְּמִתְחַנֵּן תַּנִּינָא) whereof the wicked die in the next world." Targ. on Jer. li. 39, 57, "Let them die the second death and not live in the next world"; on Isa. xxii. 14, "This sin shall not be forgiven you till ye die the second death"; also on Isa. lxv. 6, 15; Sota, 35^a (on Num. xiv. 37), "they died the second (?) death" (מִתְחַנֵּן). See Wetstein for further examples. The idea is found also in Philo, *De Praem. et Poen.* ii. 419, θανάτου γὰρ διττὸν εἶδος, τὸ μὲν κατὰ τὸ τεθνάναι . . . τὸ δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἀποθνήσκειν, ὃ δὴ κακὸν πάντως. Though the expression is not found in 1 Enoch the

idea probably is in xcix. 11, cviii. 3, where the spirits of the wicked are said to be slain in Sheol, though their annihilation is not implied thereby.

12-17. THE MESSAGE TO THE CHURCH IN PERGAMUM.

12. τῆς ἐν Περγάμῳ. This city appears as ἡ Πέργαμος in Xenophon and Pausanias, but as Πέργαμον in Strabo, Polybius, Appian, and most other writers. The latter is the usual form also in the inscriptions. Pergamum was a Mysian city, about 15 miles from the sea. It commanded the valley of the Caicus, and lay between two streams which fell into the Caicus about 4 miles distant. The earliest city was built on a hill, 1000 feet high, which became the site of the Acropolis and many of the chief buildings of the later city. Though a city of some importance in the 5th cent. B.C. its greatness dates from the 3rd, when it was made the capital of the Attalids, the first of whom to assume the title of king was Attalus I. in 241 B.C. The last of this dynasty—Attalus III.—bequeathed his kingdom, with the exception of Phrygia Magna, to the Romans. At this date this kingdom embraced "all the land on this side the Taurus," and was constituted, with the above exception, as the Province of Asia by the Romans, with Pergamum as its official capital. Pergamum was famed for its great religious foundations in honour of Zeus Soter,¹ Athena Nikephoros, whose temple crowned the Acropolis, Dionysos Kathegemon, and Asklepios Soter.² Of these the cult of Asklepios was the most distinctive and celebrated. It was the Lourdes of the Province of Asia, and the seat of a famous school of medicine. Thus Galen (*De Compos. Med.* ix.) writes: εἰώθασιν πολλοί . . . ἐν τῷ βίῳ λέγειν· μὰ τὸν ἐν Περγάμῳ Ἀσκληπιόν, μὰ τὴν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ Ἀρτεμιν, μὰ τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς Ἀπόλλωνα, and Philostratus (*Vita Apollonii*, iv. 34), ὥσπερ ἡ Ἀσία εἰς τὸ Πέργαμον, οὕτως εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦτο ξυνεφοῖτα ἡ Κρήτη (both passages quoted by Wetstein): Mart. ix. 17, "Pergameo . . . deo."

But from the standpoint of our author the most important cult was that of the Roman Emperors, which was established in Pergamum—as the chief city of the province—in 29 B.C., where a temple was dedicated to Augustus and Rome by the Provincial

¹ Many scholars have sought to explain ὁ θρόνος τοῦ Σατανᾶ by the gigantic altar erected on a huge platform 800 feet above the city to Zeus Soter in commemoration, it is believed, of the victory of Attalus over the Galatæi.

² Other scholars have found in the phrase in the preceding note a reference to the worship of Asklepios, because the serpent (*i.e.* Satan: cf. xii. 9) was universally associated with him.

Synod (Κουὸν Ἀσίας);¹ cf. Tac. *Ann.* iv. 37, where Tiberius refers to the founding of this temple to Augustus and Rome by Pergamum. No such foundation was officially recognized in Asia unless it was made by the Synod with the concurrence of the Roman Senate. Thus Pergamum won the honour of the Neocorate before Smyrna, which did not obtain it till 26 B.C., and Ephesus, which was not so honoured till the reign of Claudius or Nero. A second temple was built in Pergamum in honour of Trajan, and a third in honour of Severus. The imperial cult had thus its centre at Pergamum; and as the imperial cult was the keystone of the imperial policy, Pergamum summed up in itself the intolerable offence and horror that such a cult, the observance of which was synonymous with loyalty to Empire, provoked in the mind of our author. It is here and nowhere else that we are to find the explanation of the startling phrase, ὁ θρόνος τοῦ Σατανᾶ, in 13. Behind the city in the 1st cent. A.D. arose a huge conical hill, 1000 feet high, covered with heathen temples and altars, which in contrast to "the mountain of God," referred to in Isa. xiv. 13; Ezek. xxviii. 14, 16, and called "the throne of God" in 1 Enoch xxv. 3, appeared to the Seer as the throne of Satan, since it was the home of many idolatrous cults, but above all of the imperial cult, which menaced with annihilation the very existence of the Church. For refusal to take part in this cult constituted high treason to the State. See Ramsay, *Letters to the Seven Churches*, 281 sqq.

ὁ ἔχων τὴν βομφαίαν κτλ. Cf. i. 16. This title is connected with 16 that follows. See p. 26.

13. ὅπου ὁ θρόνος τοῦ Σατανᾶ. The reference in these words, as has been shown in the preceding verse, is to the primacy of Pergamum as the centre of the imperial cult, and as such the centre of Satan's kingdom in the East—in the West it was Rome itself: cf. xiii. 2, xvi. 10. Here stood the first temple erected to Augustus and Rome; and here dwelt the powerful priesthood devoted to the imperial cult; and from Pergamum it spread all over Asia Minor. The Asiarch or chief civil authority is, as we see from the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*, likewise the chief priest of this cult.

κρατεῖς τὸ ὄνομά μου. Notwithstanding all these difficulties thou "holdest fast My name."

οὐκ ἠρνήσω τὴν πίστιν μου κτλ. These words refer to some definite persecution of which nothing is at present known. In πίστις μου the μου is the objective genitive, i.e. "faith in Me": cf. xiv. 12. In ii. 19, xiii. 10, πίστις = "faithfulness."

¹ That the temple was actually the seat of the imperial cult in the province is proved by an inscription from Mytilene: ἐν < τῷ ναῷ τῷ κατὰ > σκευαζομένη αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐν Περγᾶμῳ (quoted by Bousset).

ν ταῖς ἡμέραις †'Αντίπας†. If with the best MSS we accept 'Αντίπας, we must treat it as indeclinable. But it is perhaps best to follow Lachmann (*Studien und Kritiken*, 1830, p. 830), WH (ii. App. 137), Nestle, Swete, and Zahn in regarding ANTIPIA as the original reading, and the final C either as an accidental doubling of the following O (Lachmann), or a deliberate change of 'Αντίπα into the nom. 'Αντίπας owing to the nominative ὁ μάρτυς (Zahn). The former explanation is to be preferred. For early attempts to emend the text see critical notes *in loc.* 'Αντίπας is an abbreviated form of 'Αντίπατρος, as Κλέπας for Κλεόπατρος. Cf. Hermas for Hermodorus, Lucas for Lucanus. Nothing is really known beyond this reference of the martyr Antipas. Later martyrs in Pergamum are known, as Carpus, Papyrus and Agathonike (cf. Euseb. *H.E.* iv. 15).

ὁ μάρτυς μου. On this solecism, which is really a Hebraism, see note on i. 5. The R.V. is right essentially in xvii. 6 in rendering μαρτύρων Ἰησοῦ by "martyrs of Jesus." The word should be similarly translated here. For, since the Seer expects all the faithful to seal their witness with their blood (xiii. 15), the word μάρτυς in our text is a witness faithful unto death, and therefore a martyr. But outside our author this use was not established till later, though the way was prepared for this use by Acts xxii. 20, Στεφάνου τοῦ μάρτυρός σου, and 1 Tim. vi. 13; Clem. *Cor.* 5. Though the technical distinction between μάρτυς and ὁμολογίτης ("martyr" and "confessor") was not absolutely fixed till the Decian persecution, yet, as Lightfoot (on Clem. *Cor.* 5) observes, "after the middle of the second century at all events μάρτυς, μαρτυρεῖν, were used absolutely to signify martyrdom; *Martyr. Polyc.* 19 sq.; Melito in Euseb. *H.E.* iv. 26; Dionys. Corinth. *ib.* ii. 25. . . . Still even at this late date they continued to be used simultaneously of other testimony to be borne to the Gospel, short of death: e.g. by Hegesippus, Euseb. *H.E.* iii. 20, 32."

ἀπεκτάνθη. The passive form of ἀποκτείνω, which occurs very rarely in the LXX and only once outside the Apocalypse in the N.T. (*i.e.* Mark viii. 31 = Matt. xvi. 21 = Luke ix. 22), is frequently used in this Book: cf. ii. 13, vi. 11, ix. 18, 20 [xi. 5, 13, xiii. 10, 15], xix. 21; whereas ἀποθνήσκω is only used strictly as a passive in viii. 11, xiv. 13. In the Fourth Gospel, on the other hand, whereas the passive of ἀποκτείνειν does not occur, we find ἀποθνήσκειν used as its passive, xi. 16, 50, 51, xviii. 14, 32, xix. 7.

14. ἔχω κατὰ σοῦ ὀλίγα. Though this Church has withstood the dangers besetting it from the imperial cult, it has suffered teachers of false doctrine to arise and win a following amongst its members. In ὀλίγα only one thing is meant, though the writer speaks of that one thing generically: cf. WM 219.

ἐκεῖ = παρ' ὁμῶν in the preceding verse.

ἔχεις ἐκεῖ κρατοῦντας τὴν διδασχὴν Βαλαάμ, ὃς ἐδίδασκεν τῷ Βαλάκ κτλ. On the relation of this verse to the next see 15.

The reference is to Num. xxxi. 16 (cf. xxv. 1, 2). Balaam is here represented as the prototype of all corrupt teachers. In our text these early Gnostics by their false teaching, that as they were not under the law but under grace (Rom. vi. 15) and were therefore not bound by the law, tempted men to licentiousness, even as Balak corrupted Israel in accordance with the advice of Balaam. In Num. xxxi. 16 it is not expressly stated that Balaam counselled Balak to act so against Israel, but the statement in our text is a not unnatural inference—an inference already made in Philo, *Vita Moys.* i. 53-55; cf. Joseph. *Ant.* iv. 6. 6; Origen, *In Num. Hom.* xx. 1.

The construction ἐδίδασκεν τῷ Βαλάκ is, according to WM, p. 279 (note 4), found in some late writers. It is unjustifiable to explain it as a Hebraism, since this construction in the case of πρὶ and τῷ is exceptional in the O.T. In ii. 20 διδάσκειν takes the acc.

φαγεῖν εἰδωλόθута καὶ πορνεῦσαι. Here the order is against Num. xxv. 1-2 and ii. 20 (see note) of our text. It is doubtful whether the first phrase refers to the eating of food which had been bought in the open market and already been consecrated to an idol, or to participation in pagan feasts. Probably it refers to both. This problem had, as we know, arisen in Corinth many years earlier in an acute form: cf. 1 Cor. viii. 7-13, x. 20-30. From this letter we learn that, though St. Paul did not censure the conduct of the Corinthians who regarded the eating of εἰδωλόθута as a matter of moral indifference, because of the decree issued by the Apostolic Council at Jerusalem (cf. Acts xv. 29, ἀπέχεσθαι εἰδωλοθύτων: cf. xv. 20, ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν ἀλισγημάτων τῶν εἰδώλων), yet he condemned their action on the principle that it put a stumbling-block in the way of their weaker brethren, and tended to bring about their moral downfall; and that by sharing in the heathen feasts which were made in honour of gods, who though they were not indeed gods as the heathen conceived them (1 Cor. viii. 4), were nevertheless demons (x. 20), they made themselves spiritually unfit to take part in the Eucharist (x. 21).

15. This verse and the preceding are difficult, but their explanation does not call for the supposition of mixed constructions. The thought and connection of the verses are as follows: in 14 our author states that the Pergamene Church has certain corrupt teachers, belonging to the following of Balaam, who seduced Israel into sin. But since this statement only defines the affinities of these corrupt teachers *with the past*, we expect a further definition of their affinities with the present. This we find in 15, where

we should render: "Thus in like manner thou too (*i.e.* as well as the Ephesian Church: cf. 6) hast some who hold the teaching of the Nicolaitans." οὕτως and ὁμοίως are not to be taken as referring to one and the same thing. οὕτως justifies the statement made in 14, whereas the ὁμοίως refers to the Ephesian Church. Thus the καὶ σύ and the ὁμοίως belong together: "Thou too (as well as the Ephesian Church) in like manner" (with the Ephesian Church). The ἔχεις in 15 resumes that in 14. This explanation does no violence to any part of the text, while it explains each member of it in a natural sense from the context. The right interpretation of καὶ σύ leads to the right interpretation of the whole. By failing to recognize this fact expositors have erred in the past. Thus Johannes Weiss is driven to mistranslate 15 as follows: "So hast du dort *auch* (?) solche, welche die Lehre der Nikolaiten halten gleicherweise." The καὶ beyond question belongs to the σύ. Bousset represents the meaning of 14-15 to be: "So wie Bileam durch Balak die Israeliten verführte, so haben die Pergamener die Nicolaiten als Verführer." But if any such comparison was intended, we should have had something like ὥσπερ Βαλαάμ ἐδίδασκεν τῷ Βαλὰκ βαλεῖν . . . οὕτως κρατοῦντες τὴν διδασχὴν Νικολαιτῶν βάλλουσι σκάνδαλον ἐνώπιόν σου. But this interpretation fails, as it leaves wholly out of sight the definitive phrase καὶ σύ. Besides, if, as some scholars suppose, the construction is irregular and the οὕτως presupposes a preceding ὥσπερ in this context, then not Βαλαάμ but οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ would be the subject with which καὶ σύ would be compared: ὥσπερ οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ εἶχον κρατοῦνας τὴν διδασχὴν Βαλαάμ κτλ., οὕτως ἔχεις καὶ σὺ κρατοῦντας κτλ. This would in itself give an excellent sense. As the ancient Israel had corrupt teachers, so too now has the Pergamene Church. But then the present form of the text does not admit of this interpretation, and, moreover, the context is against it. The καὶ σύ recalls the fact that not only is the Pergamene but also the Ephesian Church troubled by corrupt teachers.

The grammatical study of the text having thus established the fact, that in 15 we have at once both an explanation of 14 and a comparison with ii. 6, serves further to settle the relation of the Balaamites and the Nicolaitans. The term Balaamites is simply a name given for the nonce by our author to the Nicolaitans. The assignment of this name rests on two grounds: the first is the identity of results as regards their teaching; the second is the identity in respect of meaning in the view of our author as well as of certain Jewish writers of Βαλαάμ and Νικόλαος (see note in ii. 16).

16. μετανοήσον οὖν. The whole Church of Pergamum is called upon to repent and purge itself from these Nicolaitans, in the

hope that they will ultimately come to a better mind and return to her (cf. 1 Cor. v. 4-5), else Christ will visit the Church (*ἐρχομαί σοι*) and deal drastically with these corrupt teachers (*μετ' αὐτῶν*). The Seer requires the Church of Pergamum to expel them, as the Church of Ephesus had already done. It has not identified itself with them.

εἰ δὲ μή. Here equivalent to *εἰ δὲ μὴ μετανοήσεις* as in ii. 5^b, where see note. *εἰ δὲ μή* is always elliptical in our author.

πολεμήσω μετ' αὐτῶν. This construction, which is frequent in the LXX, is confined to the Apocalypse (cf. xii. 7, xiii. 4, xvii. 14) in the N.T. The verb itself occurs outside the Apocalypse only in Jas. iv. 2. In our text it cannot be treated as other than a Hebraism, if we take into account the Hebraistic character of the text in general. The fact that it occurs sporadically (see Moulton, *Proleg.*² 106)—twice or more—in the Papyri is no evidence to the contrary. See Abbott, *Gram.*, p. 267.

ἐν τῇ ῥομφαίᾳ τοῦ στόματός μου. Cf. i. 16, ii. 12, xix. 15. The phrase suggests a forensic condemnation, but in xix. 15 this word is conceived as an actual instrument of war.

17. *τῷ νικῶντι δώσω αὐτῷ τοῦ μάννα*. On *τῷ νικῶντι* . . . αὐτῷ see 7. *τοῦ μάννα* is the only instance in the N.T. of *δοῦναι* with the partitive genitive (see iii. 9). According to 2 Bar. xxix. 8 the treasury of manna was to descend from heaven during the Messianic Kingdom, and the blessed were to eat of it. This manna is referred to in Chag. 12^b (Tanchuma; Piquidi, 6; Beresh. rab. 19; Bammid. rab. 13), where it is said that in the third heaven (עֲרֵשֶׁת) are the mills which grind manna for the righteous. This manna was called "bread from heaven," Ex. xvi. 4; "corn of heaven," Ps. lxxviii. 24, and likewise "bread of the mighty" (*i.e.* angels, cf. Ps. lxxviii. 25). It is to this heavenly manna, and not to the golden pot of manna which was preserved (Ex. xvi. 32-34) in remembrance of the food in the wilderness and which was in the ark (Heb. ix. 4), that our text appears to refer (cf. *Or. Sibyl.* vii. 148 f.:

κλήματα δ' οὐκ ἔσται οὐδὲ στάχυς, ἀλλ' ἅμα πάντες
μάννην τὴν δροσερὴν λευκοῖσιν ὁδοῦσι φάγονται.

It is quite true that there are several Rabbinic passages which speak of the restoration of the pot of manna on the advent of the Messiah: cf. Tanchuma, p. 83^b, and other passages cited by Wetstein *in loc.*

The idea of the manna in this connection was probably suggested to our author by the association of ideas evoked by 14-16. There he was thinking of Israel in the wilderness tempted by Balaam, just as the Pergamene Christians are tempted by his spiritual successors. As the ancient Israel was fed by

a material manna, the true Israelites would in the future life be fed by a spiritual manna. Since the material manna could not avert death under the old Dispensation, John vi. 49 argues that it was not bread of life even in the very sphere to which it belonged.

As the context shows, as well as a comparison of the other six promises, the promise here refers to the future.¹ The manna that is now hidden will then be given to those who have fought the good fight and conquered. Part of this victory on the part of the Pergamene Church will consist in their abstinence from forbidden meats: contrast the gift of the manna here with the *εἰδωλόθυστα* eaten by the unfaithful, ii. 14. The "hidden manna" probably signifies the direct spiritual gifts that the Church triumphant will receive in transcendent measure from intimate communion with Christ. This "hidden manna" is practically equivalent in some degree to the water of life (see p. 54 sq.), but not to the tree of life.

ψῆφον λευκήν. Stones or pebbles were variously used by the ancients, and each usage has been applied to the interpretation of the present passage. 1. The white stone used by jurors to signify acquittal; cf. Ovid, *Met.* xv. 41:

"Mos erat antiquis niveis atrisque lapillis,
His damnare reos illis absolvere culpa."

2. The *ψῆφος* which entitled him that received it to free entertainment to royal assemblies. Cf. Xiphilin, *Epit. Dion.*, p. 228, where it is said of Titus: *σφαίρια γὰρ ξύλινα μικρὰ ἄνωθεν εἰς τὸ θέατρον ἐρρίπτει σύμβολον ἔχοντα τὸ μὲν ἐδωδῖμον τινός . . . ἃ ἀρπάζαντάς τινες ἰδεῖν πρὸς τοὺς δωτῆρας αὐτῶν ἐπενεγκεῖν καὶ λαβεῖν τὸ ἐπιγεγραμμένον*. Hence here a ticket of admission to the heavenly feast. 3. The precious stones which according to Rabbinical tradition fell along with the manna (Joma, 8). 4. The precious stones on the breastplate of the high priest bearing the names of the Twelve Tribes. 5. The white stone was regarded as a mark of felicity: cf. Pliny, *Ep.* vi. 11. 3, "O diem laetum notandumque mihi candidissimo calculo."

But each of these explanations is unsatisfactory; either the *ψῆφος* is not white or it has no inscription upon it. The true source of the ideas underlying the expressions in our text is most probably to be found in the sphere of popular superstition, which attached mysterious powers to the use of secret names (see Heitmüller, *Im Namen Jesu*, 128-265). The new name in such a connection would naturally be not that of the person who received the *ψῆφος*, but of some supernatural being. The white

¹ Philo (*Quis rerum divin.* 39, *Leg. allegor.* iii. 59, 61), on the other hand, uses manna as signifying "the spiritual food of the soul" in the present life.

stone was simply an amulet engraved with some magical formula or name, such as we find in Makk. 11^a (cf. Sukka, 53^a): "When David dug the cistern (at the south-west corner of the altar) the deep surged up and sought to overwhelm the world. Then he asked if he might inscribe the divine name on a potsherd and cast it into the deep to cause it to sink back into its place." The value of such an amulet was enhanced if the holder of it was assured that the name was new, and so known only to him; for should any one succeed in learning this name he too would enjoy the same powers as its possessor. We have now to ask if our author has taken over in their entirety these ideas. Even if this is so, we may be certain that they have become spiritually transformed. The new name can only be that of Christ or God inscribed on a ψῆφος. The man himself may be regarded as the ψῆφος; and since he is λευκός, as his victory in the final strife has proved, he is inscribed with the divine name,¹ which has a different meaning in character with the soul that receives it, and therefore a new meaning to every faithful soul, and which none but it knows (cf. Matt. xi. 27). This interpretation brings this passage somewhat into line with ii. 12, ὁ νικῶν . . . γράψω ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ μου . . . καὶ τὸ ὄνομά μου τὸ καινόν. This inscription designates him as God's own possession, as the σφραγίς in vii. 2 sqq. (see note *in loc.* and parallels). But the ψῆφος with the divine name inscribed on it may be differently interpreted, and taken to be a symbol of the transcendent powers now placed in the hand of him that has been faithful unto death. Through such faithfulness the blessed are fitted to receive from their divine Master fresh graces (*i.e.* the hidden manna) and powers (the stone inscribed with the divine name) of a transcendent character.

ὄνομα καινόν. See preceding notes.

ὁ οὐδεὶς οἶδεν εἰ μὴ ὁ λαμβάνων. As we have observed above, the knowledge that a faithful heart possesses of God is a thing incommunicable, known only to itself. Cf. xix. 12, ἔχων ὄνομα γεγραμμένον ὃ οὐδεὶς οἶδεν εἰ μὴ αὐτός, where, however, the general meaning is different, and the clause is probably an interpolation.

18-20. THE MESSAGE TO THE ANGEL OF THE CHURCH IN THYATIRA.

18. τῷ ἐν Θυατείροις. The longest letter is addressed to the least important of the Seven Cities. Thyatira lay about 40

¹ Some scholars think that the new name given to the victor means a new character (cf. Gen. xxxii. 28; Matt. xvi. 17, 18). But the ὁ νικῶν has already shown by his faithfulness that he possesses this new character; he is already a καινὴ κτίσις.

miles to the S.E. of Pergamum—almost midway between the Caicus in the north and the Hermus in the south. It was a Lydian city on the confines of Mysia, to which it was sometimes said to belong (Strabo, 625, *Θυάτειρα . . . ἦν Μυσῶν ἐσχάτην τινὲς φασί*). It was founded by the Seleucidae, its first settlers being for the most part old soldiers of Alexander the Great and their children. Hence it was called *κατοικία Μακεδόνων* by Strabo, 625. About 190 B.C. it fell under the sway of the Romans and formed part of the Province of Asia. Thyatira was notable for its extensive trading and the number of its guilds of craftsmen, and it is with the question, whether Christians were justified or not in sharing in the common meals of a sacrificial character, that this Letter to the Church in Thyatira is mainly concerned: see notes. But Thyatira was undistinguished in other respects in later times; for Pliny, *H.N.* v. 33, writes slightly of this community: “Thyatireni aliaeque inhonoraee civitates.” An important road ran from Pergamum to Thyatira, thence to Sardis and through Philadelphia to Laodicea. Thus the Seven Churches were naturally linked together from a geographical point of view, starting with Ephesus and ending with Laodicea. Thyatira had temples dedicated to Apollo Tyrimnaios, Artemis, and a shrine of Sambathe (τὸ Σαμβαθεῖον), an Oriental Sibyl in the neighbourhood; but it had no temple founded in honour of the Emperors. The Christian Church at Thyatira ceased to exist towards the close of the 2nd cent. A.D., according to a statement of the Alogi. It early became a centre of Montanism (Epiphanius, *Haer.* li. 33). See Ramsay, *Letters*, and the Bible Dictionaries *in loc.*

ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ. This title may have been suggested to our author by Ps. ii. 7, seeing that later in this letter he quotes Ps. ii. 9 in its entirety and a phrase from ii. 8. But the title is presupposed in i. 6, ii. 27, iii. 5, 21, xiv. 1, where God is definitely spoken of as the Father of Christ. Nowhere in our author is God described as “Father” in relation to men save in xxi. 7: contrast John xx. 17, etc. This title was claimed by Christ (Matt. xi. 27; Luke x. 22), ascribed to Him by Peter (Matt. xvi. 16), and formed the ground for the indictment brought against Him before the Sanhedrin (Matt. xxvi. 63; John xix. 7).

ὁ ἔχων . . . χαλκολιβάνῳ. From i. 14 sq. The presence of the first clause, ὁ ἔχων τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὡς φλόγα πυρός, appears to be explained by 23, ὁ ἑρπυλίων νεφροῦς καὶ καρδίας κτλ., and οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ ὁμοιοὶ χαλκολιβάνῳ possibly by 27^b. Here the divine title seems to have been added by our author when editing his visions as a whole: see p. 45 sq.

19. οἰδά σου τὰ ἔργα. Here as in x. 9 the vernacular possessive genitive introducing a group of nouns is followed by

the ordinary possessive, *καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην . . . καὶ τὴν ὑπομονὴν σου καὶ τὰ ἔργα σου*. Here Abbott, *Gram.*, p. 606, remarks: "(1) The writer could not well have said *καὶ σου*, and (2) the twofold repetition . . . shows that emphasis is intended—the patience *that you shew* and the deeds *that you do*." For a similar case cf. x. 9. "The two passages show that the unemphatic *σου* is not likely to be used after an unemphatic word."

καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην καὶ. The *καὶ* here introduces an explanatory description of the *ἔργα*. On *ἀγάπην* cf. ii. 4, and on *ὑπομονὴν* cf. ii. 2. Further, the Seer states that in the fulfilment of such works the Church in Thyatira has steadily advanced, whereas Ephesus has gone backward (ii. 4). *πλείων* seems here to be used as meaning greater in quality, better: cf. Matt. vi. 25, xii. 41, 42; Heb. iii. 3, xi. 4, etc. As Swete remarks, "in these addresses praise is more liberally given, if it can be given with justice, when blame is to follow; more is said of the good deeds of the Ephesians and Thyatirians than of those of the Smyrnaeans and Philadelphians, with whom no fault is found." In *τὴν ἀγάπην καὶ τὴν πίστιν* we have the two dynamic Christian forces which issue in the two Christian activities that follow *τὴν διακονίαν καὶ τὴν ὑπομονήν*.

20-23*. The dangers which threatened Thyatira were internal rather than external. It was not the cult of the Emperor nor the cults of the pagan deities, the condition of membership in which was confessedly willingness to take part in the worship prescribed in each case, but the trade guilds that formed the problem in Thyatira. In the former case there could be no doubt as to the wrongness of participation in such cults, but in the case of the latter the evidence seemed to the more intellectual class less conclusive. To the morally sound amongst this class there could be no divergence of opinion as to the wrongness of fornication, but different views were honestly maintained as to the legitimacy of eating food sacrificed to idols, seeing that in the eyes of the enlightened an idol was nothing. Now, since membership in trade guilds (*ἐργασίαι, συμβιώσεις, συνεργασίαι*) did not *essentially* involve anything beyond joining in the common meal, which was dedicated no doubt to some pagan deity but was exactly in this respect meaningless for the enlightened Christian, to avail oneself of such membership was held in certain latitudinarian circles to be quite justifiable. And this was particularly the case in Thyatira, which, owing to the fact that it was above all things a city of commerce, abounded in business guilds, to one or other of which every citizen all but necessarily belonged: otherwise he could hardly maintain his business or enjoy the social advantages natural to his position. Thus it was these trade guilds in Thyatira that made the

Nicolaitan doctrine so acceptable to the Church in this city, and that though the common meals of such guilds too often ended in unbridled licentiousness. Against the principles and conduct of the Nicolaitans the Church in Ephesus had openly declared itself (ii. 6); but no such declaration had as yet emanated from the Church in Thyatira. Owing to the business and social interests of its members it was too ready to accept any principle that would justify their membership in the city guilds. Hence it withheld its testimony against an influential woman who had long (21) and notoriously (23) advocated the principles of the Nicolaitans and yet enjoyed the membership of the Church.

However this person might cloak her activities under the noble name of prophetess, or advance her teaching as a more enlightened (Gnostic?) Christianity, they were, the Seer declares, simply sheer licentiousness and the negation of the laws laid down by the Apostolic Council. She was a modern Jezebel, and the Church of Thyatira in tolerating her presence in the Church was no better than a modern Ahab.

20. ἀφείς. Cf. John xii. 7 for this use of ἀφίεναι. On the form see Blass, *Gram.* 51; Robertson, *Gram.* 315.

τὴν γυναῖκα Ἰεζάβελ. Jezebel is here used symbolically of some influential woman in the Church in Thyatira, and chosen in reference to the wife of Ahab, who was guilty of whoredom and witchcraft (1 Kings xvi. 31; 2 Kings ix. 22), and sought to displace the worship of the God of Israel by idolatrous cults introduced from other lands. There is no question here of the Chaldaean Sibyl at Thyatira with whom Schürer (*Theol. Abhandl. Weissäcker gewidmet*, p. 39 sq., 1892) sought to identify her. Such a personage could not have been admitted to membership of the Church in Thyatira, whereas the Jezebel in our text stands admittedly within the jurisdiction of the Church. Zahn (see Bousset, 1906, p. 217 sq.) accepts the reading τὴν γυναῖκα σου and takes her to be the wife of the bishop of the Church, while Selwyn (p. 123) identifies her with the wife of the Asiarch.

ἢ λέγουσα ἑαυτὴν προφήτιν. On this Hebraism see note on i. 5. We might compare Zeph. i. 12, ἐκδικήσω ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνδρας τοὺς καταφρονούντας . . . οἱ λέγοντες (מְדַבְּרִים). This construction is found in Mark xii. 38-40 (contrast Luke xx. 46), where it is to be explained as due to the Semitic background. But a still more pronounced Hebraism follows: see next note.

καὶ διδάσκει καὶ πλανᾷ. Here we have, as we have already pointed out in i. 5-6 (note), a resolution of the participle into a finite verb. Thus our text is a literal rendering of the Hebrew idiom: מְדַבְּרַת בִּיהִיא נְבִיאָה וְתַלְמִידָה.

πορεύσθαι καὶ φαγεῖν. Our author appears here to emphasize

the fact that, when the Church in Thyatira tolerated this Nicolaitan teaching because it justified their membership in the city guilds and their sharing in the common meals, it was in reality tolerating fornication. See, however, note on ii. 14. It will be observed that the order of the words here differs from that in ii. 14. Here it is probably intended to mean that the primary object of the prophetic warning was sexual immorality.

21. This verse implies that a definite warning had been addressed to this self-styled prophetess, and that this warning had been given sufficiently far back in the past to allow of a full reformation of the evil. The warning may have come from the Seer himself. But its source cannot be determined.

ἵνα μετανοήσῃ. The ἵνα here has its final force: in ix. 20 a consecutive.

μετανοήσαι ἔκ. Always so with the noun in our author: cf. ii. 22, ix. 20, 21, xvi. 11; probably a reflection of מָנָה; for in Symmachus (though only occasionally in the LXX) μετανοήσαι is a more frequent rendering of the Hebrew phrase: cf. Job xxxvi. 10; Isa. xxxi. 6, lv. 7; Jer. xviii. 8; Ezek. xxxiii. 12.

22. ἰδοὺ βάλλω αὐτὴν εἰς κλίνην.

καὶ τοὺς μοιχεύοντας μετ' αὐτῆς εἰς θλίψιν μεγάλην. We have here a clear instance of Hebrew parallelism, and likewise of Hebrew idiom, though, so far as I am aware, not hitherto recognized by any scholar. While some scholars have quite wrongly taken κλίνη here to denote a banqueting couch, most others have rightly recognized it to be a bed of illness or suffering, but have not explained how this interpretation can be justified. Now, if we retranslate it literally into Hebrew, we discover that we have here a Hebrew idiom, i.e. Hebrew לָנֶכְדְּךָ = "to take to one's bed," "to become ill" (Ex. xxi. 18): hence "to cast upon a bed" means "to cast upon a bed of illness." This idiom is found in 1 Macc. i. 5, ἔπεσε ἐπὶ τὴν κλίνην, and Jud. viii. 3, ἔπεσε ἐπὶ τὴν κλίνην, which books are translated from the Hebrew. Thus we should render:

"Behold I cast her on a bed of suffering,

And those who commit adultery with her into great tribulation";

i.e.

הִנְנִי מַפִּיל אֶתְּךָ לְמַשְׁכָּב
וְאֶת הַמְּנַאֲפִים אִתְּךָ בְּצָרָה נֹדֶלָה

Furthermore, it is to be observed that in ἰδοὺ βάλλω (late MSS PQ βαλῶ) the βάλλω represents a participle in the Hebrew which can refer to the future, the present, or the past, according to the context. Since it is parallel here with ἀποκτείνω (23*), it refers, of course, to the future. This idiomatic refer-

ence to the future in a present verb is to be found also in i. 7 (ἰδοὺ ἔρχεται), ii. 10, iii. 9 (where our author has both ἰδοὺ διδῶ and ἰδοὺ ποιήσω referring to one and the same thing), ix. 12, xvi. 15, etc.

22^b-23. τοὺς μοιχεύοντας μετ' αὐτῆς . . . 23. καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῆς. The text (μοιχεύοντας . . . τέκνα) suggests that we have here the actual paramours of this woman and her children. Further, the children may be her legitimate children. Hence the punishment is a severe one. There may be also a reference to the fate that befell the sons of Ahab (2 Kings x. 7). But the punishments are wholly disproportionate to the guilt on this interpretation. Moreover, this interpretation, even if it is right, is too narrow, and must not be regarded as excluding the possibility of finding a spiritual reference in the text. The entire Church in Thyatira, owing to its special circumstances, is endangered by the Nicolaitan doctrine. Hence the μοιχεύοντας appear to be all those who, owing to the teaching of this woman, thought they could combine faithfulness to Christ with the concessions to the pagan spirit that their membership of the business guilds involved; and the τέκνα to be those who have absolutely embraced this woman's teaching even to its fullest issues. For the former there is still hope: they are striving to reconcile the claims of Christ on the one hand and the claims of their business life on the other. Therein they have been guilty as idolatrous Israel of old: cf. Hos. ii. 2, 4, where there is a similar reference to mother and children. But they may yet come to see that they cannot serve two masters: hence for them the door of repentance is still open (22^a). But as regards the τέκνα, the case is different. They have embraced the Nicolaitan teaching unreservedly and unconditionally. They are one with their spiritual mother in aim and character. For them, therefore, there is nothing but the doom of destruction (23^a). In this interpretation the difference in the dooms threatened is wholly natural.

ἀποκτενῶ ἐν θανάτῳ. Cf. Ezek. xxxiii. 27, θανάτῳ ἀποκτενῶ, where θάνατος = מַדְבָּה, "pestilence," as here and in vi. 8 (note).

γινώσκονται πᾶσαι αἱ ἐκκλησίαι κτλ. The doom of the offenders was to be known as widely as the scandal had been. The γινώσκονται ὅτι is an O.T. form of expression: *i.e.* know by reason of experience, as in the case of the Egyptians, etc. Cf. Ex. vii. 5, xvi. 12, xxix. 46, etc.

ὁ ἔραυνῶν νεφροὺς καὶ καρδίας. This phrase is from the O.T., but it is an independent rendering of Jer. xi. 20, חָבַח בְּלִיּוֹת וּבְחַן where the LXX has δοκιμάζων νεφροὺς καὶ καρδίας. The LXX does not use ἔραυνῶν at all as a rendering of חָבַח, nor apparently does any other Jewish version save Aquila in one instance

(Ezek. xxi. 18). The same phrase, though the order of the words is different, is found in Ps. vii. 10. Cf. other variations in Jer. xvii. 10, xx. 12. St. Paul uses the phrase *θεῶ τῷ δοκιμάζοντι τὰς καρδίας ἡμῶν* (1 Thess. ii. 4) and *ὁ ἑραυνῶν τὰς καρδίας* in Rom. viii. 27. *νεφρός* is not found elsewhere in the N.T. Cf. Wisd. i. 6, where a free rendering is given of the entire phrase. The kidneys were regarded by the Hebrews as the seat of the emotions and affections (Jer. xii. 2), and the heart of the thoughts. *ἑραυνῶν* is, according to Blass (*Gr.* 21), an Alexandrian form.

δῶσω ὑμῖν ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα ὑμῶν. This phrase recurs in xxii. 12. Cf. Matt. xvi. 27, *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου . . . ἀποδώσει ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τὴν πρᾶξιν αὐτοῦ.*

24. οὐκ ἔχουσιν. This may mean "are free from" in contrast to those who "hold fast" *κρατοῦσιν*, but a comparison of i. 16 and ii. 1 is not in favour of this view, if text of ii. 1 is right.

οἵτινες is here generic; indicates a class. Its use is therefore classical, as in i. 7, ix. 4, xx. 4. Elsewhere our author uses *οὗτος* as practically the equivalent of *ὁς*: cf. i. 12, xi. 8, xii. 13, xvii. 12, xix. 2. See note on xi. 8.

οἵτινες . . . τὰ βάθη τοῦ Σατανᾶ. Two interpretations are here possible, and both are forcible. (1) Since the persons referred to in *ὡς λέγουσιν* are the libertine section in the Church of Thyatira, the above words, *οἵτινες . . . Σατανᾶ*, are an indignant retort on the part of our author, in which he declares that, whereas they claim to "know the deep things of God" (cf. Iren. *Haer.* ii. 22. 3) even as St. Paul (cf. 1 Cor. ii. 10, *τὸ γὰρ πνεῦμα πάντα ἑραυνᾷ, καὶ τὰ βάθη τοῦ θεοῦ*: Rom. xi. 33; Eph. iii. 18), it is not the deep things of God but of Satan that they have sought after. The later Gnostics, we know, professed alone to know *τὰ βάθη*: cf. Iren. *Adv. Haer.* ii. 22. 1, "qui profunda Bythi adinvenisse se dicunt"; 22. 3, "*profunda Dei adinvenisse se dicentes*"; Hippol. *Philos.* v. 6, *ἐπεκάλεσαν ἑαυτοὺς γνωστικούς, φάσκοντες μόνοι τὰ βάθη γινώσκειν*: Tertull. *Adv. Valent.* 1, "Eleusinia Valentiniani fecerunt lenocinia, sancta silentio magno, sola taciturnitate caelestia. Si bona fide quaeras, concreto vultu, suspenso supercilio, *Altum est*, aiunt." This phrase (*τὰ βάθη*) was a natural one on the part of men who laid claim to an esoteric knowledge—a knowledge that in the case of the Cainites, Naasenes, Carpocratians, and Ophites was held to emancipate its possessors from the claims of morality. This last fact leads naturally to the second interpretation. (2) According to this second interpretation the words represent the actual claim of this Gnostic element in the Church of Thyatira, as Wieseler, Spitta, Zahn, Völter (*Offenb.* iv. 166), Bousset assume. These false teachers held that the spiritual man should know the deep things of Satan, that he should take part in the

heathen life of the community, two of the most prominent characteristics of which were its sacrificial feasts and immoral practices. Though he outwardly shared in this heathen life, nevertheless as a spiritual man (*i.e.* the Gnostic of later times) he remained inwardly unaffected by it and so asserted his superiority over it.

The insistence on the knowledge of *intellectual* mysteries, either as an indispensable addition to or as a substitute for simple obedience to the claims of the Christian life, has always been a weakness of the Church.

οὐ βάλλω ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἄλλο βάρος. In themselves these words could refer either to burdens of suffering or of the law. But the context declares clearly for the latter; for the term κρατῆσαι in the following verse can only refer to the obligations of the moral law, and these obligations in particular related to fornication and the eating of meat offered to idols. Now these were the two chief enactments of the Apostolic decree in Acts xv. 28, ἔδοξεν . . . μηδὲν πλέον ἐπιτίθεσθαι ὑμῖν βάρος πλὴν τούτων τῶν ἐπάναγκες, ἀπέχεσθαι εἰδωλοθύτων . . . καὶ πορνείας. Only these two prohibitions are declared to be obligatory on the members of the Church in Thyatira, which were entangled in the libertinism of the Nicolaitans. The other two—ἀπέχεσθαι . . . αἵματος καὶ πνικτῶν—are not re-enacted. But this is not all. The use of the word ἄλλο in itself points to the exclusion of the two latter. Thus our author had clearly the Apostolic decree in his mind.

25. Once and for all take a firm hold (κρατήσατε) on these duties incumbent on you, and shun absolutely the sacrificial feasts of the heathen and the moral evils that attend on them.

ὁ ἔχετε κρατήσατε. Cf. iii. 11, κράτει δ' ἔχεις. ἦξω is to be taken as a subjunctive of the aorist ἦξι since ἄχρι in our author elsewhere is followed by the subjunctive: cf. vii. 3, xv. 8, xx. 3, 5. In xvii. 17 it is followed by the indicative; but our author is here using a source.

26. ὁ νικῶν καὶ ὁ τηρῶν κτλ. The victory is to him that keeps Christ's works unto the end; in the present instance the special works required from the Church of Thyatira. But the repetition of the article equates the two phrases. Hence we might translate: "he that overcometh—even he that keepeth." The victor is he that keeps Christ's works: he that keeps Christ's works is the victor.

ὁ νικῶν . . . δώσω αὐτῷ, the nominative resumed in a subsequent pronoun in the dative.

To this *nominativus pendens* or accusative we have an exact parallel in iii. 12, 21. A more normal construction occurs in ii. 7, 17, and the normal in vi. 4, xxi. 6.

δώσω αὐτῷ ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ τῶν θνῶν. A free rendering of Ps.

ii. 8, $\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$; LXX, $\delta\acute{\omega}\sigma\omega\ \sigma\omicron\iota\ \epsilon\theta\eta\eta\ \tau\acute{\eta}\nu\ \kappa\lambda\eta\rho\omicron\nu\omicron\mu\iota\alpha\upsilon\eta\alpha\ \sigma\omicron\upsilon$. The thought of these words as well as the diction of what follows are drawn from Ps. ii. 8-9. This Psalm was interpreted Messianically as early as the 1st cent. B.C. in the Pss. Solomon (see note on xix. 15). The nature of the power conferred is described in the next verse.

Our author appears to distinguish carefully the use of $\epsilon\acute{\xi}\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\alpha$ with the article and without it. In the Fourth Gospel the article is not used at all. With the article full authority in the circumstances defined in the context is implied: cf. ix. 19, xiii. 4, 12, xvi. 9, xvii. 13. When a limited authority is implied, $\epsilon\acute{\xi}\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\alpha$ stands without the article: cf. ii. 26, vi. 8, ix. 3, xiii. 2, 5, 7, xiv. 18, xvii. 12, xviii. 1, xx. 6. There are three cases which do not come under this rule, *i.e.* in ix. 10, xi. 6, and xxii. 14. In xi. 6 our author is using a source: hence we have here no exception. But ix. 10 and xxii. 14 are abnormal, since $\eta\ \epsilon\acute{\xi}\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\alpha\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$ in these passages appear to be equal simply to $\epsilon\acute{\chi}\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\alpha\upsilon$.

27. 27^{ab} imply the actual destruction of the heathen nations as in xix. 15, and apparently in their destruction the triumphant martyrs (cf. ii. 26, xvii. 14) are to be active agents as members of the heavenly hosts which should follow the word of God, xix. 13-14. At this moment that I am writing we can witness at least a partial fulfilment of this dread forecast, in which England and her allies are engaged in mortal strife with the powers of godless force and materialism. As Swete aptly writes: "The new order must be preceded by the breaking up of the old ($\sigma\upsilon\eta\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\beta\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$), but the purpose of the Potter is to reconstruct; out of the fragments of the old life there will rise under the hand of Christ and of the Church, new and better types of social and national organisation." To this we might add: the present heathen system of international relations will sooner or later be destroyed and replaced by international relations of a Christian character.

$\kappa\alpha\iota\ \pi\omicron\iota\mu\alpha\upsilon\epsilon\acute{\iota}\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \epsilon\eta\ \rho\acute{\alpha}\beta\delta\omega\ \sigma\iota\delta\eta\rho\acute{\alpha}$
 $\acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\ \sigma\kappa\epsilon\upsilon\acute{\eta}\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\ \kappa\epsilon\rho\alpha\mu\iota\kappa\acute{\alpha}\ \sigma\upsilon\eta\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\beta\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$.

From Ps. ii. 9. Our author here agrees partly with the LXX:

$\pi\omicron\iota\mu\alpha\upsilon\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \epsilon\eta\ \rho\acute{\alpha}\beta\delta\omega\ \sigma\iota\delta\eta\rho\acute{\alpha}$
 $\acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \sigma\kappa\epsilon\upsilon\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\ \kappa\epsilon\rho\alpha\mu\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma\ \sigma\upsilon\eta\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\beta\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$.

Instead of $\pi\omicron\iota\mu\alpha\upsilon\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ Symmachus renders $\sigma\upsilon\eta\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\beta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ (s. $\sigma\upsilon\eta\theta\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$), and instead of $\sigma\upsilon\eta\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\beta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ Aquila renders $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\rho\eta\acute{\chi}\epsilon\iota\varsigma$. Two important questions arise here. 1. Has our author simply borrowed his rendering $\pi\omicron\iota\mu\alpha\upsilon\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ from the LXX? 2. What meaning does our author attach to $\pi\omicron\iota\mu\alpha\upsilon\epsilon\acute{\iota}$? Now as to 1,

since it is our author's usage elsewhere to translate the Hebrew text independently, there is no reason to infer that he is here simply borrowing from the LXX. The LXX was no doubt familiar to him and provided him with a vocabulary. But he was in no sense dependent upon it. But it has been urged, and no doubt rightly, that the LXX here derived רָעַע from רָעָה and so vocalized it רָעָעם and rendered it ποιμανεῖς, whereas they ought to have derived it from רָעַע and vocalized it רָעָעם, "thou shalt break" (as Symmachus). We have now to deal with 2—what meaning did our author attach to ποιμανεῖ? A comparison of xix. 15, where ποιμανεῖ is parallel to παράγει, and of the present text, ii. 27, where it is parallel with συντρίβεται (cf. also xii. 5), is strong evidence that our author attached two distinct meanings to ποιμαίνειν.¹ The ordinary meaning is found in vii. 17 (ποιμανεῖ = "will pasture"), the other and unusual meaning "will devastate, lay waste," in ii. 27, xii. 5, xix. 15. Now, since this sense is so far as I am aware not found outside our author and the LXX (if indeed it is found in the latter), it is incumbent on us to explain how our author came to attach this meaning to the Greek verb. The explanation is apparently to be found in the fact that ποιμαίνειν is the ordinary translation of רָעָה. But whereas רָעָה generally means "to shepherd," it means sometimes "to devastate," "destroy," as in Mic. v. 5; Jer. vi: 3, ii. 16 (where the R.V. renders "break"), xxii. 22; Ps. lxxx. 14 (see *Oxford Hebrew Lex.*, p. 945). Now in the first two passages the LXX renders רָעָה by ποιμαίνειν. Hence ποιμαίνειν should here mean "to lay waste" or "to destroy." But, even if the LXX failed to grasp the right rendering of רָעָה in these passages and rendered it according to its ordinary sense, it does not follow that our author does so also. As clearly as language can indicate, ποιμαίνειν and παύσσειν in xix. 15 are parallels, just as βομφαία δέξια and ῥάβδος σιδηρᾶ in the same clauses are likewise parallels. It is noteworthy that in Latin *pasco* developed this secondary meaning also.

Hence it is highly probable that our author assigned to ποιμαίνειν a secondary sense that attaches to רָעָה (as he does to other words: cf. ῥόδες, x. 1 n.), and that we should render here:

"He shall destroy them with an iron rod,
As the vessels of the potter shall they be dashed to pieces."

¹ That our author did attach two meanings to ποιμαίνειν is the view universally adopted by ancient and modern versions. Thus the Vulgate and Syriac versions and the A.V. and R.V., etc., render this verb by "rule" in ii. 27, xix. 15. This is, of course, a possible meaning and it is also an ancient one, but in our author the parallelism and the context are against it. The object with which authority is given to them over the apostate nations is not that they may "rule" them, but *may utterly destroy them*.

ὡς τὰ σκεύη τὰ κεραμικὰ συντρίβεται. Here we have a free rendering of Ps. ii. 9^b: cf. also Isa. xxx. 14; Jer. xix. 11. It is best to regard συντρίβεται as = *שִׁבְרָה* in the mind of our author, and hence take it as a Hebraism and equivalent to a *future*. Later MSS saw, in fact, that a future was required here and read συντριβήσεται. We should not here, with the R.V., take the words as follows: "as the vessels of the potter are broken to shivers." Such a thought is weak: there is no point in such a statement. The writer means to say that the righteous will "dash to pieces" the strong and the mighty among the heathen as easily as one dashes to pieces a potter's vessels. Primasius supports this view: "sicut vas figuli confringentur": also Ticonius: "ut vas figuli comminuentur." Besides, the parallelism requires συντρίβεται¹ to be taken as a principal verb, as it is in Ps. ii. 9. Even Isa. xxx. 14, Jer. xix. 11 support this view.

ὡς καὶ ἐλῆφα παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς μου. These words recall, of course, Ps. ii. 7, Κύριος εἶπεν πρὸς μέ Υἱός μου εἰ σύ. Cf. Acts ii. 33, τὴν τε ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ πνεύματος . . . λαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς, for the phraseology.

28. In this letter to Thyatira only do we find a double promise—here and in 27^{ab}. On this and other grounds Selwyn, Wellhausen, and others would omit 27^{ab} as an intrusion.

No satisfactory explanation has as yet been discovered of these words. But in the meantime the best interpretation seems to be that of Beatus (quoted by Swete): "id est, Dominum Jesum Christum quem numquam suscepit vesper, sed lux sempiterna est, et ipse super in luce est," and of Bede: "Christus est stella matutina qui nocte saeculi transacta lucem vitae sanctis promittit et pandet aeternam." In xxii. 16 Christ describes Himself as ὁ ἀστὴρ ὁ λαμπρὸς ὁ πρωϊνός. Hence the words combined with 27 mean simply: "when thou hast won through the strife I will be thine."

III. 1-6. THE MESSAGE TO THE CHURCH IN SARDIS.

1. ἐν Σάρδεσιν. Sardis (see the Bible Dictionaries *in loc.*: also Ramsay, *Letters*, 375-382) was situated about 30 miles S.E.S. of Thyatira. In Ionic its form was Σάρδιες, in Attic Σάρδεις, while in later Greek it was written Σάρδης. Sardis was built on the northern confines of Mt. Tmolus, and its acropolis on a spur of this mountain. It dominated the rich Hermus

¹ A neuter plural has the verb oftener in the plural in our author. But συντρίβεται here must agree either with τὰ σκεύη or, as I take it, with τὰ ἔθνη supplied from 26^b. For other instances of the sing. verb and plural noun cf. i. 19, & μέλλει, viii. 3, xiii. 14, xiv. 13, xix. 14, xx. 3, 5, xxi. 12.

valley, and was the capital of the ancient Lydian kingdom. It reached the height of its prosperity under Croesus (*circ.* 560 B.C.). On its conquest by Cyrus it became the seat of a Persian Satrapy, and its history for the next three centuries is buried in obscurity. Under Roman rule it recovered some of its ancient importance, and became the centre of a *conventus juridicus*; but, notwithstanding, no city in Asia presented a more deplorable contrast of past splendour and present unresting decline. In 17 A.D. it was overthrown by a severe earthquake, but through the generosity of Tiberius (*Tac. Ann.* ii. 47), who remitted all its taxes for five years and contributed 10,000,000 sesterces towards its rebuilding, it rose so rapidly from its ruins that in 26 A.D. it was called a *πόλις μεγάλη* by Strabo (625), and it contended, though unsuccessfully, with Smyrna for the privilege of raising a temple to Tiberius (*Tac. Ann.* iv. 55). Its chief cult was that of Cybele, while its staple industries were connected with woollen goods, and it claimed to have been the first community which discovered the art of dyeing wool. To these industries there is possibly a reference in iii. 4, 5^a. Its inhabitants had long been notorious for luxury and licentiousness (*Herod.* i. 55; *Aesch. Pers.* 45), and the Christian Church had manifestly a hard task in resisting the evil atmosphere that environed it. Like the city itself, the Church had belied its early promise. Its religious history, like its civil, belonged to the past. And yet, despite its moral and spiritual declension, it still possessed a nucleus of faithful members: it had "a few names which had not defiled their garments." It was not apparently troubled by persecution from without, or by intellectual error from within, and yet it and the Church of Laodicea were the most blameworthy of the seven.

ὁ ἔχων τὰ ἑπτὰ πνεύματα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἑπτὰ δότερας. This clause is (see p. 26), as the corresponding divine titles of Christ in the other six Letters, to be regarded as a redactional addition of our Seer when he edited his visions as a whole. The phrase τὰ ἑπτὰ πνεύματα has already occurred in i. 4, but there it is a manifest interpolation. Hence it really occurs here for the first time. On its probable meaning see i. 4, note.

οὐδὲ σου τὰ ἔργα. On this vernacular genitive (contrast ii. 2) see notes on ii. 9, 19; Abbott, *Gram.*, pp. 605, 607; also 414-25, 601. Here as in iii. 8, 15 the emphasis is laid on the ἔργα—"the works thou hast wrought are known to me"—they give thee a semblance of life, but in reality thou art dead. This vernacular genitive recurs at the close of this verse: cf. also x. 9, xviii. 4-5, xxi. 3 (A).

ὅτι ὄνομα ἔχεις ὅτι ἕως καὶ νεκρὸς εἶ. For the construction cf. *Herod.* vii. 138, οὐνομα εἶχε, ὡς ἐπ' Ἀθήνας ἐλαίνας, κατίστο δὲ ἐς

πασαν τ. Ἑλλάδα. Contrast 2 Cor. vi. 9, ὡς ἀποθνήσκοντες, καὶ ἰδοὺ ζῶμεν, and cf. Jas. ii. 17, ἡ πίστις, ἐὰν μὴ ἔχῃ ἔργα, νεκρά ἐστι καθ' ἑαυτήν, and 2 Tim. iii. 5, ἔχοντες μόρφωσιν εὐσεβείας τὴν δὲ δύναμιν αὐτῆς ἡρηγμένοι. The condemnation of the Church of Sardis is more severe than that of the other six Churches. And yet it, too, has a nucleus of faithful members.

2. γίνου γρηγορῶν. For this construction cf. xvi. 10, ἐγένετο . . . ἐσκοτωμένη. γρηγορεῖν is a word of our Seer's (cf. xvi. 15), and, though found in the three Synoptic Gospels, is not used in the Fourth. Our text recalls Matt. xxiv. 42 (Mark xiii. 33), γρηγορεῖτε οὖν, ὅτι οὐκ οἴδατε ποῦ ἡμέρα ὃ κύριος ὑμῶν ἔρχεται. There are very close affinities in diction between 2-4 here and xvi. 15, which show indubitably our author's hand. With γίνου γρηγορῶν . . . 3, καὶ τήρει καὶ μετανόησον· ἐὰν οὖν μὴ γρηγορήσῃς, ἦξω ὡς κλέπτῃς. . . . 4, ἃ οὐκ ἐμόλυναν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν, καὶ περιπατήσουσιν . . . ἐν λευκοῖς, cf. xvi. 15, ἰδοὺ ἔρχομαι ὡς κλέπτῃς. μακάριος ὁ γρηγορῶν καὶ τηρῶν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ, ἵνα μὴ γυμνὸς περιπατῇ. But on the high probability that xvi. 15 originally stood between 3^b and 3^c, see note on this verse and also on xvi. 15.

Ramsay (*Letters*, 376 sqq.) is of opinion that this admonition to be watchful was suggested by two incidents in the past history of Sardis, when the acropolis fell into the hands of the enemy through the lack of vigilance on the part of its defenders—first in the time of Croesus in 549 B.C., and next in 218 B.C. when Antiochus the Great captured the city, a Cretan mercenary having led the way, "climbing up the hill and stealing unobserved within the fortifications."

τὰ λοιπά. This word is found eight times in our author, but not in the other N.T. Johannine writings. As Swete points out, τὰ λοιπά means not merely persons, but "whatever remained at Sardis out of the wreck of Christian life, whether persons or institutions." The entire community needs to be reconstructed on a sound foundation.

ἃ ἐμελλον ἀποθανεῖν. We have here the epistolary imperfect. In the plural verb (contrast i. 19) we have a *constructio ad sensum*. The idea recalls Ezek. xxxiv. 4, 16. Blass (*Gram.* 197) seems right in maintaining that the aorist is correctly employed here and in iii. 16, xii. 4, after μέλλειν. μέλλειν is seldom followed by the aorist in the N.T.: it is generally followed by the present, as also in our author: cf. i. 19, ii. 10, iii. 10, vi. 11, viii. 13, x. 4, 7, xii. 5, xvii. 8. In classical Greek μέλλειν is followed most frequently by the future inf., but in vulgar Greek this was displaced by the present.

σου τὰ (< AC) ἔργα. Here as at the beginning of the verse we have the vernacular possessive. The emphasis is thrown

strongly on the noun : "The works wrought by thee I have found wanting before my God." Cf. Dan. v. 27. Here the σου refers to the community as a whole. As a centre of spiritual and moral power it has failed, though it contains a few that have been faithful (4). Hence we read τὰ ἔργα against AC. οὐ—σου ἔργα = "no works of thine," cannot be maintained in the face of 4.

πληρωμένα. Only found once again in our author in vi. 11. It is a favourite Johannine word in the Fourth Gospel, occurring 13 times (cf. especially xvi. 24, xvii. 13), and twice in 1 and 2 John. Cf. also Col. ii. 10, ἵνα ἐν αὐτῷ πεπληρωμένοι.

ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ μου. The community has a name before the Christian world for its works, but not before God ; for the faithfulness of the few (4) cannot redress the balance against the Church as a whole. It is a dying Church. On τοῦ θεοῦ μου cf. iii. 12 ; Rom. xv. 6, τὸν θεὸν καὶ πατέρα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ : also Mark xv. 34 ; John xx. 17.

8. μνημόνευε οὖν (cf. ii. 5, the advice to the Church of Ephesus) πῶς εἰληφας καὶ ἤκουσας. The change of tenses is here significant. ἤκουσας points to the time when they heard the Gospel : cf. 1 Thess. i. 5, 6, ii. 13. εἰληφας concedes that they still possess this gift of God.

τήρει καὶ μετανόησον. The Church is to keep fast hold of what it has received and heard, and, repenting forthwith, recover its former spiritual attitude (aor.).

ἴδαν οὖν μὴ γρηγορήσης. As a host of critics have pointed out, xvi. 15 (see note) undoubtedly breaks up the context in which it occurs. Könncke (followed by Moffatt) would restore it before the above words, while Beza transferred it before iii. 18. The first suggestion is probably to be preferred. It might, of course, be objected that the repetition after ἴδου ἔρχομαι ὡς κλέπτῃς of ἤξω ὡς κλέπτῃς would be jejune. But the latter seems more definite. And yet in ii. 5, 16, εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἔρχομαι, the present ἔρχομαι appears to be used under exactly the same conditions as ἤξω ὡς κλέπτῃς here. But it is probable that in the clause ἴδου ἔρχομαι ὡς κλέπτῃς we have a general description of the nature of Christ's Advent. It is to be unexpected, whereas in the clause ἤξω ὡς κλέπτῃς there is a definite menace, in which it is implied that the Church of Sardis will be caught off their guard by the suddenness of Christ's Advent. Hence, though with some hesitation, I have restored xvi. 15 before iii. 3^c.

XVI. 15. ἴδου ἔρχομαι ὡς κλέπτῃς.

μακάριος ὁ γρηγορῶν καὶ τηρῶν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ,
ἵνα μὴ γυμνὸς περιπατῇ,
καὶ βλέπωσιν τὴν δαχτυλοσύνην αὐτοῦ.

III. 3°. εἰ οὖν μὴ γρηγορήσης,
 ἦξω ὡς κλέπτης,
 καὶ οὐ μὴ γνῶς
 ποῖαν ὥραν ἦξω ἐπὶ σέ.

εἰ οὖν μὴ γρηγορήσης ἦξω ὡς κλέπτης κτλ. An obvious echo of Matt. xxiv. 43 sq. (= Luke xii. 39 sq., cf. Mark xiii. 35), εἰ ἡδεὶς ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης ποῖα φυλακῇ ὁ κλέπτης ἔρχεται ἐγρηγόρησεν ἂν . . . γίνεσθε ἑτοιμοί, ὅτι ἡ οὐ δοκεῖτε ὥρα, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔρχεται. The Second Advent is referred to in our text: it will come as a thief in the night, because they are not on the watch; cf. 1 Thess. v. 2, 4.

οὐ μὴ γνῶς. The subjunctive follows οὐ μὴ without exception in our author, and all but universally in the rest of the N.T. In WH text οὐ μὴ occurs 96 times, according to Moulton (*Gram.* 190). Of these examples 71 are with the aor. subj. and 8 with the fut. ind. The rest are ambiguous.

ποῖαν ὥραν. For ὥραν in the acc. when apparently referring not to the duration but to a point of time, cf. Moulton, *Gram.*², p. 63. Blass, *Gram.* 94 sq., points out that this usage began in classical times where ὥραν = εἰς ὥραν; cf. Robertson, *Gram.* 470 sq. Acts xx. 16, John iv. 52 are generally cited as parallel usages to that in our text. See, however, Abbott, *Gram.*, p. 75.

4. The case of Sardis is critical, but there is still room for hope; for there is a faithful nucleus that has escaped the general corruption.

ὀνόματα. Cf. xi. 13; Acts i. 15. Deissmann (*Bible Studies*, 196 sq.) has proved that in the 2nd cent. A.D. ὄνομα was used in the sense of "person." Hence it is probable that in our author we have the same usage. It is, however, to be remembered that ὀνόματα is used in Num. i. 2, 20, iii. 40, 43, as a rendering of נִשְׁבָּע where this word means "persons" reckoned by name.

ὁ οὐκ ἐμόλυνεν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν. See note on 18. The moral stains here referred to especially include πορνεία (cf. xiv. 4). "The language reflects that of the votive inscriptions in Asia Minor, where soiled clothes disqualified the worshipper and dishonoured the god. Moral purity qualifies for spiritual communion" (Moffatt *in loc.*).

περιπατήσουσιν μετ' ἐμοῦ ἐν λευκοῖς. We have here the first eschatological promise, which is not preceded by the words ὁ νικῶν. The raiment here spoken of is the heavenly raiment or the spiritual bodies awaiting the faithful in the next life. See note on next verse.

ἄξιόι εἶσιν. Contrast the use of this phrase in xvi. 6.

5. See note on ii. 11^b.

περιβαλεῖται ἐν. περιβάλλεσθαι takes two constructions in our author. It is followed either by ἐν with the dat. as here and in iv. 4, or by the acc. in the remaining passages.

ἐν ἱματίοις λευκοῖς. These garments¹ are the spiritual bodies in which the faithful are to be clothed in the resurrection life. This thought is clearly expressed in 2 Cor. v. 1, 4, "If the earthly house of our tabernacle be dissolved, we have a building from God, a house not made with hands, eternal, in the heavens. . . . For indeed we that are in this tabernacle do groan, being burdened; not that we would be unclothed, but that we would be clothed upon." But this idea recurs elsewhere in the N.T., though it is not so definitely expressed as here: cf. Matt. xiii. 43, τότε οἱ δίκαιοι ἐκλάμπουσιν ὡς ὁ ἥλιος, that is, they shall have a body of light (cf. Ps. civ. 2, "who coverest thyself with light as with a garment"), 1 Cor. xv. 43, 49, 54, Phil. iii. 21, where it is promised that the body of our humiliation will be conformed to the body of His glory (τῷ σώματι τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ). We shall find later that "body of light" and "body of glory" are used interchangeably. But returning again to Phil. iii. 21 we see that the connection between the earthly body and the heavenly—though they are different in essence—is of the closest, and that the character of the heavenly body is conditioned by that of the earthly body (cf. 1 Cor. vi. 18). In the Asc. Isa. iv. 16 (circ. 88–100 A.D.) we find further references to these garments or spiritual bodies: "But the saints will come with the Lord with their garments which are (now) stored up on high in the seventh heaven: with the Lord they will come, *whose spirits are clothed* . . . and be present in the world." Cf. vii. 22, viii. 14, "when from the body by the will of God thou hast ascended hither, then thou wilt receive the garment which thou seest": also viii. 26, ix. 9, "And there I saw Enoch and all who were with him stript of the garments of the flesh, and I saw them in their garments of the upper world, and they were like angels, standing there in great glory"; ix. 17, "And then many of the righteous will ascend with Him, whose spirits do not receive their garments till the Lord Christ ascend"; also ix. 24–26, xi. 40. In the Apoc. of Peter 3 (circ. 110–125 A.D.) the raiment of the blessed is said to be light, and 5, all the dwellers in Paradise to be "clad in the raiment of angels of light" (ἐνδεδυμένοι ἦσαν ἐνδυμα ἀγγέλων φωτῶν). Next, in Hermas, Sim. viii. 2, 3, the faithful are rewarded with white garments: ἱμάτισμον δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν πάντες εἶχον λευκὸν ὡσεὶ χιόνα οἱ πορευόμενοι εἰς τὸν πύργον. Again,

¹ The idea is not a hard and fixed one in Jewish and Christian literature. While generally the garments are symbols of the heavenly bodies of the faithful, at times they seem to denote only a sort of heavenly vesture distinct from the faithful themselves.

in the Odes of Solomon we have three references to these heavenly bodies: xi. 10, "And the Lord renewed me in His raiment (cf. Ps. civ. 2) and possessed (? 'formed,' i.e. ἐκτίσται, corrupt for ἐκτίσται) . . . 14, And He carried me to His Paradise"; xxi. 2, "And I put off darkness and clothed myself with light. 3, And my soul acquired a body free from sorrow or affliction or pains"; xxv. 8, "And I was clothed with the covering of Thy Spirit, and Thou didst remove from me my raiment of skin." See also Burkitt, *Early Eastern Christianity*, p. 215; Moulton, *Journal of Theol. Stud.* iii. 514-527. In its present form 4 Ezra i.-ii. is Christian, but it is not improbably based on Jewish sources. However this may be, we have, as in the Asc. Isa., references to this heavenly body of light. Cf. ii. 39, "Qui se de umbra saeculi transtulerunt splendidas tunicas a domino acceperunt." The nature of these heavenly garments is clear from ii. 45, "Hi sunt qui mortalem tunicam deposuerunt et immortalem sumpserunt."

We have now shown that the resurrection body was clearly conceived in the first and second centuries A.D. in Christian circles as a "body of light." But this conception was also pre-Christian. Thus in 1 Enoch lxii. 16, where the risen righteous are described:

"And they shall have been clothed with garments of glory,
And these shall be the garments of life from the Lord of
Spirits";

cviii. 12, "And I will bring forth in shining light those who have loved My holy name." See also 2 Enoch xxii. 8, "And the Lord said unto Michael: Go and take Enoch from out his earthly garments . . . and put him into the garments of My glory." For interesting though only partial parallels in Judaism and Zoroastrianism, see Lueken, *Michael*, 122 sq.; Böklen, *Verwandschaft d. jüdisch-christlichen mit d. Parsischen Eschatologie*, 61-65.

To return now to our author, it is clear that the white garments represent the resurrection or heavenly bodies of the faithful in iii. 4^a, 5^a, vi. 11 (see note), vii. 9, 13, 14, xix. 8^a (where 8^b is a gloss). In iii. 4^b (note), 18 (note), xvi. 15, the *ἱμάτια* are used as a symbol of the spiritual life as manifested in righteous character, which forms the heavenly vesture of the redeemed.

The idea may go back to Ps. civ. 2 where God is said to clothe Himself with light as with a garment. The garments of the angels are white: Mark ix. 3 = Luke ix. 29; Mark xvi. 5 = Matt. xxviii. 3; Acts i. 10. The very bodies of the angels are white, composed of light; cf. 2 Enoch i. 5. This is the older idea, and it is preserved in our author. Later these garments came to signify heavenly vestures of an accessory nature.

ἐξαλείψω . . . ἐκ. Cf. vii. 17, xxi. 4. The Sardians had a *name* to live and yet were dead (iii. 1); if they awake (iii. 2) to righteousness and show themselves victors, then their *name* will be preserved in the book of life. τῆς βίβλου τῆς ζωῆς. Cf. xiii. 8, xvii. 8, xx. 12, 15, xxi. 27.

"The idea underlying this phrase can be traced to the O.T. There the book of life (or its equivalents, Ex. xxxii. 32 sq., 'God's book'; Ps. lxi. 28, 'book of the living') was a register of the citizens of the Theocratic community of Israel. To have one's name written in the book of life implied the privilege of participating in the *temporal* blessings of the Theocracy, Isa. iv. 3, while to be blotted out of this book, Ex. xxxii. 32, Ps. lxi. 28, meant exclusion therefrom." He whose name was written in this book remained in life but he whose name was not, must die. "In the O.T. this expression was originally confined to *temporal* blessings only, save in Dan. xii. 1, where it is transformed through the influence of the new conception of the kingdom, and distinctly refers to an immortality of blessedness. It has the same meaning in 1 Enoch xlvii. 3. A further reference to it is to be found in 1 Enoch civ. 1, cviii. 7. The phrase again appears in the Book of Jubilees xxx. 20 sqq. in contrast with the book of those that shall be destroyed, but in the O.T. sense. . . . In the N.T. the phrase is of frequent occurrence, Phil. iv. 3; Rev. (see above list); and the idea in Luke x. 20, Heb. xii. 23, 'written in heaven,' is its practical equivalent." The above is quoted with a few changes from my note on 1 Enoch xlvii. 3. In the same note kindred expressions are dealt with at some length—such as the books of remembrance of good and evil deeds—the good in Ps. lvi. 8; Mal. iii. 16; Neh. xiii. 14; Jub. xxx. 22; the evil in Isa. lxv. 6; 1 Enoch lxxxi. 4, lxxxix. 61-64, 68, 70, 71, etc.; 2 Bar. xxiv. 1; both the good and the evil in Dan. vii. 10; 2 Enoch lii. 15, liii. 2; Rev. xx. 12; Asc. Isa. ix. 22. See Weber, *Jüd. Theol.*² 242, 282 sqq.; Dalman, *Worte Jesu*, i. 171; *K.A.T.*³ ii. 405; Bousset, *Rel. d. Judenthums*, 247.

καὶ ὁμολογήσω τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ κτλ. We have a clear reminiscence of our Lord's words in Matt. x. 32 (Luke xii. 8), πᾶς οὖν ὅστις ὁμολογήσει ἐν ἐμοὶ ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὁμολογήσω καὶ γὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ πατρὸς μου τοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς (τῶν ἀγγέλων τοῦ θεοῦ, Luke xii. 8).

7-13. THE MESSAGE TO THE CHURCH IN PHILADELPHIA.

7. τῆς ἐν Φιλαδελφίᾳ. This city (see Bible Dictionaries *in loc.*) lies some 28 miles south-east of Sardis. From the words of our author it is clear that its Christianity was of a high character,

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standing in point of merit second only to Smyrna among the seven Churches. In the time of Ignatius (*Ad Phil.* 3, 5, 10) it enjoyed the same high reputation. Philadelphia was founded on the southern side of the valley of the Cogamis—a tributary of the Hermus—by Attalus II. Philadelphus, and named after its founder (159–138 B.C.). Under Caracalla it received the title of Neocoros or Temple Warden, and thenceforward the *Koivón* of Asia met there from time to time to celebrate certain state festivals. Like other cities of Asia Minor it too suffered from the great earthquake in 17 A.D., and was assisted to rebuild by a donation from the imperial purse.

The chief pagan cult was that of Dionysus, but its main difficulties arose from Jewish rather than from pagan opponents (iii. 9), as was the case with Smyrna (ii. 9). These Judaizers were still a source of trouble in the time of Ignatius (*Ad Phil.* 6).

In later times Philadelphia was notable for the heroism with which it resisted the growing power of the Turks. "It displayed all the noble qualities of endurance, truth and steadfastness which are attributed to it in the letter of St. John, amid the ever threatening danger of Turkish attack; and its story rouses even Gibbon to admiration" (Ramsay, *Letters*, 400). It was not until 1379–90, when jealousy divided the Christian powers, that it fell before the attack of the united forces of the Byzantine Emperor Manuel II. and the Turkish Sultan Bayezid I. Since that time it has been known as Ala-Sheher,—the reddish city,—a designation due to the red hills in its rear.

ὁ ἅγιος ὁ ἀληθινός. "The Holy, the True." This asyndetic use of two divine designations is to be found in 1 Enoch i. 3, xiv. 1 (cf. also x. 1, xxv. 3, lxxxiv. 1), ὁ ἅγιος ὁ μέγας. ὁ ἅγιος was familiar to the Jews as a title of God; cf. Hab. iii. 3; Isa. xl. 25; 1 Enoch i. 2, xxxvii. 2, xciii. 11, etc.; Acts iii. 14. The two words ἅγιος and ἀληθινός, which are combined as epithets of God in vi. 10, are in our text applied to Christ: cf. iii. 14, ὁ πιστὸς καὶ ἀληθινός: xix. 11, πιστὸς [καλούμενος] καὶ ἀληθινός. As regards the meaning of ἀληθινός, Hort has rightly urged that "it is misleading to think (here) only of the classical sense, true as *genuine*. . . . "Not only vi. 10, but iii. 14, ὁ μάρτυς ὁ πιστὸς καὶ ἀληθινός (cf. xix. 11), and what is said of His 'ways' or 'judgments' (xv. 3, xvi. 7, xix. 2), ἀληθινός coupled with δίκαιος, show that the Apocalypse retains the O.T. conception of truth, expressed, e.g. in cxlvi. 6, 'which keepeth truth for ever,' i.e. constancy to a plighted word or purpose, the opposite of caprice." Cf. also Isa. xlix. 7, "because of the Lord that is faithful, the Holy One of Israel." In the LXX ἀληθής is never used of God, but ἀληθινός is used a few times:

cf. Ex. xxxiv. 6; Isa. lxn. 16; Ps. lxxxvi. 15, where the Hebrew is either יְהוָה or יְהוֹשֻׁעַ . Hence $\delta\lambda\eta\theta\iota\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$ implies that God or Christ, as true, will fulfil His word. The thoroughly Hebraic character of the Apocalypse confirms this view. In the Fourth Gospel, on the other hand, $\delta\lambda\eta\theta\iota\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$ = "genuine" as opposed to unreal rather than to untruthful. Hence in our author Trench's (*N.T. Synonyms*, 29) admirable differentiation of the words $\delta\lambda\eta\theta\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ (not used in our author, but 14 times in the Fourth Gospel) and $\delta\lambda\eta\theta\iota\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$ does not hold: "We may affirm of the $\delta\lambda\eta\theta\acute{\eta}\varsigma$, that he fulfils the promise of his lips, but the $\delta\lambda\eta\theta\iota\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$, the wider promise of his name. Whatever that name imports, taken in its highest, deepest, widest sense, whatever according to that he ought to be, that he is to the full." This distinction is true of the Fourth Gospel, where both words occur.

$\delta\epsilon\chi\omicron\nu\tau\eta\nu\ \kappa\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\ \Delta\alpha\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta$, $\delta\ \alpha\nu\omicron\iota\gamma\omega\nu\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \omicron\upsilon\delta\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \kappa\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\epsilon\iota\ \kappa\tau\lambda$. The passage points back to i. 18, but it is based on Isa. xxii. 22, where QF with the Mass. read, with reference to Eliakim, $\delta\acute{\omega}\sigma\omega\ \tau\eta\nu\ \kappa\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha\ \omicron\acute{\iota}\kappa\omicron\nu\ \Delta\alpha\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\ \epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \acute{\omega}\mu\omicron\upsilon\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$, $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \alpha\nu\omicron\iota\acute{\xi}\epsilon\iota\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \omicron\upsilon\kappa\ \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\alpha\iota\ \delta\ \alpha\pi\omicron\kappa\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega\nu\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \kappa\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\epsilon\iota\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \omicron\upsilon\kappa\ \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\alpha\iota\ \delta\ \alpha\nu\omicron\iota\gamma\omega\nu$. Since both B and A read differently, our author is apparently not using the LXX here. In any case, while the LXX reproduces the Mass., which here consists of parallel clauses, it is clear that our author deals independently with the text. The Hebrew is familiar to him, and what appears in Isa. xxii. 22 in the form of direct statements and finite verbs is cast by our author into a series of dependent clauses, which are introduced by participles that are subsequently resolved into finite verbs, i.e. $\delta\ \alpha\nu\omicron\iota\gamma\omega\nu\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \omicron\upsilon\delta\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \kappa\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\epsilon\iota\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \kappa\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega\nu\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \omicron\upsilon\delta\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \alpha\nu\omicron\iota\gamma\epsilon\iota$. This is not Greek, but a Hebrew idiom often used by our author, $\text{וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע הָעָם וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע הָעָם$.

The expression $\tau\eta\nu\ \kappa\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\ \Delta\alpha\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta$ has apparently a Messianic significance. Cf. v. 5, xxii. 16, $\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\alpha\ \Delta\alpha\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta$. The words teach that to Christ belongs complete authority in respect to admission to or exclusion from the city of David, the New Jerusalem. The admission referred to may primarily have to do with the Gentiles and the exclusion with the unbelieving Jews (see 9). But their scope is universal.

As Eliakim carried the keys of the house of David in the court of Hezekiah, so does Christ in the kingdom of God: cf. Eph. i. 22. He has the same authority in regard to Hades, i. 18, and supreme authority in heaven and earth, Matt. xxviii. 18, and is "as a son over his own house," Heb. iii. 6.

8. Ὁὐδὲ σου τὰ ἔργα . This clause has by some scholars been rejected on the ground that it breaks the connection and is harmonistic. But it is better with WH to take the words that

follow, ἰδοὺ δέδωκα . . . αὐτήν, as a parenthesis, and connect οἶδα . . . ἔργα directly with ὅτι μικρὰν ἔχεις κτλ. οἶδα is followed by ὅτι in iii. 1, 15.

ἰδοὺ δέδωκα ἐνώπιόν σου θύραν ἀνεφγμένην. δέδωκα apparently is used Hebraistically here, "I have set." In θύρ. ἀνεφγμένην we have a Pauline metaphor: cf. 1 Cor. xvi. 9, θύρα γάρ μοι ἀνεφγεν μεγάλη καὶ ἐνεργής: 2 Cor. ii. 12, θύρας μοι ἀνεφγμένης ἐν κυρίῳ: Col. iv. 3, ἵνα ὁ θεὸς ἀνοίξῃ ἡμῖν θύραν τοῦ λόγου (i.e. an opportunity for preaching the word). Here the "open door" means that a good opportunity is being given for missionary effort, and in our text and in the above Pauline passages the door stands for the privilege accorded to the Christian teachers; in Acts xiv. 27, ἤνοιξεν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν θύραν πίστεως, the metaphor is applied conversely, where the door is opened not to the Christian teacher, but to the converts to the Christian Church. A different explanation has been advanced by Moffatt, who in view of a passage written by Ignatius to this same Church of Philadelphia (*Ad Philad.* ix. 1, αὐτὸς ὢν θύρα τοῦ πατρὸς, δι' ἧς εἰσέρχονται Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ κτλ.) connects the phrase with Christ and compares John x. 7, 9, where Christ describes Himself as ἡ θύρα τῶν προβάτων. But it would be strange for the speaker—Christ—to say, "Behold I have set before you a door opened," and to imply thereby that He Himself was this door. The direct form of statement in John x. 7, 9 does not support this view. Bousset propounds a third explanation, i.e. that the open door is for the entrance of the community into the Messianic glory.

ἢν οὐδεὶς δύναται κλεῖσαι αὐτήν. On this Hebraism cf. vii. 2, 9, xiii. 8, 12, xx. 8: cf. xii. 6, 14, xvii. 9; also ii. 7, 17.

ὅτι μικρὰν ἔχεις δύναμιν. This clause, as pointed out above, depends directly on οἶδά σου τὰ ἔργα, the intervening clause being a parenthesis. The Church had little weight in Philadelphia so far as concerned its external circumstances.

καὶ ἐτήρησάς μου τὸν λόγον. The καὶ has here an adversative force (= "and yet"), as frequently in the Fourth Gospel (Abbott, *Gram.* 135 sqq.), i. 5, iii. 13, 19, iv. 20, vi. 70, ix. 34, etc. The usage is Hebraic in character. Cf. also Matt. vi. 26; Jer. xxiii. 21 (Robertson, *Gram.* 1183). On ἐτήρησας . . . λόγον see note on xiv. 12. καὶ οὐκ ἡρνήσω. Cf. ii. 13. These clauses point to some period of faithfulness under trial in the past.

μου τὸν λόγον . . . τὸ ὄνομά μου. With the position of the pronoun here cf. x. 9, πικραίνει σου τὴν κοιλίαν ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ στόματί σου ἔσται γλυκύ. The first unemphatic (or vernacular possessive) μου throws the emphasis on ἐτήρησας and τὸν λόγον: "And yet the word I gave you thou didst keep, and didst not deny My name."

9. The conversion of the Jewish element in Thyatira promised.

ἰδοὺ διδῶ ἐκ τῆς συναγωγῆς τοῦ Σατανᾶ. In διδῶ (for the earlier δίδωμι—see Robertson, *Gram.* 311 sq.) we have a transition from -μι to -ω forms. Cf. xvii. 13 (διδάσιν). As regards διδῶ two interpretations are possible. First, it may be rendered literally: "I give men of the synagogue . . . as thy converts." Otherwise διδῶ is to be taken Hebraically, "I make (i.e. I will make) men of the synagogue . . . behold I will make" (ποιήσω). This latter use is frequent in the LXX. It is to be found also in Acts x. 40, xiv. 3 (ii. 27, in a quotation from the LXX). The combination ἰδοὺ διδῶ is decidedly in favour of the latter view; for it is a pure Hebraism, הִנֵּנִי יַעֲשֶׂה, with a future sense. With the construction διδῶ ἐκ τῆς συναγωγῆς compare ii. 17, δώσω . . . τοῦ μάννα.

τῆς συναγωγῆς τοῦ Σατανᾶ. In the LXX תַּהְיֶה לְהַקֵּשׁ is rendered ἡ συναγωγὴ τοῦ κυρίου (Num. xvi. 3, xx. 4: cf. also xxvi. 9, xxvii. 3, where a different Hebrew word is used). Not a Synagogue of the Lord, but a Synagogue of Satan, does the Seer pronounce these Jews to be. Some twenty years later the Church of Philadelphia had greater dangers to encounter from the Judaizers than from the Jews, both of whom were active: cf. Ignat. *Ad Philad.* vi. 1, εἰδὼν δὲ τις ἰουδαϊσμὸν ἐρμηνεύῃ ὑμῖν, μὴ ἀκούετε αὐτοῦ: ἄμεινον γάρ ἐστιν παρὰ ἀνδρὸς περιτομῆν ἔχοντος ἰουδαϊσμὸν ἀκούειν ἢ παρὰ ἀκροβύστου ἰουδαϊσμὸν.

τῶν λεγόντων αὐτοὺς ἰουδαίους εἶναι. The τῶν λεγόντων is in apposition to τῆς συναγωγῆς. On the whole clause cf. ii. 9. In classical Greek the usual construction would be τῶν λεγόντων (αὐτῶν) ἰουδαίων εἶναι. But even in classical Greek the acc. with inf. is found where the nom. would have been usual. In the *κουή* Moulton (*Gram.* 212 sq.) shows the same usage active. In fact, as Robertson writes (*Gram.* 1039), "the acc. with the inf. was normal when the substantive with the inf. was different from the subject of the principal verb." Our author claims that the Christians alone had the right to the name "Jew." "Faith in Christ, not mere nationality, constituted true Judaism. The succession had passed to Christianity" (Moffatt *in loc.*): cf. Rom. ix. 6–9, ii. 28, 29, "He is not a Jew which is one outwardly . . . but he is a Jew which is one inwardly." Herein our author differs from the Fourth Evangelist, with whom ἰουδαῖοι is by no means an honourable designation.

τῶν λεγόντων . . . καὶ οὐκ εἰσίν. An unmistakable Hebraism. Cf. ii. 9 and i. 5–6, note.

ποιήσω ἵνα *cum fut. or subj.* Cf. xiii. 12 (fut.), 16 (subj. ?); John xi. 37 (subj.); Col. iv. 16 (subj.). The ἵνα clause is one of consequence; cf. ix. 20, xiii. 13. The fut. ind. after

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ἵνα is frequent in our author: see Introd. to ii.-iii. § 2 (δ), p. 41 sq.

ἵνα ἤξουσιν καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν ἐνώπιον τῶν ποδῶν σου. Cf. xv. 4, xxii. 8. The language is based on Isa. lx. 14, where the Gentiles are described as submitting to the Jews: πορεύονται πρὸς σε δαδουκότες υἱοὶ ταπεινωσάντων σε: xlv. 14, διαβήσονται πρὸς σε καὶ προσκυνήσουσίν σοι. It will be observed that our author's diction is not dependent on the LXX. Moreover, our text more nearly renders the Mass. of Isa. lx. 14 than the LXX, for καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν ἐπὶ τὰ ἵχνη τῶν ποδῶν σου is found only in Q^{ms} and not in the LXX. The homage that the Jews expected from the Gentiles, they were themselves to render to the Christians. They should play the rôle of the heathen and acknowledge the Christians to be the true Israel.

ἐγὼ ἠγάπησά σε. From Isa. xliii. 4.

προσκυνήσουσιν . . . καὶ γνώσιν. Cf. xxii. 14, ἵνα ἔσται . . . καὶ . . . εἰσέλθωσιν.

10. This verse is a redactional addition on the part of our Seer when he was editing his visions. Its meaning is only explicable from a right understanding of vii., where the 144,000 are sealed. There the faithful are sealed with a view to their preservation from the assaults of demons, but are not thereby secured against physical death. This persecution is not to be a merely local one (cf. ii. 10): it is to embrace the entire world. Elsewhere throughout the original Letters to the Seven Churches there is not even an apprehension of a world-wide persecution (see § 5, p. 44 sq.). The continued existence of two of the Churches is presupposed till the Second Advent: cf. ii. 25, iii. 3 (?), 11. It will be observed that the demonic trial spoken of, while world-wide, was to affect only "those that dwell upon the earth," i.e. the non-Christians.

ὅτι ἐτήρησας τὸν λόγον . . . καγὼ σε τηρήσω. Cf. John xvii. 6, 11, 12, τὸν λόγον σου τετήρηκαν . . . πᾶτερ ἅγιε, τηρήσον αὐτούς . . . ὅτε ἤμην μετ' αὐτῶν ἐγὼ ἐτήρουν αὐτούς. As they have kept Christ's word, so He will keep them safe from the demonic assaults which will affect all who are not His.

τὸν λόγον τῆς ὑπομονῆς μου, i.e. "the word of my endurance." The phrase ὑπομονὴ τῶν ἁγίων (xiii. 10, xiv. 12), i.e. "the endurance practised by the saints," requires a like interpretation here. Hence "the word of my endurance" is "the Gospel of the endurance practised by Christ." This is to be, as Hort writes, 'at once as an example and as a power.' Cf. 2 Thess. iii. 5, τὴν ὑπομονὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ: Ignat. *Ad Rom.* x. 3, ἔρρωσθε εἰς τέλος ἐν ὑπομονῇ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

τηρήσω ἐκ. Only found elsewhere in the N.T. in John xvii. 15 (cf. Jas. i. 27, τηρεῖν ἀπό), where the thought is quite in

keeping with that of our Seer : οὐκ ἔρωτῶ ἵνα ἄρῃς ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου ἀλλ' ἵνα τηρήσῃς αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ. Here τοῦ πονηροῦ is the Evil One, or Satan. Hence our Lord's prayer is that His disciples may be delivered from the evil sway of Satan, not that they may be saved from the physical evils (including death) which are inevitably incident to this life. This gives exactly the object of the sealing in vii. The sealing provides the spiritual help needed against the coming manifestation of Satanic wickedness linked with seemingly supreme power. See III. c. in the Introd. to vii., § 5, p. 194 sqq. Unreserved loyalty to Christ carries with it immunity from spiritual anguish and mental trouble.

τῆς ὥρας τοῦ πειρασμοῦ. This tribulation is to affect only the faithless and the heathen ; for, as the note on xi. 10 shows, the phrase "those that dwell upon the earth" denotes the world of unbelievers as distinguished from that of the faithful. Hence whilst the word πειρασμός (cf. πειράζειν later) may in some degree retain the sense of "trial," since some of the faithless might thereby be brought to repent, yet its prevailing sense in this passage is affliction and temptation—the fitting functions of the demons (ix. 1-21). πειράζειν in ii. 10 means "to afflict," but the affliction is limited to "ten days." On πειράζειν as meaning to inflict evils upon one in order to test his character, cf. 1 Cor. x. 13 ; Heb. ii. 18, iv. 15.

τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. These are the heathens or non-Christians. See note on xi. 10 and § 4 of the Introd. to xiii. Thus the coming πειρασμός, which is to be world-wide, is to afflict only those who have not the seal of God on their forehead (ix. 4). See note on vii. 3.

11. ἔρχομαι ταχύ. This refers to the Second Advent and presupposes the continuance of the community till that event, as in ii. 25, iii. 3. But the main presupposition of the later chapters, which represent our author's final view, is that in the final persecution all the faithful will suffer martyrdom : cf. xiii. 15, xviii. 4 (note), 20, and § 1 of the Introd. to xv., and § 1 of the Introd. to xvi.

κράτει ὁ ἔχεις. Each Church is to preserve its own inheritance. Cf. ii. 25. See note on ii. 1 on κρατείν.

ἵνα μηδεὶς λάβῃ τὸν στέφανόν σου. The promise of the crown is parallel to that made to the Church of Smyrna, ii. 10 (see note). Cf. Col. ii. 18 ; 2 Tit. ii. 5.

12. See note on ii. 11^b.

ὁ νικῶν ποιήσω αὐτόν. A Hebraism. Cf. ii. 7, 17, 26, iii. 21.

στύλον ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ θεοῦ μου. With θεοῦ μου cf. iii. 2, 5. Here the phrase occurs four times. The expression στύλος is used metaphorically as elsewhere in the N.T. and in Judaism. Cf. 1 Tim. iii. 15, ἐκκλησία . . . στύλος καὶ ἑδραίωμα τῆς ἀληθ-

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θείας: also Gal. ii. 9. In Clem. Rom. v. 2, Peter and Paul are called οἱ μέγιστοι καὶ δικαιοτάτοι στύλοι. In Judaism, R. Johanan ben Sakkai was called יְיָנִי הַיָּמִין, "the right pillar," with reference to 1 Kings vii. 21 (Ber. 28^b), and Abraham the pillar of the world in Exod. rab. 2 (see Levy's *Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch*, iii. 660; also Schoettgen, *Hor.* i. 728 sq.). The metaphor is current in most languages: cf. Pind. *Ol.* ii. 146; Eur. *Iph.* I. 57, στύλοι γὰρ οἴκων εἰσὶ παῖδες ἄρσενες: Aesch. *Agam.* 897; Hor. *Od.* i. 35. 13. Since στύλος is thus used metaphorically, it follows that ναός has also a metaphorical sense here. Hence the text is not inconsistent with xxi. 22, where it is said that there is no temple in the heavenly Jerusalem, xxi. 10–xxii. 2, which descended from God to be the seat of the Millennial Kingdom. In the more spiritual and New Jerusalem, xxi. 2–4, xxii. 3–5, which was to descend after the first judgment, there could, of course, be no temple. The local heavenly sanctuary existing in heaven (see notes on vii. 15, iv. 2) was ultimately to disappear, and God Himself to be the temple.

ἔξω οὐ μὴ ἐξέλθῃ ἔτι. The subject is ὁ νικῶν. Fixity of character is at last achieved. Since God is the temple, and the faithful have become pillars in this temple, they have become one with Him, and therefore can never be separated from Him. Cf. John xvii. 21^a, ἵνα πάντες ἐν ὧσιν: 22, ἵνα ὧσιν ἐν καθὼς ἡμεῖς ἐν: 21^b, ἵνα καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν ἡμῖν ὧσιν. Isa. xxii. 25, which speaks of the removal of "the nail fastened in a sure place" (*i.e.* Eliakim), may have been in the mind of our author, inasmuch as in iii. 7 he has quoted Isa. xxii. 22. The nail can be removed, but not the pillar.

οὐ (or μὴ) . . . ἔτι, frequent in our author but not in Fourth Gospel.

καὶ γράψω ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὸ ὄνομα κτλ. So far as the Greek goes the words ἐπ' αὐτόν could refer to (1) στύλον, or (2) ὁ νικῶν. 1. In favour of the first it has been urged that inscriptions on pillars were not infrequent in Oriental architecture. In order to worship a god it was necessary to know his name. Thus in the magical prayer of Astrampsychus, quoted by Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, 20 (see Kenyon, *Greek Papyri*, i. 116), we find: Οἶδά σε, Ἐρμῇ . . . οἶδά σου καὶ τὰ βαρβαρικὰ ὀνόματα καὶ τὸ ἀληθινὸν ὄνομά σου τὸ ἐγγραμμένον τῇ ἱερᾷ στήλῃ ἐν τῷ ἀδύτῳ ἐν Ἑρμουνπόλει. But there is a nearer parallel, as Bousset points out (referring to Hirschfeld, 860); for it was customary for the provincial priest of the imperial cultus at the close of his year of office to erect his statue in the confines of the temple, inscribing on it his own name and his father's, his place of birth and year of office. Possibly the foregoing figure was chosen with reference to this custom in order to set forth the dignity of the faithful as

priests of God in the next world. Ignatius, *Ad Philad.* vi. 1, has been thought to refer to the present text when he writes in reference to those who do not acknowledge Jesus Christ, οἱτοί μοι στῆλαι εἰσιν καὶ τάφοι νεκρῶν, ἐφ' οἷς γέγραπται μόνον δνόματα ἀνθρώπων. But there is really no idea in common. Ignatius is comparing false teachers to sepulchres, whereas our text declares that the victors shall be upholders of the spiritual temple of God, with the name of their God blazoned on their brows. Some think that the idea in our text is a development of Isa. lvi. 5, "Unto them will I give in mine house and within my walls a memorial (lit. 'hand') and a name better than of sons and daughters," to which there are parallels in the Phoenician and Punic stones, which served as memorials within the heathen temples. But, as we have already presupposed, the other interpretation is decidedly to be preferred. 2. The victor receives the name on his forehead, as in xiv. 1, xxii. 4 (cf. vii. 3, note, xvii. 5). See also ii. 17, note.

τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ μου. See note on iii. 2. The name of God impressed on the forehead of the victors shows that they are God's own possession: see vii. 3, note.

τὸ ὄνομα τῆς πόλεως τοῦ θεοῦ μου. These words denote that to the victor God will give the right of citizenship in the New Jerusalem: cf. Gal. iv. 26; Phil. iii. 20; Heb. xi. 10, xii. 22, xiii. 14.

τῆς καινῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ. Cf. xxi. 2. The New Jerusalem is the Jerusalem that descends from God after the final judgment and the creation of the new heaven and the new earth. It is to be distinguished from the heavenly Jerusalem which descends from heaven before the final judgment to be the seat of the Millennial Kingdom. See 5 in the Introd. to xx. 4-xxii., vol. ii. p. 150. Our author uses the form Ἱερουσαλήμ, but the Fourth Gospel Ἱεροσόλυμα.

ἡ καταβαίνουσα κτλ. Cf. xxi. 2, 10. On this Hebraism see note on i. 5.

τὸ ὄνομά μου τὸ καινόν. Cf. xix. 12, 16. But the new name more probably is one to be revealed at His Second Advent. And as Christ was to bear a new name at this Advent, so should also His faithful servants, ii. 17. Gressmann (*Urspr. d. Israel. jüd. Eschat.* 281) has aptly remarked that "as in the beginning of the present world all things received their definite names, so will they also be named anew in the future world."

A partial parallel to the whole verse is to be found in the Baba Bathra, 75^b, "Rabbi Samuel the son of Nachmani said in the name of Rabbi Johanan that three are named after the name of the Holy One—blessed be He—the righteous (Isa. xliii. 7), the Messiah (Jer. xxiii. 6), and Jerusalem (Ezek. xlvi. 35).

14-22. MESSAGE TO THE CHURCH IN LAODICEA.

As there were at least six cities, bearing the name Laodicea, founded or restored during the later Hellenic period, the Laodicea in our text was called *Λαοδίκεια ἡ πρὸς* (or *ἐπὶ*) *τῇ Λύκῳ* (Strabo, 578). In the N.T. it was written *Λαοδικία*, but in inscriptions and literature *Λαοδίκεια*. It was founded on the south bank of the Lycus, 6 m. south of Hierapolis and 10 west of Colossae, by Antiochus II. (261-246 B.C.), and named in honour of his wife Laodice. Laodicea was most favourably situated as regards the imperial road-system. It formed the point on the great eastern highway where three roads converged and met: the first from the S.E. from Attaleia and Perga; the second from the N.W. from Sardis and Philadelphia (about 40 miles distant); and the third from the N.E. from Dorylaeum and northern Phrygia. Its situation thus fitted it to become a great commercial and administrative city. Besides being a seat of the Cibyric *conventus*, it was (1) a banking centre (thus Cicero proposes to cash there his treasury bills of exchange—*Ad Fam.* iii. 5, *Ad Att.* v. 15), and very opulent; for when it was overthrown by the great earthquakes of 60-61 A.D. (*Tac. Ann.* xiv. 27) it was not obliged to apply for an imperial subsidy, as was usual in the case of other cities of Asia Minor: cf. iii. 17, *πλούσιός εἰμι . . . καὶ οὐδὲν χρεῖαν ἔχω*: it was also (2) a large manufacturer of clothing and carpets of the native black wool, and it was likewise (3) the seat of a flourishing medical school, amongst its teachers having been Zeuxis and Alexander Philalethes. Now it can hardly be an accident that in iii. 17 of our text there are three epithets which refer to these commercial and intellectual activities,—*πτωχὸς καὶ τυφλὸς καὶ γυμνός*,—but in the way of total disparagement. And that this is so is still clearer from iii. 18, where, in contrast to their material wealth, their successful woollen factories and their famous medical specifics, the Laodiceans are bidden to buy from Christ the true riches, the white garments and the eye salve for their purblind vision. The Church of Laodicea was probably founded by Epaphras of Colossae, Col. i. 7, iv. 12 sq. The Lycus valley had not been visited by St. Paul down to the time of his first imprisonment in Rome, Col. ii. 1. That he wrote a letter to Laodicea is to be inferred from Col. iv. 16; but this letter is lost, unless it is to be identified with that to the Ephesians (see *Ency. Bib.* i. 866 sq.). The Latin Epistle to the Laodiceans is entirely apocryphal (see Lightfoot, *Colossians*, 279-298). Our author appears to have been acquainted with St. Paul's Epistle to the Colossians. See note on 14. On this letter cf. Ramsay, *Letters*,

413 sqq., and the articles on Laodicea in Hastings' *D.B.* and the *Ency. Bib.*—especially in the latter.

14. ὁ Ἀμήν. The explanation of this phrase is uncertain, but it may possibly be found in Isa. lxx. 16, יְהוָה אֱמֵן = "the God of Amen." But, as modern scholars recognize, the LXX (τὸν θεὸν τὸν ἀληθινόν) implies יְהוָה אֱמֵן = "the God of truth," instead of יְהוָה אֱמֵן , "the God of Amen." The idea is thus "the True One," "the One who keepeth covenant." Hence the words that follow are in part a repetition and in part an expansion of the phrase that follows. Symmachus renders τῷ θεῷ, ἀμήν, and Aquila (τῷ θεῷ) πεπιστωμένως. In any case our author, as Symmachus, found יְהוָה in Isa. lxx. 16.

ὁ μάρτυς πιστὸς καὶ ἀληθινός. For the first three words cf. i. 5, and for the meaning our author attaches to ἀληθινός, see note on iii. 7.

ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κτίσεως τοῦ θεοῦ, i.e. "the origin (or 'primary source') of the creation of God." It is remarkable that in St. Paul's Epistle to the Colossians we have several phrases which can hardly be regarded as other than the prototypes of certain expressions in our author. Now we know (Col. iv. 16) that St. Paul wrote about the same time to the Churches of Colossae and Laodicea, and gave directions that the Epistle to the Colossians was to be read in the Church of Laodicea and the Epistle to the Laodiceans to be read in the Church of Colossae. Now it is possible that like phrases to those in the Epistle to the Colossians occurred in that to the Laodiceans; but even presupposing that this was not the case, we know at all events that St. Paul's original Epistle to the Colossians was read in the Church of Laodicea and that probably copies of it were current there. Since, therefore, there are, as we shall show, several points in common between our author and the Colossian Epistle, it is highly probable that our author was acquainted with it. See Lightfoot, *Colossians*, 41 sqq.

1. First of all, with ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κτίσεως τοῦ θεοῦ we should compare Col. i. 18, ὃς ἐστὶν ἀρχή (where ἀρχή—the active principle in creation = αἰτία, cause—has the same meaning as in our text), and i. 15, πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως (= "sovereign Lord over all creation by virtue of primogeniture"—Lightfoot). It is to be observed that πρωτότοκος bears the same meaning in our author in i. 5, πρωτότοκος τῶν νεκρῶν = "sovereign Lord of the dead" (i.e. the secondary meaning of πρωτότοκος). In Col. i. 18, πρωτότοκος ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν is not quite parallel owing to the presence of the ἐκ, which brings out the primary meaning of πρωτότοκος, i.e. priority in time.

2. With iii. 21, δώσω αὐτῷ καθίσαι μετ' ἐμοῦ ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ μου, ὡς

καὶ ἐνίκησα καὶ ἐκάθισα μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς μου ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ αὐτοῦ, compare Col. iii. 1, εἰ οὖν συνηγέρθητε τῷ Χ., τὰ ἄνω ζητεῖτε; οὐ ὁ Χ. ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ θεοῦ καθήμενος. (Cf. Eph. ii. 6, συνηγείρεν καὶ συνεκάθισεν ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ.) In our text the victors are to be seated on Christ's throne as He is seated on God's throne. In Col. iii. 1, Christ is seated at the right hand of God, and the faithful are to sit with Him in heavenly places (Eph. ii. 6).

3. In iii. 17-19 the self-complacency and self-satisfaction of the Laodiceans, arising in part, no doubt, from their great material wealth and prosperity as well as their intellectual advancement, are denounced, and they are exhorted to seek the true riches and the true wisdom which comes from a vision purged by the Great Physician. Cf. Col. i. 27, where the apostle emphasizes in contrast to their proud but baseless knowledge (ii. 8, 18, 23), "the riches of the glory of this mystery which is Christ in you," and ii. 2, 3, where he declares that he strives for the Colossians and also for the *Laodiceans* that they may be brought unto "all riches of the full assurance of understanding," even "all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge hidden" in Christ.

It is not unreasonable to conclude from the above evidence that our author was acquainted directly or indirectly with St. Paul's Epistle to the Colossians. Possibly he was acquainted with St. Paul's lost Epistle to the Laodiceans, and was thereby influenced in his diction and thought. There are no resemblances between the diction and thought of the other six Letters and the Pauline Epistles—a matter worthy of consideration.

15. While the Churches of Ephesus, Pergamum, Thyatira, and Sardis were guilty of manifest evils, no such evil is laid to the charge of the Church of Laodicea. But the evil, if not manifest, was still more perilous. The Laodiceans professed Christianity and were self-complacent and self-satisfied. They were unconscious that they were wholly, or all but wholly, out of communion with Christ (iii. 20), at all events they felt no need of repentance. Hence the startling declaration that the absolute rejection of religion (iii. 15) were preferable to the Laodicean profession of it. As a Church and as individuals they dwelt with complacency on what they had achieved (17*), whilst they were serenely unconscious of what they had left undone.

ὄφελον ψυχρὸς ἦς. ὄφελον is used with the past ind. in late Greek to introduce an impracticable wish, and with the fut. ind. (Gal. v. 12) to express a practicable wish. But here as in 2 Cor. xi. 1 we have ὄφελον with the past ind. to express a possibility though in the present still unrealized. Moulton

defines these as instances of the "unreal" indicative. See Blass, *Gram.* 206 sq., 220; Moulton, *Gram.* i. 200.

ζεστός. Here only in the LXX or the N.T. Enthusiasm is required in the faithful, they were to be "hot to the boiling point," fervent in spirit (τῷ πνεύματι ζέοντες, Rom. xii. 11).

16. χλίαςρος, i.e. "lukewarm"—here only in Biblical Greek.

μέλλω . . . ἐμέσαι. Our author as a rule uses the pres. inf. after μέλλειν: see note on iii. 2. ἐμέσαι. This verb is not used elsewhere in the N.T. and only once in the LXX. The rejection of the Laodicean Church is not announced as final here, and the possibility of repentance is admitted in 18-20. The language is very forcible though homely. The Laodiceans are not only denounced, but denounced with the utmost abhorrence. Such a denunciation is without parallel in the other Epistles. An immediate and special judgment is not here held in view, but the final judgment.

17. This verse forms the protasis of the sentence; the apodosis follows in 18. See note on 14-22 above. There it is pointed out that in 17-18 we have references to the material and intellectual wealth of Laodicea. On the other hand it is urged that the language is metaphorical, and states that the Church of Laodicea is rich in spiritual possessions and has need of nothing (cf. 1 Cor. iv. 7-8). This, no doubt, is true, but the allusion to the material conditions of the city cannot be ignored.

πλούσιός εἰμι καὶ πεπλούτηκα, "I am rich, and have gotten riches." Our text here is a free and direct rendering of Hos. xii. 9, יֵי אֲנִי עָשִׁיר וְנִשְׂבַּע. The LXX renders ἦν under the influence of the kindred Arabic root, πεπλόνηκα, εὐρηκα ἀναψυχὴν (ἀνωφελές, Aquila) ἐμαντῶ, but our author's rendering is more correct. Laodicea not only declares that she is rich, but maintains that her wealth, material and spiritual, is the result of her own exertions. But, as has already been suggested in ii. 9, the Church that is rich in spiritual and moral achievements is the most conscious of its own spiritual and moral poverty.

In οὐδὲν χρεῖαν ἔχω the οὐδὲν is an acc. of limitation or reference. Blass (*Gram.* 91, note) thinks it cannot be right. But it recurs in xxii. 5 (note). Our author uses χρεῖαν ἔχειν either with the gen. (xxi. 23, xxii. 5) or with the acc. (iii. 17, xxii. 5). As Swete points out, there is a parallel expression and construction in *Petr. Ev.* 5, ὡς μηδὲν πόνον ἔχων. But our author does not always keep to the same construction. Thus γέμω has a gen. in iv. 6, 8, v. 8, xv. 7, xvii. 4, xxi. 9, but an acc. in xvii. 3, 4.

καὶ οὐκ οἶδας. Contrast this with οἶδά σου τὰ ἔργα in iii. 15.

σύ εἰ ὁ ταλαίπωρος κτλ. The σύ is emphatic: it is thou who art self-satisfied and boastful that art the wretched one *par excellence*. With the emphatic use of the art. before the pre-

dicare cf. Luke xviii. 13; Matt. v. 13, ὑμεῖς ἐστε τὸ ἅλας τῆς γῆς, i.e. the only salt that deserves the name (cf. Blass, *Gram.* 157). *ταλαίπωρος* occurs only here and in Rom. vii. 24, where it is used respectively of the extremes of unconscious and conscious wretchedness. *ἐλεεινός*, "pitiable," as in Dan. ix. 23; 1 Cor. xv. 19.

πτωχός καὶ τυφλός καὶ γυμνός. In these three terms we have most probably allusions to local subjects of self-complacency in Laodicea and its Church; see note on 14-22, p. 93. On the spiritual significance of *πτωχός* see note on ii. 9.

18. Here at the close of the subordinate clauses comes the chief sentence. This sentence is an admonition dealing with the spiritual condition of the Laodiceans as set forth in the closing words of the preceding verse—*πτωχός καὶ τυφλός καὶ γυμνός*. Since the Laodiceans are all but spiritually destitute (*πτωχός*), they are exhorted to buy for themselves a new and disciplined spirit (*χρυσίον πεπυρωμένον ἐκ πυρός*). This spirit constitutes the true riches, and since it cannot remain fruitless or inoperative, it manifests itself in a righteous character. Now this righteous character as it advances towards perfectionment weaves a garment for the spirit—the spiritual body—the white raiment of the blessed in the heavenly world. The Christian character (or its derivative the spiritual body) may be regarded from two standpoints. From the human standpoint such character is a personal acquisition of the faithful, and, therefore, so far always imperfect: hence it can be soiled by unfaithfulness (iii. 4^b), or cleansed and made white in the blood of the Lamb (vii. 14). On the other hand, from the divine standpoint the Christian character is a gift of God. Its derivative, the spiritual body, is not bestowed till the faithful have attained their perfectionment. Since the martyrs were regarded as having already reached this stage, they were clothed in heavenly bodies (vi. 11), whereas from the rest of the faithful this gift was withheld till the end of the world, as they were still in a state of imperfection, even though redeemed.

συμβουλεύω σοι. This construction here and in John xviii. 14 only in N.T. Occasionally in the LXX.

ἀγοράσαι παρ' ἐμοῦ χρυσίον. Cf. Isa. lv. 1, "Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters, and he that hath no money; come ye . . . buy (*ἀγοράσατε*) wine and milk without money and without price." For the metaphorical use of this verb cf. v. 9, xiv. 3, 4; Matt. xxv. 9, 10.

The words *παρ' ἐμοῦ* are emphatic. Cf. Matt. vi. 19, 20 for the thought. As regards the construction *ἀγοράσαι παρά*, cf. 2 Esdr. xx. 31. In v. 9 of our author this verb is followed by *ἐκ*, and in xiv. 3, 4 by *ἀπό*: but the sense is different. On the

symbolic meaning of χρυσίον here see note at beginning of verse.

πεπυρωμένον ἐκ πυρός. Cf. 1 Pet. i. 7, τὸ δοκίμιον ὑμῶν τῆς πίστεως πολυτιμώτερον χρυσίου . . . διὰ πυρός δὲ δοκιμαζομένον. Other parallels may be found in Ps. xviii. 31, Prov. xxx. 5, where the word of the Lord is said to be "tried" (פְּרֻחָה, in the LXX πεπυρωμένοι), or in Pss. Sol. xvii. 47, πεπυρωμένα ὑπὲρ χρυσίου. See also Ps. lxvi. 10. From these parallels it is clear that the meaning of πεπυρωμένον ἐκ πυρός is that *this* gold has been tested and is to be trusted. Further, since in the present passage this gold is not a material but a spiritual thing, the idea of the text is that Christ gives to the true seeker a spiritual gift, which constitutes the only true riches (Col. i. 27). This spiritual gift, consisting as it does in a new heart or spirit, becomes in fellowship with Christ the *fons et origo* of the Christian character, and this in turn the source and artificer of the spiritual body. Another function of this new spirit in man is that it endows him with spiritual vision (iii. 18^c). Interpreted thus, the ἱμάτια λευκά and the κολλούριον are not separate and independent gifts, but gifts that are subsidiary to or rather springing out of the chief gift—the χρυσίον πεπυρωμένον ἐκ πυρός—i.e. the new heart.

ἱμάτια λευκά. See the preceding note; also the note at beginning of verse, and on iii. 5.

μὴ φανερωθῇ ἡ αἰσχύνη τῆς γυμνότητός σου. See xvi. 15, note. For the diction, cf. Ezek. xvi. 36, ἀποκαλυφθήσεται ἡ αἰσχύνη σου (תְּרָחַץ לְהָנֹה): also xxiii. 29; Ex. xx. 26. The soul of the faithless will appear naked in the next world. Cf. 2 Cor. v. 2, 3, τὸ οἰκητήριον ἡμῶν τὸ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἐπενδύσασθαι ἐπιποθοῦντες, εἴ γε καὶ ἐνδυσάμενοι οὐ γυμνοὶ εὐρεθησόμεθα. According to xx. 11–13, the dead (the righteous, excluding the martyrs, and the wicked) are raised disembodied: see note on xx. 13. The righteous then receive their spiritual bodies, but the wicked remain disembodied souls and are cast into the lake of fire. This is also the teaching of St. Paul, as 2 Cor. v. 2, 3 proves.

κολλούριον ἐγγρῖσαι τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς κτλ. The κολλούριον was shaped like a κολλύρα (of which it is a diminutive). It was prepared from various ingredients, and was used as an eye salve. In our text it is the famous Phrygian powder used by the medical school at Laodicea. It appears in the Jerusalem Talmud (Shabb. i. 3^d, vii. 10^b, viii. 11^b) (see Levy's *Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch*, iv. 293) as כִּלְיָרִי and כִּלְיָרִי in the general sense of an eye salve, and in Latin as Collyrium: cf. Hor. *Sat.* i. 5. 30, "nigra . . . collyria": Juv. vi. 579. Celsus, vi. 7, speaks of many collyria of every kind: "Ex frequentissimis collyriis": vii. 7. 4. See Wetstein for further references, from which may be quoted the following: Wajikra R. 156^a: "Verba legis corona sunt capitis,

torques collo, collyrium oculis." ἐγχεῖσαι. Here only in the N.T. and only four times in the LXX.

The application of the eye salve in our text results in spiritual vision. Thereby the Laodiceans can get rid of their self-deception, and so gain true self-knowledge, and therewith a knowledge of "the riches of the glory of this mystery, which is Christ in you, the hope of glory" (Col. i. 27), "in whom are all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge hidden" (Col. ii. 3). In the note on πεπυρωμένον ἐκ πυρός above I have taken the spiritual gift symbolized by κολλούριον as a gift springing out of the chief gift symbolized by χρυσίον πεπυρ. ἐκ πυρός, and not as a separate and independent gift. On the other hand, the κολλούριον in our text has been taken by some interpreters to mean the word of God (or of prophecy as opposed to the Law), or enlightening power or ἐλεγμός (John xvi. 8 sqq.) of the Holy Spirit (so Düsterdieck and Swete).

19-20. The severity of the rebuke just administered is a sign of Christ's love which summons to repentance and abiding earnestness first the Church as a whole (19) and next the individual members of it, and promises that if they will open their hearts He will enter into the closest communion with them for ever.

19. ἐγὼ θσους ἐάν φιλῶ ἐλέγχω καὶ παιδεύω. Cf. Pss. Sol. x. 2, xiv. 1; Heb. xii. 6. The text is remarkable here. It is drawn from Prov. iii. 12, יְהוָה יוֹכֵחַ בְּחֶרֶץ אֶת הַצַּדִּיק וּבְחֶרֶץ יִסְרֹף אֶת הַבֶּן, which the LXX renders, ὁ γὰρ ἀγαπᾷ Κύριος ἐλέγχει, (B; παιδεύει, KA). Here first of all we observe that our author uses φιλεῖν and not ἀγαπᾷν as in the LXX. This is further remarkable, since in i. 5, iii. 9, ἀγαπᾷν and not φιλεῖν is used of Christ's love for man. φιλεῖν is not used in the LXX or the N.T. (except in John xvi. 27) of God's love for man, but ἀγαπᾷν. Moreover, men are bidden ἀγαπᾷν τὸν θεόν but never φιλεῖν τὸν θεόν save in Prov. viii. 17. This last passage is instructive; for here the LXX renders Πῆ which is twice used by the two words: ἐγὼ τοὺς ἐμὲ φιλοῦντας ἀγαπῶ. The two Greek words differ in that ἀγαπᾷν "expresses a more reasoning attachment, . . . while the second . . . is more of the feelings or natural affections, implies more passion" (Trench, *Synonyms of the N.T.*⁸). See, however, M. & M.'s *Voc. of Gk. T.*, p. 2. In John xi. 3, 36, xx. 2, φιλεῖν is used of Christ's love for Lazarus and John, but elsewhere in the Gospel ἀγαπᾷν is universally employed in this connection. Hence there is no perfect parallel in the N.T. to the use of φιλεῖν here. The exceptional use of the emotional word (contrast iii. 9) here can only be deliberate. It is a touching and unexpected manifestation of love to those who deserve it least among the Seven Churches.

Next, ἐλέγχω and παιδεύω call for attention. Here Swete

observes that these two words may be duplicate renderings of פָּיִי, or that παιδεύω may have been suggested by the preceding verse in Prov. iii. 11, μὴ δλιγώρει παιδείας κυρίου. The latter view is to be preferred, since παιδεύειν never appears in the LXX as a rendering of יָכַח except in Prov. iii. 12 (in אא, etc.), but is a normal rendering of יָסַר, whereas the stock translation of יָכַח is ἐλέγχειν.

Reproof and chastisement are evidence not of Christ's rejection of the Laodiceans, but of His love (φιλῶ) for them. Love is never cruel, but it can be severe. There has hitherto been no hint of any persecution of the Laodicean Church. Even here the mention of it carries with it not even the faintest allusion to the great persecution which was expected by the Seer in 95 A.D. and to which there is a definite reference in 21.

ζήλευε οὖν καὶ μετανόησον. Here zeal is enjoined as a permanent element in the Christian character—hence ζήλευε and not ζήλευσον, while repentance is required as a definite change once and for all from their present condition—hence μετανόησον. They are to begin by one decisive act, the life of Christian enthusiasm as opposed to their former life of lukewarmness and indifference.

20. The deep note of affection in the preceding verse pervades this also. As a friend He admonishes the Laodicean Church to repent in 19; as a friend in this verse He does more: He comes to each individual and seeks an entrance into his heart. Here the words (ἐάν τις ἀκούσῃ τῆς φωνῆς μου) have a personal and individual character not applicable to the Church of Laodicea as a whole. If 20 were addressed to the Church we should expect ἐὰν σὺ ἀκούσῃς τ. φ. μου. Cf. ζήλευε καὶ μετανόησον in 19. Hence with De Wette, Alford, Weiss, and others this verse is to be interpreted as referring to repentance in the present.

But many scholars—Düsterdieck, Bousset, Swete, Holtzmann and Moffatt—interpret this verse in conjunction with 21 eschatologically, and adduce as parallels such unmistakable eschatological passages as Mark xiii. 29 (=Matt. xxiv. 33), γινώσκετε ὅτι ἐγγύς ἐστιν ἐπὶ θύραις: Luke xii. 36, ὑμεῖς ὅμοιοι ἀνθρώποις προσδεχομένοις τὸν κύριον . . . ἵνα ἐλθόντος καὶ κρουσάντος εὐθέως ἀνοίξωσιν αὐτῷ: Jas. v. 9, ἰδοὺ ὁ κριτὴς πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν ἰσστηκεν. It is shown further that in Luke xxii. 29 sq., κἀγὼ διατίθεμαι ὑμῖν, καθὼς διέθετό μοι ὁ πατήρ μου βασιλείαν, ἵνα ἕσθητε καὶ πίνητε ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης μου ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ μου, καὶ καθήσθε ἐπὶ θρόνων τὰς δώδεκα φυλάς κρίνοντες τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ, we have a combination of the metaphors eating and drinking with those of thrones and judging, just as we have a combination of the metaphors of eating and sitting on thrones in 20-21 in our

text. But though the parallels in diction are indisputable, the thought differs. For whereas in Mark xiii. 29 (= Matt. xxiv. 33) and Jas. v. 9 we have the final advent of Christ as *Judge*, in 20 of our text He comes as a Preacher of repentance—an office incompatible with that of Judge. Also in Luke xii. 36 the reference to the last coming and the giving of an account is manifest: He comes there to reward the faithful, not to call the careless and indifferent to repentance. Hence the eschatological interpretation is to be rejected. As usual our Seer takes his own line with tradition, even when the tradition is concerned with our Lord's own words; for iii. 20-21 shows, as Bousset recognizes, that he was familiar with Luke xxii. 29 sq.

The diction recalls Cant. v. 2, where the LXX reads *φωνὴ ἀδελφίδου μου, κρούει ἐπὶ τὴν θύραν· ἀνοίξόν μοι ἀδελφή μου*. Since in 4 Ezra v. 23-26 there is contemporary evidence of the allegorical use of Canticles (see Box's ed., p. 52 sq., notes), it is more than probable that our author has here come under its influence. See also Bacher's *Agada der Tannaiten*², i. 94, 186, 229 sq., 310 sqq., 338, ii. (1st ed.) 47 sq. etc.

ἴάν τις ἀκούσῃ τῆς φωνῆς μου . . . καὶ εἰσέλυσσεται. I have with some hesitation followed *MQ*, a considerable body of cursives, s¹ and Prim. in retaining the *καί* before the apodosis.

ἀκούσῃ τῆς φωνῆς μου. Cf. John x. 3, *τὰ πρόβατα φωνῆς αὐτοῦ ἀκούει*: xviii. 37, *πᾶς ὁ ὢν ἐκ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀκούει μου τῆς φωνῆς*. Obedience to Christ leads to fellowship with Him.

καὶ ἐλεύσεται πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ δεῖπνήσω μετ' αὐτοῦ. Cf. John xiv. 23, *πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλευσόμεθα καὶ μονῇν παρ' αὐτῷ ποιησόμεθα*. For *εἰσέρχεσθαι πρὸς τινα* of entering into a man's house, cf. Mark xv. 43.

Participation in the common meal was for the Oriental a proof of confidence and affection. The intimate fellowship of the faithful with God and the Messiah in the Coming Age was frequently symbolized by such a metaphor. Cf. 1 Enoch lxii. 14, "And the Lord of Spirits will abide over them, And with that Son of Man shall they eat, And lie down and rise up for ever and ever." Cf. Shabbath, 153^a. That this language is metaphorical always in the N.T. and generally in Jewish writings is shown by such statements as 1 Cor. vi. 13^a and Ber 17^a, "In the world to come there is neither eating nor drinking . . . but the righteous . . . find their delight (הננים) in the glory of the Shechina."

21. This verse is wholly eschatological. Christ promises to the martyrs—to those who shall be victors by being faithful unto death—that they shall sit on His throne even as He had been victorious through being faithful unto death and had sat down on His Father's throne. The fulfilment of this promise is seen

by the Seer in his vision in xx. 4, where the martyrs sit on thrones and reign with Christ for 1000 years.

Like ii. 7, 11^b, 17^b, 26-27, iii. 5, 12, this verse is a later addition of our author when he edited his visions as a whole.

ὁ νικῶν . . . αὐτῷ. See note on this Hebraism on ii. 7; also on διδόναι followed by the inf.

δώσω . . . καθίσαι μετ' ἐμοῦ ἐν τ. θρόνῳ μου. The Seer witnesses in a vision the fulfilment of this promise in xx. 4, εἶδον θρόνους καὶ ἐκάθισαν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ κρίμα ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς . . . καὶ ἔζησαν καὶ ἐβασίλευσαν μετὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ χίλια ἔτη. The promise relates to the Millennial Kingdom. To the same period should probably be referred Luke xxii. 30, κἀγὼ διατίθεμαι ὑμῖν καθὼς διέθετό μοι ὁ πατήρ μου βασιλείαν ἵνα . . . καθῆσθε ἐπὶ θρόνων τ. δώδεκα φυλὰς κρίνοντες τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ (cf. Matt. xix. 28), and likewise 2 Tim. ii. 11-12, εἰ γὰρ συναπεθάνομεν, καὶ συνζήσομεν. εἰ ὑπομένομεν, καὶ συμβασιλεύσομεν, where the thought is certainly akin to that in our text. Cf. Mark x. 40. Yet the reign of the saints is not limited to the Millennial Kingdom: it will enter at last into the fulness of its potentialities in the everlasting kingdom of God, when "they shall reign for ever and ever," xxii. 5.

ὡς κἀγὼ ἐνίκησα. Cf. John xvi. 33, θαρσεῖτε, ἐγὼ νενίκηκα τὸν κόσμον.

καὶ ἐκάθισα μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς μου ἐν τ. θρόνῳ αὐτοῦ. Cf. xxi. 2, xxii. 3, notes, and Col. iii. 1, οὗ ὁ Χριστὸς ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ θεοῦ. Our author appears to use καθίζεν in the finite tenses (cf. xx. 4) and the infinitive, but never the participle καθίζων, in place of which he uses καθήμενος. Finite tenses of καθῆσθαι are found in sources used by our author (xvii. 9, 15, xviii. 7).

CHAPTER IV.

§ 1. *The Contents and Authorship of this Chapter.*

With chap. iv. there is an entire change of scene and subject. The dramatic contrast could not be greater. Hitherto the scene of the Seer's visions had been earth: now it is heaven. On the one hand, in ii.-iii. we have had a vivid description of the Christian Churches of Asia Minor,—which is to be taken as typical of the Church at large,—the ideals they cherished, their faulty achievements and not infrequent disloyalties, and their outlook darkened in every instance with the apprehension of universal persecution and martyrdom. But the moment we leave the restlessness, the troubles, the imperfectness, and apprehensions pervading ii.-iii., we pass at once in iv. into an

atmosphere of perfect assurance and peace. Not even the faintest echo is heard here of the alarms and fears of the faithful, nor do the unmeasured claims and wrongdoings of the supreme and imperial power on earth wake even a moment's misgiving in the trust and adoration of the heavenly hosts. An infinite harmony of righteousness and power prevails, while the greatest angelic orders proclaim before the throne the holiness of Him who sits thereon, who is Almighty and from everlasting to everlasting, and to whose sovereign will the world and all that is therein owes and has owed its being.

Such is the general import of this chapter. As regards its source, there can be no doubt. It comes wholly from the hand of our author (see § 2), but it was most probably not written all at the same time. Our author appears here to have incorporated one of his earlier visions, consisting of four stanzas of four lines each, 2^b-3, 5^a, 6-8. In this vision the Seer beheld (as in Isa. vi.) a throne in heaven and Him that sat thereon, and the four Cherubim that stood round about the throne, who sang unceasingly:

"Holy, holy, holy is the Lord Almighty,
Which was and which is and which is to come."

In the notes on iv. 4 a variety of reasons are given for regarding this verse as not originally belonging to this vision; but, as inserted by our author when he edited his work as a whole, to serve as an introduction iv. 9-11 (see also § 3). iv. 1, 2^a (in prose) was at the same time prefixed to link up the preceding visions on earth with the visions that follow in heaven in iv.-ix.

§ 2. *This entire Chapter is indisputably from our Author's hand, as the diction and idioms testify.*

(a) *Diction.*

1. μετὰ ταῦτα εἶδον καὶ ἰδοῦ. See note *in loc.* ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ. So always in the sing. in our author except in xii. 12. δείξω: cf. i. 1, xvii. 1, xxi. 9, 10, xxii. 1, 6, 8. ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι. Cf. i. 1, xxii. 6.

2. ἀγενόμεν ἐν πνεύματι. Cf. i. 10.

4. περιβεβλημένους ἱματίοις λευκοῖς. Cf. iii. 5. In vii. 9, 13, x. 1, xix. 8, 13, the noun follows in the acc. instead of in the dat.

5. δοτραπαὶ καὶ φωναὶ καὶ βρονταί. Cf. xi. 19, xvi. 18, but in viii. 5 in a different order.

6. ὡς θάλασσα θαλίη. Cf. xv. 2 (*bis*). ὁμοία κρυστάλλῳ: cf. xxii. 1, ποταμὸν . . . ζωῆς . . . ὡς κρύσταλλον.

8. ἀνάπαυσιν οὐκ ἔχουσιν κτλ. recurs in xiv. 11. κύριος ὁ θεός.

This divine title occurs 10 times elsewhere in our author (cf. i. 8, iv. 11, xi. 17, xv. 3, xvi. 7, etc.), and only twice in the rest of the N.T. (*i.e.* in St. Luke) except in passages quoted from the O.T. κύριος ὁ θεός, ὁ παντοκράτωρ. Cf. i. 8, xi. 17, xv. 3, xvi. 7, xix. 6, xxi. 22. ὁ παντοκράτωρ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος. Cf. i. 8, xi. 17, xvi. 5.

9. δώσουσιν . . . δόξαν. Cf. xiv. 7, xvi. 9, xix. 7 (xi. 13). Cf. 4th Gospel ix. 24, xvii. 22. τῷ ζῶντι εἰς τ. αἰῶνας τ. αἰῶνων : cf. 10, i. 18, x. 6, xv. 7 (cf. vii. 2).

11. λαβεῖν . . . τὴν δύναμιν. Cf. v. 12, xi. 17.

(b) *Idiom.*

1. ἡ φωνὴ . . . σάλπιγγος λαλοῦσης . . . λέγων. See note *in loc.* on this Hebraism, and cf. xvii. 1, xxi. 9.

2. ἐπὶ τ. θρόνον καθήμενος. On the three definite yet peculiar forms of this phrase in our author see note on iv. 2 ; it recurs in 4, 9, 10 in exact harmony with our author's peculiar use.

7. ἔχων = εἶχε : cf. 8, xii. 2, xix. 12, xxi. 12, 14.

8. τὰ τέσσαρα ζῶα . . . λέγοντες. A frequent construction in our author.

9. ὅταν *cum fut. ind.* : cf. viii. 1, where ὅταν is followed by *aor. ind.*, though elsewhere in our author by the *subj.* For ὅταν with the *fut. ind.* see Robertson, *Gram.* 972.

10. προσκυνήσουσιν τῷ ζῶντι. On the technical sense attached by our author to this construction see note on vii. 11.

§ 3. *One part of this Chapter appears to have been written at an earlier date and incorporated subsequently when our author edited the complete work.*

2^b-3, 5, 6-8^{aode} appear to have been written by our author as an independent vision. The grounds for this conclusion are given in the notes *in loc.*, some of which may be stated here. First of all, iv. 1, 2^a is a prose introduction to the chapter, which serves to connect the preceding visions on earth with those that follow in heaven, iv. 2^a-ix. The rest of 2^b-8 is in verse. But iv. 4, according to our author's usage elsewhere, cannot have stood here originally. The grammar is against it: we should have nominatives and not accusatives (θρόνοι not θρόνους, etc.). Again the functions of the Cherubim are conceived somewhat differently in iv. 8 and in iv. 9 (see note). Next, since the description proceeds from the throne outwards, the Living Creatures ought to have been mentioned before the Elders, since they stand nearest to the throne. For the observance of this order elsewhere in our author see note on iv. 4. When the description begins from without, we naturally find the

reverse order—angels, Elders, Living Creatures, as in vii. 11, xix. 1-4.

How then are we to explain iv. 4? Two explanations are possible. 1. Our author has here used one of his earlier visions, but in order to adapt it to his present purposes has prefixed to it an introduction, iv. 1, 2^a, and next, in order to prepare the way for iv. 9-11, has inserted iv. 4—possibly in the margin of his MS. By an oversight the nouns “thrones . . . elders” were put in the acc., owing not improbably to εἶδον in iv. 1. Since, according to the present writer’s theory, our author had not the opportunity of revising his work, this grammatical error was not removed. In such a revision the next great objection to iv. 4 could have been removed by transposing it after iv. 8^b. Thus we should have had a description of the throne and of Him that sat thereon (2^b-3), next of the Living Creatures (6-8), and finally of the Elders (4). In that case 8^c would have read καὶ τὰ ζῶα ἀνάπαυσιν οὐκ ἔχουσιν κτλ. 2. Our author wrote the entire chapter at the same time, but forgot to mention and describe the Elders, which omission he forthwith repaired by an insertion on the margin of his MS, since some account of these was rendered indispensable by iv. 9-11. The former explanation seems preferable. I add here what I take to be the original form of the vision in 1-8. The poem consists of four stanzas of four lines each, the first beginning with the words καὶ ἰδοῦ:

IV. 1. Μετὰ ταῦτα εἶδον

2. καὶ ἰδοῦ θρόνος ἔκειτο ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ,
καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον καθήμενος,
3. καὶ ὁ καθήμενος ὁμοιος ὁράσει λίθῳ ἰάσπιδι καὶ σαρδίῳ,
καὶ ἱρις κυκλόθεν τοῦ θρόνου ὁμοιος ὁράσει σμαραγδίνῳ.

II.

5. καὶ ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου ἐκπορεύονται ἀστραπαὶ καὶ φωναὶ
καὶ βρονταί,
καὶ ἐπὶ λαμπάδες πυρὸς καιόμεναι ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου,
6. καὶ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου ὡς θάλασσα ὑαλίνῃ ὁμοία
κρυστάλλῳ,
καὶ κύκλῳ τοῦ θρόνου τέσσαρα ζῶα γέμοντα ὀφθαλμῶν
ἐμπροσθεν καὶ ὀπισθεν.¹

III.

7. καὶ τὸ ζῶον τὸ πρῶτον ὁμοιον λέοντι,
καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ζῶον ὁμοιον μόσχῳ,

¹ If 5^b is a later addition, as it may be, then 6^b would form lines 3 and 4 of the stanza.

καὶ τὸ τρίτον ἴψον ἔχων τὸ πρόσωπον ὡς ἀνθρώπου
καὶ τὸ τέταρτον ἴψον ὁμοιον ἀετὶ πετομένῳ.

IV.

8. καὶ τὰ τέσσαρα ἴφα ἐν καθ' ἐν αὐτῶν ἔχων ἀνὰ πτέρυ-
γας ἕξ,
καὶ ἀνάπαυσιν οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς λέγοντες,
ἄγιος ἄγιος ἄγιος κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ,
ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος.

1. μετὰ ταῦτα εἶδον καὶ ἰδοῦ. The clause with or without the καὶ ἰδοῦ *always introduces a new and important vision* in our Apocalypse.¹ Compare vii. 1 (μετὰ τοῦτο), 9, xv. 5, xviii. 1, xix. 1 (μετὰ ταῦτα ἤκουσα). Sometimes the same note of emphasis and unexpectedness is conveyed by the clause καὶ εἶδον καὶ ἰδοῦ: cf. vi. 2, 5, 8, xiv. 1, 14, or by καὶ εἶδον καὶ ἤκουσα, viii. 13. Generally *similar and closely related* sections, paragraphs, and clauses are introduced by καὶ εἶδον, as in v. 1, 2, 6, 11, vi. 1, 2, 12, etc., and in fact in all the subsequent chapters except xi. and xxii. These formulae are characteristic of apocalyptic literature, and imply an ecstatic condition. They are not, however, so carefully distinguished in other authors as in our Apocalypse.

Thus μετὰ ταῦτα εἶδον, or its linguistic equivalent, is found in 1 Enoch lxxv. 1, lxxxix. 19, 30, 54, 72, xc. 2; T. Joseph xix. 5; 2 Bar. xxxvii. 1, liii. 8, 11.

καὶ εἶδον, or its equivalent in Hebrew, Aramaic, or Ethiopic is found in Dan. vii. 4, 9, 11, 21, viii. 2, 4, 7; 1 Enoch xvii. 3, 6, 7, 8, xviii. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 9, 10, 12, 13, xix. 3, xxi. 2, lxxxv. 7, lxxxix. 47, 70, xc. 1, 4, 5, 9, etc.; T. Levi viii. 1; T. Joseph xix. 1, 3, 7, 8. We find frequently with the same connotation the clause, "And again I saw," in 1 Enoch lxxxvi. 1, 3, lxxxvii. 1, lxxxix. 3, 7, 51.

But the fuller form in our text frequently appears in this literature, μετὰ ταῦτα εἶδον καὶ ἰδοῦ. See vii. 9, or its linguistic equivalent, Dan. vii. 6, 7 (בְּאַחֶר דִּנְה חֹזֶה הָיִית וְאַחֶר); 1 Enoch lxxxvi. 2; T. Joseph xix. 5; 4 Ezra xi. 22, 33, xiii. 5 ("vidi post haec et ecce"), 8, and the somewhat shorter form וְאַחֶר וְהִנֵּה (or the like) in Ezek. i. 4, ii. 9, viii. 2, 7, 10, x. 1, 9, xlv. 4; Zech. i. 8, vi. 1; Dan. iv. 10, vii. 2, 13, viii. 3, x. 5; 1 Enoch xiv. 14-15; 2 Bar. xxxvi. 1-2, 7, liii. 1; 4 Ezra xi. 1, 3, 5, 7, 10, 12, xx. 9, etc.

In all the above passages in Ezekiel, Zechariah, Daniel,

¹ The occurrence of this clause in xv. 5 shows that a new vision is being introduced: hence xv. 1, which deals with the same vision, is an interpolation.

1 Enoch, Testaments XII Patriarchs, 2 Baruch, 4 Ezra, the ecstatic condition is designed by the expressions just enumerated. It is important to note this fact, owing to the presence of the clause *ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι* in the next verse. If the Seer is already in a spiritual trance, what is to be made of the words *ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι* in 2?

καὶ ἰδοὺ θύρα ἠνεωγμένη ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ. As we shall see later, *καὶ ἰδοὺ θύρα . . . ἐν πνεύματι* is an addition of our author whereby he connects the preceding visions on earth, i. 10-iii., with those that follow in iv.-v., which are in heaven. The phraseology is apocalyptic. Cf. 1 Enoch xiv. 15, *καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄλλην θύραν ἀνεωγμένην*. It is possible to explain this expression in two ways. 1. The Seer may be conceived as being already in heaven. In that case the door here mentioned would lead to a holier part of the heaven than that in which the Seer had hitherto been. This is the view underlying 1 Enoch xiv. There Enoch is translated into heaven, xiv. 8. When Enoch had once entered, he saw a great wall built of crystal, and tongues of fire which encircled a great house (xiv. 9). Into this house he entered, quaking and trembling, and then beheld *ἄλλην θύραν ἀνεωγμένην* over against him leading to a still greater house in which God manifested His presence. The idea here would be practically the same as that of different divisions of the Temple differing in degrees of holiness. 2. The Seer may be conceived as not yet in heaven, but as entering by this door.¹ This is the view underlying T. Levi v. 1, *ἡνοῦξέ μοι ὁ ἄγγελος τὰς πύλας τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*. These gates admit Levi from the second to the third heaven. Since, however, there is no reason to believe that our Apocalypse teaches of more than one heaven (see later), the door referred to in the text admits the Seer from earth to heaven. Cf. 3 Macc. vi. 18, *τότε ὁ μεγαλόδοξος θεὸς . . . ἠνέψεν τὰς οὐρανίους πύλας, ἐξ ὧν δεδοσασμένοι δύο φοβεροειδεῖς ἄγγελοι κατέβησαν*. This seems to be the right explanation. That the door, moreover, is not on a level with the Seer, as in 1 Enoch xiv., is clear from the words that follow *ἀνάβα ὦδε*.

With the expression "a door opened in heaven" for the admission of the single Seer, we might contrast the words in xix. 11, "I saw the heaven opened," where the whole heaven is opened, as it were, that the armies of heaven might go forth in the train of the Son of God. Yet in T. Levi ii. 6 the heavens open to admit Levi.

¹ Compare in this sense Gen. xxviii. 17; Ps. lxxviii. 23; 3 Bar. ii. 2, iii. 2; Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie*, 11 sqq.

On the ideas of doors in heaven through which the sun, moon, planets, and winds pass, see 1 Enoch xxxiii.-xxxvi., lxxii. sqq. See also Schrader², *K.A.T.* 619, for the occurrence of such ideas in Babylonian writings.

ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ. Throughout the entire Apocalypse οὐρανός occurs in the singular except in xii. 12, which is derived from an independent Semitic source (see xii., Introd. § 7). This fact in itself would not suffice to prove that our Seer believed in only one heaven; for in the Test. XII Patriarchs, where the doctrine of a plurality of the heavens is distinctly enforced, we find sometimes οὐρανός, T. Reub. i. 6, v. 7, vi. 9; T. Levi xiv. 3 (β), xviii. 3, 4; T. Jud. xxi. 4 (β), etc.; sometimes οὐρανοί, T. Levi ii. 6, iii. 1 (α), 9 (β), v. 4 (β), xiii. 5; T. Jud. xxi. 3, etc.

Notwithstanding, the entire outlook of our book favours the conception of a single heaven.

On the impossibility of getting a consistent view of the scenes portrayed in heaven by our book see note on θρόνος . . . ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ in 2.

But the passage, καὶ ἰδοὺ θύρα . . . ἡ φωνὴ . . . ἐν πνεύματι, is, as we shall see presently, an addition inserted by the writer with a view to linking together this vision with that which precedes: καὶ ἡ φωνὴ ἡ πρώτη ἣν ἤκουσα ὡς σάλπιγγος λαλούσης μετ' ἐμοῦ, λέγων. Render, "and the former voice." ἡ φωνή depends on ἰδοῦ. This voice appears to be that referred to in i. 10, ἤκουσα φωνὴν μεγάλην . . . ὡς σάλπιγγος λεγούσης. Christ, therefore, seems to be the speaker. But, as it has been observed by Vischer, 77, and Bousset, 243, it is strange that the Being who later in the vision is recognized as the Lamb (v. 6), and the object of the vision, should here appear as the speaker and guide, the *angelus interpretis*, as it were. If we have in iv. 1-8 and in v. two visions which the Seer had experienced on different occasions and under different circumstances, and in which no mention was made of the agent through whom these visions were given, then we shall have no difficulty in recognizing the phrase ἡ φωνὴ . . . λέγων as an addition on the Seer's part, when editing his work as a whole, since this addition represents Christ as the revealing subject of iv.-v. as He is of i.-iii. In this first edition of his visions the above inconsistency escaped him. If, however, we could, with some scholars, take the voice in i. 10 to be that of an unknown angel, there would be no such inconsistency.

ἡ φωνὴ . . . ὡς σάλπιγγος λαλούσης μετ' ἐμοῦ λέγων. Here ἡ φωνή is dependent on ἰδοῦ no less than ἡ θύρα. There are two explanations possible of λέγων. Either λέγων is to be construed κατὰ σύνεσιν with φωνή and hence to be taken as = λέγουσα, —for similar constructions cf. xi. 15, xix. 14. Cf. Gen. (LXX) xv. 1,—or the phrase λαλούσης μετ' ἐμοῦ λέγων is to be taken as a Hebraism (לְבַרְבֵּרִי יְהוָה), as in xvii. 1, xxi. 9. Cf. x. 8.

ἀνάβα (= ἀνάβηθι: cf. μετάβα, Matt. xvii. 20. See Robertson, *Gram.* 328).

ἕδε (= "hither": cf. John vi. 25, x. 27. See Blass, *Gram.* p. 58). Cf. i. Enoch xiv. 24.

In the preceding visions, i. 10 sqq., the Seer was on earth. In this verse he is spiritually translated to heaven, and remains in heaven till the close of ix. This translation is implied in the words, "Come up hither, and I will show thee the things which must come to pass hereafter." His continued presence in heaven is attested by v. 4, 5, vi. 9, vii. 13, 14, viii. 1. From heaven he can behold what takes place on earth: cf. vi. 12, 15 sqq., vii. 1, 2. Thence onwards there is a frequent shifting of the scene of the Seer's visions. In x. he has again returned to earth: cf. x. 4, 8, and remains on earth till the close of xi. 13; but in xi. 15-19 the scene of his vision is again in heaven. In xii. the scene seems to be again on earth; for xii. 14-16 imply it, and the birth of the Messiah is on earth, xii. 5; for He is thence rapt to heaven. Yet there are difficulties as regards the various sections of xii. In xiii.-xiv. 13 the scene of his visions is still on the earth, but xiv. 14, 18-20 imply his presence in heaven, as well as xv. 2, 5 sqq., xvi. 1. Hence xv. 1 (see note *in loc.*) is an interpolation. In xvii.-xviii. the scene is again changed, and the Seer is on earth again: cf. xvii. 3, xviii. 1, 4, 21. In xix. 1-10 the Seer is again in heaven. From xix. 11 to the close of the description of the heavenly Jerusalem he is again on earth. At the advent of the final judgment the former heaven and earth flee away.

Some of these changes of scene may be explained by the use of sources on the part of the writer: others by his incorporation into his text of earlier visions of his own, some of which presuppose heaven, others earth, as the scene of their reception.

δείξω. This verb has already occurred in the same connection on i. 1, where the Hierophant is Christ.

Here also, in this editorial addition to the original vision, Christ is similarly represented, though a certain inconsistency is thereby introduced. See note above (p. 108). The word δείξω recurs in xvii. 1, xxi. 9, 10, xxii. 1, 6, 8, where the guide is an angel of the vision of the Bowls.

δείξω σοι ὃ δὲ γενέσθαι μετὰ ταῦτα. As in i.-iii. the present (ὃ ἐστίν, i. 19) has been dealt with, in the chapters that follow the future destinies of the Church and the world are to be manifested to the Seer. This was promised in i. 1, 19. The phrase ὃ δὲ γενέσθαι (already in i. 1) is found in the LXX and Theodotion of Dan. ii. 28, 29, while in ii. 29, 45 the entire clause, ὃ δὲ γενέσθαι μετὰ ταῦτα, occurs in Theodotion's rendering of כֹּה יִהְיֶה אַחֲרֵי דָנָה.

2. εὐθέως ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι. These words create a great difficulty in the text. According to i. 10, where the expression

has already occurred, the Seer is in a state of spiritual trance. That the Seer is still in the ecstatic state is shown by the introductory words of iv. 1 (see note). Many scholars (De Wette, Ebrard, Düsterdieck, Hilgenfeld, B. Weiss, Swete) assert that a higher degree of spiritual exaltation is here necessary. It has been urged by De Wette and others that the same difficulty lies in Ezek. xi. 1, 5. But the parallel does not hold. For, whereas in Ezek. xi. 1 one office of the Spirit is mentioned when Ezekiel is carried off to witness certain evils in Jerusalem ("the Spirit lifted me up"), another is mentioned in xi. 5, where the Spirit of the Lord is said "to fall on Ezekiel" in order to enable him to prophesy against these evils. Now there is no such distinction of phrase in i. 10 and iv. 2 in our text. The expression is identical in both. Moreover, the power conferred by the state therein described embraces at once the power of spiritual vision and of utterance or expression. Cf. i. 11. J. Weiss (p. 54 n.) has therefore rightly urged that there is an inconsistency between iv. 1 and iv. 2, but he goes needlessly far in maintaining that whoever introduced the expression in iv. 2 no longer felt that *εἶδον* in iv. 1 described the visionary state. The Seer is already in the ecstatic state. It was not till he was in this state that Christ addressed him in i. 10. That he is still in this state in iv. 1 is proved both by the diction (*εἶδον*) and the fact that he hears the heavenly voice which addresses him anew. In i. 10 the Seer is not addressed by Christ till he has fallen into a trance, that is, the words *ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι* precede the address of Christ to the Seer, whereas in iv. 2 they follow the address of the heavenly voice. The text, therefore, is peculiar. But the difficulty can, I think, be adequately explained by the hypothesis that the Seer is here combining visions received on different occasions. The poetical structure of iv. 1-8 is broken up by the insertion of certain prose additions in iv. 1, 2, 4, 5, as we shall see later (see *Introd. to Chapter iv. § 3*), and this fact points to iv. 1-8 as recording an independent vision of the Seer, which he connects with an earlier vision i.-iii., by four clauses, iv. 1^{bcd}, 2^a, three of which, 1^{cd}, iv. 2^a, have already occurred in i.-iii. Some such insertion was necessary; for whereas i.-iii. imply that the Seer was on earth, iv.-ix. imply that he is in heaven. Hence the two clauses, iv. 1^b, *καὶ ἰδοὺ θύρα ἡνεωγμένη ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ*, and iv. 1^d, *ἀνάβα ὧδε*, are indispensable, the former clause that the voice may issue from heaven (cf. Matt. iii. 17; Acts x. 11) and the Seer be spiritually translated into heaven through this open door, and the latter as giving him the command to ascend to heaven. We therefore regard the words *καὶ ἰδοὺ . . . ἐν πνεύματι* as added here by the Seer in order to connect i.-iii. and iv.-ix. It must be confessed that the

expression *ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι* is not what we expect here, since it expresses nothing more than what is already definitely implied in *μετὰ ταῦτα εἶδον*, i.e. that the Seer was in the ecstatic state: cf. i. 10. Since, as in xvii. 3, xxi. 10, there is here an actual translation of the spirit of the Seer, we should here expect *ἀπηνέχθη ἐν πνεύματι*, or *ἀπηνεγκέ με ἐν πνεύματι* (or *ἀνέλαβέν με κτλ.*, or *ἔξηρεν με κτλ.*). Cf. xvii. 3, *ἀπηνεγκέν με . . . ἐν πνεύματι* and xxi. 10, and Ezek. iii. 12 (נשאני רוח), 14 (נשאני רוח), viii. 3, xi. 1, 24, xliii. 5. In 1 Kings xviii. 12, 2 Kings ii. 16, the same Hebrew verb is used of an actual bodily translation, and *ἀρπάζειν* in Acts viii. 39. For other instances¹ of bodily translation see Hebrew Gospel (Orig. *In Joan*, tom. ii. 6; Hermas, *Vis.* i. 1. 3, ii. 1. 1; *Sim.* ix. 1. 4). For the same idea of a translation of the spirit see 1 Enoch xiv. 8, 9, lxxi. 1, 5-6. Whether a bodily or only a spiritual translation took place in his case St. Paul knew not: 2 Cor. xii. 2-4.

καὶ ἰδοὺ θρόνος ἔκειτο κτλ. Here the original vision of the Seer really begins.

θρόνος. The throne of God in heaven is frequently referred to in the O.T. and later Jewish literature: cf. 1 Kings xxii. 19; Isa. vi. 1; Ezek. i. 26; Ps. xlvii. 8; Dan. vii. 9; 1 Enoch xiv. 18, 19, (xl.); T. Levi v. 1; Ass. Moses iv. 2; 2 Enoch xxii. 2 (A). See also Weber², *Jüd. Theol.* 164 sq. A throne of God on earth is described or mentioned in 1 Enoch xviii. 8, xxiv. 3, xxv. 3, xc. 20.

In every chapter in our Apocalypse the throne of God is referred to except in ii., ix.-x., where there is no occasion for its mention, and in xv. 5-8, where the vision is that of the Temple in heaven. The phrase *ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου*, which is added *asyndetically* in xvi. 17 after *ἀπὸ τοῦ ναοῦ*, has been interpreted as an attempt to harmonize the vision of the throne of God and that of the Temple. But the two ideas are already combined in the T. Levi v. 1, xviii. 6, and possibly also in the O.T.³

References to the Temple occur, of course, elsewhere in the Apocalypse. In iii. 12 there is a reference to the Temple, but in a spiritual sense. The ideas of the throne and the Temple are combined in vii. 15, where the worship of the martyrs⁴ before

¹ *Evang. sec. Hebr.*, ἄρτι ἔλαβέ με ἡ μήτηρ μου τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἐν μετὰ τῶν τριχῶν μου, καὶ ἀπηνεγκέ με εἰς τὸ ὄρος τὸ μέγα θαβώρ. Cf. Bel 36.

² Some scholars would discover this combination already in Ps. xi. 4, "Yahweh is in His holy palace (or temple, הֵיכָל); Yahweh, His throne is in heaven." But the holy palace is here according to the parallel simply heaven itself. Others trace its existence already in Isa. vi. 1 sqq., but elsewhere the earthly temple is the scene and subject of prophetic visions: cf. Amos ix. 1; Ezek. viii. 3, x. 4 sq.; Acts xxii. 17. The heavenly palace or temple is God's abode and referred to in Ps. xviii. 6; Mic. i. 2; Hab. ii. 20.

³ vii. 9-17 was in its original form a description of the worship of the blessed faithful after the final judgment. See pp. 200-1.

the final judgment is mentioned. After the final judgment there is to be no Temple in heaven, xxi. 22. The heavenly Temple is again referred to in xi. 19. Together with the heavenly Temple there is mentioned the altar, τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου, vi. 9 (see note), under which are the souls of the martyrs. This has been taken to be the heavenly altar of burnt-offering by all commentators, who have, as a rule, also found references to the altar of burnt-offering and the altar of incense in viii. 3. But in the note on that verse I have sought to prove that both according to Jewish and early Christian ideas there was only one altar in heaven combining the characteristics of the earthly altar of incense and partly those of the altar of burnt-offering. Furthermore, this altar is within the heavenly Temple, vii. 15; and as the altar is before the throne, viii. 3, it follows that the throne surrounded by the four Living Creatures is also within the Temple. The heavenly throne, therefore, was probably conceived as being in the Holy of Holies, where also was the ark of the covenant, xi. 19. Independently of this natural conclusion, the throne when conceived as the special scene of God's manifestation would naturally be held to be within the Holy of Holies.

But when, with the above representation of the Temple with its Holy place and its Holy of Holies, the throne, and the altar, we try to combine the conception of the 24 Elders, we are at once landed in difficulties. Are these Elders with their 24 thrones also within the Holy of Holies? This element, which is probably an addition of our author to the current apocalyptic conceptions of the heavenly Temple, cannot be really harmonized with them.

But the difficulties do not end here; for the ideas at the base of iv.-vii. presuppose a conception of the throne of God which cannot easily be conceived as standing within the heavenly Temple. On the other hand, the ideas behind viii.-xi. presuppose the throne within this Temple—an idea as old as Isa. vi. But our author may have been quite unconscious of these inconsistent elements.

ἔκειτο = "stood." Cf. John xix. 29, ii. 6 (xxi. 9); Jer. xxiv. 1. See Blass, *Gram.* 51.

ἐπὶ τ. θρόνον καθήμενος. He that sitteth on the throne is distinguished in vi. 16, vii. 10, from the Lamb. In xix. 12 we have τοῦ καθημένου ἐπὶ τ. θρόνου. In vii. 10, xix. 4, we have the full expression τῷ θεῷ τῷ καθ. ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ. The variations of case following on καθῆσθαι ἐπὶ are noteworthy. Alford was, so far as I am aware, the first to attempt an explanation in connection with the present verse. He gives a complete enumeration of the passages where this phrase is followed by the gen. the dat. and the acc., and concludes that "the only rule that seems to be at all observed was that always at the *first mention* of the fact of

the sitting, the acc. seems to be used, iv. 2, 4, vi. 2, 4, 5, xiv. 14, xvii. 3, xix. 11, xxiv. 4 (xx. 11 seems hardly a case in point), thus bearing a trace of its proper import, that of the *motion towards*, of which the *first mention* partakes." But xi. 16 does not come under this rule, and no rule he admits "seems to prevail as regards the gen. and dat." Bousset², 165 sq., does not try to explain the variations, but brings them together. From him I draw the following classification slightly remodelled.

Thus τοῦ καθήμενου ἐπὶ is followed by the *gen.*, iv. 10, v. 1, 7, vi. 16, xvii. 1, xix. 18 (PQ min fere omn.: acc. A 61. 69: dat. K), xix. 19, 21.

τῷ καθήμενῳ ἐπὶ with *dat.* iv. 9 (NA), v. 13 (AQ), vii. 10 (NACP), xix. 4 (NACQ). Exception: with acc. vi. 4, ἐπὶ αὐτόν. In xiv. 15 with gen. ἐπὶ τῆς νεφέλης, but xiv. 15-17 is not from the hand of our author.

ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ and τὸν καθήμενον ἐπὶ, with *acc.* ὁ καθήμενος, c. acc. in iv. 2 (P An with gen.), vi. 2, 5, xi. 16 (AP), xix. 11. Exceptions—with gen. vii. 15 (dat. Q min pl.), xiv. 16 (AM but not from our author's hand), with dat. xxi. 5 (but this is due to editor). τὸν (τοὺς) καθ. with acc. in iv. 4, xiv. 14, xvii. 3. Exceptions with gen. ix. 17, ἐπ' αὐτῶν (but due probably to interpolation of ix. 17^{ab}), xiv. 6 (where, however, see note), xx. 11, but this is due to editor. Thus, in short, the participle in the nom. and acc. is followed by ἐπὶ and the acc., and the participle in the gen. and dat. by the gen. and dat. respectively.

3. καὶ ὁ καθήμενος ὁμοίος ὁράσει λίθῳ ἰάσπιδι καὶ σαρδίῳ. As Swete remarks, the writer avoids anthropomorphic details. No form is visible: only lights of various hues flashing through the cloud that encircles the throne. These hues the Seer seeks to adumbrate by comparing them to lights reflected by the jasper and sardius passing through a nimbus of emerald green.

With the idea and diction we may compare Ezek. i. 26, which appears to have been in the mind of the Seer: ἐπὶ τοῦ ὁμοιώματος τοῦ θρόνου ὁμοίωμα ὡς εἶδος ἀνθρώπου (דְּמִיּוּת אָדָם). In apocalyptic visions, when a being is described as being "like a man," we are to infer that it is a supernatural being that the Seer is describing. In Dan. vii. 9 we have παλαιὸς ἡμερῶν (= "an ancient of days") ἐκάθηντο, where I cannot help believing that רִשְׁנָה רִשְׁנָה (*i.e.* παλαιὸς ἡμερῶν) is a primitive error for רִשְׁנָה רִשְׁנָה, *i.e.* ὁμοίωμα παλαιῶν ἡμερῶν. רִשְׁנָה רִשְׁנָה means simply "an old man." It is hardly possible to conceive a reverent Jew describing God in such terms. In the 1st cent. B.C. this title appears in a slightly different form as "the Head of Days" or "the Sum of Days," *i.e.* the Everlasting, in 1 Enoch xlvi. 1, 2, xlvii. 3, xlviii. 2, etc., and thereby the anthropomorphism is avoided.

ὁμοιος ὁράσει λίθῳ κτλ. Cf. Ezek. i. 4, 27, viii. 2, where it is amber to which the glory of God is compared in colour—ὡς ὄρασις ἡλέκτρον, ὡς ὄψιν ἡλέκτρον. In i. 28, Ezekiel concludes the vision with the words, "This was the appearance of the likeness of the glory of God."

ὁμοιος . . . ἰάσπιδι καὶ σαρδίῳ. It is difficult to determine with certainty what stone is represented by the jasper here (ἰάσπιδι = ἡδῶ). There were several varieties of the ἰάσπιδι: (1) a dull opaque stone—which is thought by some scholars to be referred to here, since it is combined with the sardius: (2) a green stone (= ἡδῶ) partially translucent—possibly that referred to here and in xxi. 11, λίθῳ ἰάσπιδι κρυσταλλίζοντι: (3) a red stone (= יָדָבִיב, Isa. liv. 12, a yellow stone, and an opalescent stone). See *Encyc. Bib.* iv. 4806, whence these facts are derived. Of the above varieties the green was very rare and most prized in ancient times. This may explain the epithet τιμωτάτος attached to it in xxi. 11. But owing to this epithet Ebrard thinks that the diamond is meant here. The sardius (= סַרְדִּיָּה, Ex. xxviii. 17, xxxix. 10; Ezek. xxviii. 13) is a red stone as the name signifies, the opaque blood-red jasper well known in Egypt, Babylonia, and Assyria. Cf. Epiphan. *De Gemmis*, πυρωπὸς τῷ εἶδει καὶ αἱματοειδής (quoted by Vitringa). "The material (translucent quartz stained with iron) is quite common, and merges in the clearer and lighter-tinted carnelian and red agate" (*Encyc. Bib.* iv. 4803). See also Hastings' *D.B.* iv. 620 sq.

καὶ ἵρις κυκλόθεν τοῦ θρόνου ὁμοιος ὁράσει σμαραγδίνῳ. This idea of a rainbow round about the throne is derived from Ezek. i. 28, ὡς ὄρασις τόξου, ὅταν ᾗ ἐν τῇ νεφέλῃ ἐν ἡμέραις νεοῦ—οὕτως ἢ στάσις (corrupt? for φάσις) τοῦ φέγγους κυκλόθεν. The rainbow is said to be like a smaragdus. σμαράγδινος is apparently a ἄπ. λεγ.

The smaragdus (= סַמְרָגְדִּין) has been identified with the rock crystal, the beryl, and finally with the emerald. Petrie (Hastings' *D.B.* iv. 620) writes: "A colourless stone is the only one that can show a rainbow of prismatic colours; and the hexagonal prism of rock crystal, if one face is not developed (as is often the case), gives a prism of 60°, suitable to show a spectrum. The confusion with emerald seems to have arisen from both stones crystallizing in hexagonal prisms; and as the emerald varies through the aquamarine to a colourless state, there is no obvious separation between it and quartz crystal."

Both Petrie here and Myres in the *Encyc. Bib.* iv. 4809 attach the meaning of rock crystal to σμαράγδος in our text. But it is difficult to translate the line if this meaning is attached to σμαραγδίνῳ. Perhaps it might be rendered: "And there was a rainbow round about the throne like the appearance of rock crystal."

But another view is generally taken of the text. The *ἵρις* is interpreted as meaning merely a halo or nimbus shaped like a rainbow, and of *one colour*, an emerald green. In that case the writer breaks away from his source, Ezek. i. 28, and *ὁράσει* is to be taken as a *dat. modi*. The conception of a nimbus encircling supernatural beings or deified men was familiar to the ancient world. It was current among the Greeks and Romans—see Dieterich, *Nekyia*, 41-43, who quotes largely from the Stephanus' monograph on the subject, *Nimbus und Strahlen-Kranz*: *Mémoires de l'académie impériale des sciences de St. Petersburg*, 6 sér., tom. ix., 1859. It is claimed to be of Babylonian origin by Zimmern, *K.A.T.*⁸, p. 353, who cites Ps. civ. 2 ("He clothes Himself with light as with a garment"); Dan. vii. 9; 1 Enoch xiv. 18; Jas. i. 17; Apoc. John iv. 3; 1 Tim. vi. 16, etc.

In favour of the above we might cite *Encyc. Bib.* iv. 4804: "As early as Theophrastus a very large number of stones, all brilliant and of all shades of green, from aquamarine to diopside (*χαλκηδών*), were included generally under *σμάραγδος*."

In any case the object of the bow is to conceal Him that sat on the throne. Thus anthropomorphic details are avoided still more than in Ezekiel.

4. καὶ κυκλόθεν τοῦ θρόνου θρόνους εἴκοσι τέσσαρες,¹ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς εἴκοσι τέσσαρας θρόνους πρεσβυτέρους καθημένους περιβεβλημένους ἱματίοις λευκοῖς, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν στεφάνους χρυσοῦς. The occurrence of this verse in its present context creates great difficulty. This has already been pointed out by J. Weiss (*Die Offenbarung*, p. 54 sq.). He observes, first, that it interrupts a description of the throne, which is resumed in 5: in the next place, that, as the representation proceeds from the throne outwards, the narrower circle of the four Living Creatures ought to be mentioned before the larger concentric circle of the four and twenty Elders. The Living Creatures stand nearer the throne, and in iv. 9, 10, the Elders do not fall down and worship till the Living Creatures give the signal. On these grounds, Weiss would reject this verse as an addition of the final editor of the Apocalypse, who put together two independent apocalypses with large additions of his own. Though Weiss's theory as a whole is untenable, there are good grounds for regarding iv. 4 as a later addition, but not, as Weiss urges, from another hand. The evidence points to its being a later addition, but an addition from our author's hand, since the diction is wholly his own, and

¹ Elsewhere in our author *εἴκοσι τέσσαρες* stands before its noun except in xix. 4. We should observe that *τέσσαρες* is used not unfrequently as an acc. Cf. Moulton, *Gram.* 46; Blass, *Gram.* 20. On the orthography of *τέσσαρες* in the N.T., MSS, and the *koinḗ*, see Robertson, *Gram.* 183.

the verse serves to prepare the way for 9-11. For, since the 24 Elders are subordinate in rank to the Living Creatures, they should not be mentioned before them unless the Seer began his description with the outer ranks of heavenly beings that surrounded the throne. Now in vii. 9-11 we find such a description. First we have a great multitude of the saved which no man could number; then the various concentric ranks of heavenly beings round about the throne—first the angels, then the Elders, and finally the four Living Creatures. Probably in the same way we are to explain the order in xix. 1-4—first the great multitude of the angelic orders in heaven “saying Hallelujah” (xix. 1-3), and its repetition by the Elders and Living Creatures in xix. 4 (see note *in loc.*). Elsewhere, where these two orders are simply mentioned together, the Living Creatures are always mentioned first: cf. iv. 9-10, v. 6, 8, 14, xiv. 3. The expression *καὶ τῶν ζῶν καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων* seems to be a gloss in v. 11 (see note *in loc.*). A single Elder is mentioned in v. 5, vii. 13, and the body of Elders alone in xi. 16.

But as we examine the text more closely we see why the addition was made by our author after 3 and not elsewhere in iv. 1-8. For, whereas it would have been natural to make this addition immediately after the four Living Creatures in 6^b, we discover that the description of the latter and their thanksgivings are so closely knit together from 6^b to the close of 8 that the addition of a single phrase alien to the subject of the Living Creatures was practically impossible. Hence the insertion was made in the midst of the description of the throne. Finally, the syntax is defective in this verse. We have three accusatives, *θρόνους, πρεσβυτέρους, στεφάνους*, but no verb to govern them. Nor is there any such verb in 3 nor in 2, where the verbs are intransitive. To explain these abnormal accusatives, we must hark back to 1 and borrow *εἶδον*. This is wholly unsatisfactory. On the possible origin of the conception of the twenty-four Elders see 10.

5. καὶ ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου ἐκπορεύονται ἀστραπαὶ καὶ φωναὶ καὶ βρονταί. The three nouns recur in the same order in xi. 19, xvi. 18, but in viii. 5 in a different order, *βρονταί κ. φωναὶ κ. ἀστραπαί*. *φωναί*=*קול* in Hebrew, and denote the “voices” of the thunder; *βρονταί*=*רעם*, and denote simply “thunderings.” To us moderns, who identify thunder and the “voice” of the thunder, it is difficult to make a distinction between them. In Jub. ii. 2, however, we have the very same expression as in our text—*ἀγγελοι φωνῶν, βροντῶν καὶ ἀστραπῶν*. We might also compare Ex. xix. 16, *ἐγένοντο φωναὶ καὶ ἀστραπαί*: Ezek. i. 13, *ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐξεπορεύετο ἀστραπή*. Both nouns are combined in Ps. lxxvi. (lxxvii.) 18, *φωνὴ τῆς βροντῆς σου* (רעם קול); Job

xxxvii. 4, "He thundereth with the voice of His majesty" (עַם יוֹנָה לְקוֹל). Cf. also xxxvii. 2, 3, 5.

καὶ ἐπὶ λαμπάδες πυρὸς καίόμεναι ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου [ἔστιν τὰ ἐπὶ πνεύματα τοῦ θεοῦ]. We might compare 2 Bar. xxi. 6, "The holy beings . . . of flame and fire, which stand around Thy throne." Cf. viii. 10 of our text.

The clause α . . . θεοῦ has been recognized as a gloss by Spitta, J. Weiss, and Wellhausen. It is a gloss, however, which probably gives a right interpretation: cf. i. 4, 12, ii. 1, iii. 1. The seven lamps are seven spirits. The seven lamps stand in some original relation to the seven planets, of which, however, the Seer may have been quite unconscious. See note on i. 4. But this clause also, καὶ ἐπὶ λαμπάδες . . . θρόνου, may be a later addition of our author or of a later hand. Its structure appears to be against the former hypothesis. In the description of the throne the phrase relating to the throne always begins the verse. Thus iv. 5^a, ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου: 6^a, ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρ.: 6^b, ἐν κύκλῳ τοῦ θρ. This holds also in iv. 2^a and in the addition iv. 4^a. In iv. 3^b there is a slight departure from this structure, but not the complete departure we find in iv. 5^b. Here, further, we have the awkwardness of ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου coming almost at the close of one verse and recurring immediately at the beginning of the next, and that in a most carefully elaborated stanza. Notwithstanding I have allowed 5^b, minus the explanatory gloss, to remain in the text. See *Introd.* to Chapter, § 3.

6. καὶ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου ὡς θάλασσα ὑαλίνῃ ὁμοία κρυστάλλῳ. It is to be observed that our author does not say that there was "a sea of glass" here, but "as it were (ὡς) a sea of glass" (cf. xv. 2). There is nothing like it on earth or in human experience, so that all he can do is to use a figure of speech in order to suggest in some faint measure what he saw in the vision. This is clearly the present meaning of this phrase in our text. But having thus suggested the character of the conception, he can then drop the apocalyptic character of the phrase and use simply the definite expression τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν ὑαλίνην (xv. 2). But this has very little to do with the original form of this idea. Before the discovery of 2 Enoch, scholars were at a loss to trace its source. In that book (iii. 3) we find: "They showed me (in the first heaven) a very great sea, greater than the earthly sea." This sea, according to T. Levi ii. 7 (α), was in the first heaven "hanging," or according to ii. 7 (β), "hanging between the first and second heaven." The strange word "hanging" = κρεμάμενον = עָרָב, which appears to be corrupt for עֲרֵבָה—therefore "on the firmament." Thus this sea is really the waters above the firmament referred to in Gen. i. 7; Ps. cxlviii. 4. According to Jub. ii. 4 these were separated from the waters below the

firmament (ἐν δὲ τῇ δευτέρᾳ . . . ἐμαρίσθη τὰ ὕδατα, τὸ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἀνέβη ἐπάνω τοῦ στερεώματος—the Greek version preserved in Epiphanius. *Haer.* lxx. 4). These waters were masculine, according to 1 Enoch liv. 8, and the waters on the earth were feminine. From their union, according to Assyrian myths, the gods were produced. Of this myth there seems to be an echo in 2 Enoch xxviii. 2, xxix. 1, 3, "Out of the waves I created rock . . . and from the rock I cut off a great fire, and from the fire I created the orders of the incorporeal ten troops of angels."

But to return to the sea of glass, which ultimately goes back, as we have seen, to the waters above the firmament. These waters rest on the firmament, and over them apparently God's throne was *originally* conceived as established, Ps. civ. 3, "Who layeth in the waters the beams of His chambers." Of this heavenly ocean a portion only is visible in the foreground, "as it were a sea of glass like unto crystal," in our text. When the Apocalypse was written it is more than probable that the original meaning of the sea was wholly forgotten. See Bousset *in loc.*, and Gunkel, *Zum Verständnis d. NT*, 44, n. 5.

καὶ [ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ θρόνου καὶ] κύκλῳ τοῦ θρόνου τέσσαρα ζῶα γέμοντα ὀφθαλμῶν ἔμπροσθεν καὶ ὀπίσθεν.

The Living Creatures are not bearers of the throne (ἐν μέσῳ τ. θρ. cannot mean "under the throne"), as in Ezek. i. 22, 26, but they stand round the throne and prostrate themselves in the act of worship, v. 8, xix. 4 (in 2 Enoch xxi. 1 they "overshadow" it), and are free to move independently and singly: cf. xv. 7. If the text is right, we must suppose, with Züllig, De Wette, Düsterdieck, Bousset, Swete, that the Living Creatures stood round about (κύκλῳ) the throne, one in the middle of each side of the throne (ἐν μέσῳ). From the Greek words it seems impossible to wrest such a meaning. Nor can the passage be interpreted with Eichhorn, Ewald, and Gunkel (*Zum religionsgesch. Verst.* 44), who conceive the four Living Creatures as lying with the lower part of their body supporting the throne and with the upper part of their body projecting beyond it. Eichhorn was misled by following Ezekiel and by failing to follow the text before him, and also by the passage which he quotes from the Midrash Tehillim ciii. 19, to the effect that the Living Creatures were placed under the throne that they might "know that the kingdom of God ruled over all." In fact, the text is unintelligible as it stands. Hence ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ θρόνου καὶ is to be taken as (1) a gloss, or as (2) a mistranslation of the Hebrew. 1. It is not impossible that ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ θρόνου was added here from Ezek. i. 5, ἐν τῷ μέσῳ ὡς ὁμοίωμα τεσσάρων ζώων (where ἐν τῷ μέσῳ refers to the fiery cloud which envelops the throne of God), just as some cursives and versions of the LXX add καὶ κύκλῳ

τοῦ θρόνου after ἐν τῷ μέσῳ in Ezek. i. 5, probably from the Apocalypse. Elsewhere throughout the Apocalypse the Living Creatures are said to be "round the throne," but never "in the midst of it," as here. That privilege is reserved for the "Son of Man" or "the Lamb," i. 13, ii. 1, v. 6, vii. 17. Könnicke has also proposed the excision of this clause. 2. Bruston (quoted by Moffatt) thinks that the clause is a mistranslation of כְּתֹךְ אִסְכֵּה, which should have been rendered, "And in the midst was the throne"; but there is no other evidence that the passage is a translation, and the sense is hardly satisfactory.

τέσσαρα ἴσα. To the writer of the Apocalypse these four Living Creatures, which are akin to the living creatures (חַיִּים) in Ezek. i., and are called Cherubim in Ezek. x. 2, 20, are simply an order of angels, and apparently the highest, or one of the highest orders. We find them mentioned with two other orders, *i.e.* the Seraphim and Ophanim, in 1 Enoch lxxi. 7 (cf. lxi. 10). And with others still in 2 Enoch xx. 1, xxi. 1, xxii. 2. In 2 Enoch xxi. 1 (cf. xxi. 3) ten orders are mentioned. (See my note *in loc.*)

These Living Creatures in our text are akin, as we have said, to the living creatures in Ezekiel, but they are in certain essential aspects different. The Seer does not simply reproduce the traditions of the past, but speaks in the terms of his own time. In the present instance I hope to show that the conception in our text has probably passed through three stages of development of which the third is that found in apocalyptic literature, 200 B.C. to 100 A.D. In this brief study we shall advance backwards from Jewish to Babylonian conceptions, from the statement of ascertained beliefs to the expression of reasonable hypotheses.

1. *In apocalyptic literature 200 B.C.-100 A.D.*—1. In our text the Cherubim are four in number, it is true, as in Ezekiel, but each Cherub has only one face, and not four faces as in the O.T. prophet. 2. They have each six wings like the Seraphim in Isa. vi., and not four as in Ezek. i. 3. They stand immediately round God's throne, Rev. iv. 6, v. 8, xix. 4, and do not bear it as in Ezekiel. The throne is set ("ἔκειτο," Rev. iv. 2) on the firmament of heaven, and does not rest on them. There is no mention of "the wheels," as in the vision of Ezekiel. 4. They sing God's praises, Rev. iv. 8, like the Seraphim in Isa. vi., and are not silent servants of Deity. 5. They are "full of eyes," but in Ezekiel they are "like lamps," i. 13, and it is "the fellows of the wheels," i. 18, that are full of eyes. Ezek. x. 12, where the Cherubim are said to be full of eyes, is recognized by critics as corrupt. 6. They move freely about, Rev. xv. 7, and act as intermediaries between God and other orders of angels. In most of these respects

the conceptions of the N.T. Apocalypse and of Jewish Apocalyptic between 200 B.C. and 100 A.D. are at one. As regards 1, we have no mention of the number of the Cherubim outside our Apocalypse nor any description of their form in this period. They are regarded simply as one of the highest orders of angels: cf. 1 Enoch lxi. 10, lxxi. 7. 2. They have each six wings according to Rev. iv. 6, 2 Enoch xxi. 1, as the Seraphim in Isa. vi. 3. They stand round the throne of God and not under it, as Gunkel and others have asserted. They do not bear it, but are rather conceived as guardians of it, 1 Enoch lxxi. 7. In 1 Enoch xiv. 11 they appear to be in the "roof" of heaven. In 2 Enoch xxi. 1 they cover the throne like the Seraphim in Isa. vi. In the next place the throne is conceived as resting on the firmament of heaven, even where the wheels of Ezekiel's vision are mentioned in connection with it. Cf. Dan. vii. 9, "The thrones were set. . . . His throne was fiery flames, and the wheels thereof burning fire." This meaningless survival appears also in 1 Enoch xiv. 18, "I saw . . . a lofty throne: its appearance was as crystal, and the wheels thereof as the shining sun, and there was the vision of Cherubin." In 1 Enoch xiv. 17, 18, all idea of a moving throne has been wholly lost. But other writers either omitted the mention of "the wheels" as a meaningless survival, as in T. Levi v. 1, xviii. 6, where the throne rests on the floor of the Temple in the third heaven, and Rev. iv. 2 sqq., or they transformed "the wheels" (אֲרוֹנוֹת) into one of the highest orders of angels, *i.e.* Ophannim, as in 1 Enoch lxi. 10, lxxi. 7 and later Jewish Midrashim. Underneath the throne was not only the flaming firmament, but also the sources of the fiery streams, which flowed forth from the stationary base of the throne, Dan. vii. 10; 1 Enoch xiv. 19. With this conception we might contrast Rev. xxii. 1, where it is "a river of water of life" that proceeds out of the throne.

4. Finally, the function of the Cherubim in later apocalyptic literature is not to support the throne of God (except in 2 Bar. li. 11?), but to guard it, 1 Enoch lxxi. 7, or more usually to sing the trisagion, as in our text. Thus in 1 Enoch lxxi. 7, together with the Seraphim and Ophannim they are described as "those who sleep not," but "guard the throne of God's glory." Now, according to 1 Enoch xxxix. 12, "those who sleep not . . . stand before Thy glory and bless . . . saying: Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Spirits"; and again in lxi. 11 sq. they exclaim, "Blessed is He, and may the name of the Lord of Spirits be blessed." These orders are carefully distinguished in xl. 2 from the four archangels. Once more in 2 Enoch xix. 6, xxi. 1, the Cherubim and Seraphim with six wings and many eyes are described as standing before the throne, singing: "Holy,

holy, holy is the Lord God of Sabaoth: heavens and earth are full of Thy glory." Thus the conception of the Cherubim in the N.T. Apocalypse is essentially the same as that found in Jewish apocalyptic literature. Both the conceptions, as we shall see, have their root in the O.T.

II. In the O.T. the Cherubim are referred to, as Bp. Ryle points out (*Hastings' D.B.* i. 377 sqq.), (1) "in the Israelite version of primitive myth; (2) in early Hebrew poetry; (3) in apocalyptic vision; and (4) in the descriptions of the formation and adornments of the ark, the tabernacle, and the temple." We are mainly concerned here with (3), but we shall refer to the passages coming under the other sections as we find occasion.

1. The form of the Cherubim varies in the O.T. In *Ezek.* i. 6, 10 each had four faces—the faces of a man, a lion, an ox, and an eagle. (In *x.* 14, where the four faces are given slightly differently, the verse is, with Bertholet, to be excised as an interpolation, as well as the word "cherub" in 7. These are omitted by the LXX.) In *Ezek.* xli. 18 sq. each had two faces—those of a man and a lion; but this may be due to the fact that they are here represented on the wall of the Temple. Between each pair of Cherubim there was a palm tree.

According to Gunkel, *Genesis*³, p. 25, the simpler conception of *Rev.* iv. 6 is older than the very complicated one of *Ezek.* i. 10; indeed Winckler (*Altor. Forsch.* ii. 347 sqq.), as Zimmern notes, *K.A.T.*, p. 631, seeks to prove that the four living creatures in the original text of Ezekiel had only one face each. In any case, the form of the Cherubim in our Apocalypse, so far as regards their head, differs from every definite description of them in the O.T.

2. In *Ezek.* i. 6, 10 each Cherub had four wings. In Solomon's temple there were two colossal Cherubim, each with two wings, *1 Kings* vi. 24 sqq., and standing on their feet, *2 Chron.* iii. 13. The walls of his temple were also carved with figures of Cherubim, *1 Kings* vi. 29, and palm trees, *2 Chron.* iii. 7, as also on the hanging screen, which separated the Holy place from the Holy of Holies in the Tabernacle, *Ex.* xxvi. 31.

Thus the number of wings assigned to the Cherubim in our Apocalypse, while agreeing with later apocalyptic literature, differs from the number assigned in the O.T.

3. The Cherubim in *Ezek.* i. 22, 26, *x.* 1, support a firmament, whereon is set the throne of God. The throne is not stationary, but is borne in any one of four directions by the Cherubim. The description of the base of the throne recalls *Ex.* xxiv. 10, though there is no mention there of the Cherubim. In

Ex. xxv. 18-21, on the other hand, the figures of the Cherubim are represented on the mercy-seat of the ark, facing each other, but looking down on the ark.

Possibly connected with the conception in Ezekiel is that in 2 Kings xix. 15; Ps. xviii. 10, lxxx. 1, xcix. 1; Isa. xxxvii. 16, where the Cherubim are conceived as bearing God.

In Gen. iii. 24 they guard Paradise. In 1 Enoch lxxi. 7 they they are said to guard the throne of God.

Thus the conception in Rev. iv. 6, etc., stands apart in this respect also from any in the O.T.

4. The Cherubim are silent in Ezek. i. 5 sqq., x. 2, and in all passages relating to them in the O.T. as opposed to the function assigned them in late apocalyptic literature.

III. Some of the above conceptions in the O.T. can with great probability be traced to an earlier stage, a stage with which our author was wholly unacquainted, and of which even the O.T. writers had barely the faintest idea. For research in this direction we are indebted to Zimmern and Gunkel. The former (*K.A.T.* 631 sq.) holds that in all probability the four Cherubim in Ezek. i., x. 2, are to be traced to the four chief constellations in the zodiac,¹ and go back fundamentally to Babylonian ideas, though this has not yet been established. The 1st, 4th, 7th, and 10th signs of the zodiac are especially significant as corresponding *in space* to the dividing limits of the four quarters of the heavens, and *in time* to the dividing limits of the four seasons. These four constellations are the Ox, the Lion, the Scorpion, and Aquarius. Further, the four winds were probably brought into relation with the four chief signs of the zodiac; for in Babylonian-Assyrian sculpture we find on either side of the holy tree two winged forms, generally with a human body and an eagle head, and occasionally with a human head and a lion's body. Of close affinity with these are the colossal winged ox and lion figures at the entrance of Assyrian temples and palaces, which have human heads and the bodies of the ox or lion. Hence Zimmern infers that the ox, lion, man, and eagle were known in Babylon as symbols of the winds, and that in the Biblical Cherubim the forms of these four creatures were derived from the four constellations in the four quarters, corresponding to the four directions of the wind. The relation of the lion and the ox to the constellations of the lion and ox is obvious. The man corresponds to the scorpion-man, while the eagle is taken not from Aquarius, but from the constellation of the

¹ Gunkel assumes this hypothesis as an assured result in *Zum religions-gesch. Verständnis des NT*, p. 47, and suggests that the movement of their wings, perceptible by no ordinary earthly ear, is referred to in Ps. xix. and is the music of the spheres.

eagle in its neighbourhood, probably because the former had no particularly bright stars.

Now in confirmation of Zimmern's identification of the four winds and the four constellations, it is to be observed that originally the throne of God was the heaven itself: Isa. lxvi. 1, "The heaven is My throne, the earth is My footstool." In Ezek. i. 22 the throne rests on a firmament (רָקִיעַ, *i.e.* the heavenly vault, which is like crystal), borne, as we have seen, by the four Living Creatures. A very probable emendation of 1 Enoch xviii. 2 may support Zimmern's identification of "the four winds" and the four constellations: this passage reads, "I saw the four winds which bear the firmament of heaven. Now these stand between earth and heaven." See my edition *in loc.*

It is obvious that the idea of the Living Creatures and the wheels supporting the throne are syncretistic. It rested originally either on the living creatures or on the wheels. Both ideas were prevalent in the ancient world (Gunkel, *op. cit.*, p. 46). For our present purpose we may leave "the wheels"¹ out of consideration, especially as they do not appear in the N.T. Apocalypse.

Again, as confirming the identification of the Living Creatures and the four constellations, it is to be observed that the former are "like burning coals of fire, like the appearance of lamps" (Ezek. i. 13). Now, since in apocalyptic language the "lamps" signify stars—see Zech. iv. 2, 10 and our text, i. 4 (note), 12, iv. 5—the Living Creatures who are like lamps are reasonably to be identified with stars. And this is further confirmed by the fact that the wheels which accompany the Living Creatures are "full of eyes," *i.e.* are bodies of stars or constellations. In the Veda (*S.B.E.* xlii. 212) the sun-god Surya is himself an eye. In the next stage Mitra and Varuna have the Sun as an eye (*S.B.E.* xxvi. 343, xli. 408). And the seven planets are the seven eyes of Yahweh in Zech. iv. 10, and of the Lamb in our Apocalypse: see v. 6, also note on i. 12.

γέμοντα ὀφθαλμῶν ἔμπροσθεν καὶ ὀπίσθεν. These words go back to Ezek. i. 18, x. 12. There the expression is applied to "the wheels," which are said to be "full of eyes round about" (πλήρεις ὀφθαλμῶν κυκλόθεν, כְּכִי סָבִיב עֵינֵי הֵלָל). When, however, our author transferred the idea from the wheels to the Living Creatures themselves, he not unreasonably modified it. The eyes were on the fellows of the wheels, and therefore the eyes presented the appearance of a circle. Hence they are

¹ In Dan. vii. 9, 1 Enoch xiv. 13, "the wheels" are merely a literary reminiscence or survival. The throne is conceived as stationary in both passages—certainly in the latter. In the next stage of development "the wheels" are transformed into an order of angels (see above, p. 120).

described as "round about." But such an expression could not easily be used of a living creature which had a definite face as a man, or ox, or lion, or eagle, with their eyes in front. In such a case naturally the expression is modified to "full of eyes before and behind," though even here there is some difficulty attaching to the conception of a creature with a face like a man and yet full of eyes in front.

The discussion of this question is important, since we shall find later that the words *κυκλόθεν καὶ ἔσωθεν γέμονσιν ὀφθαλμῶν* in 8 are a meaningless interpolation.

In Ezek. x. 12 the text is recognized by critics as originally applying *only to the wheels*. In its present form, which is very corrupt, it runs: "And their whole body, and their backs, and their hands, and their wings, and the wheels, were full of eyes round about, even the wheels that they four had." See Bertholet *in loc.*, who proposes *וְכָל־שְׁרִיָּהֶם וְנִבְיָהֶם וְיִדּוֹתֵיהֶם*, "and all their naves, and their fellows, and their axle trees . . . were round about full of eyes."

7. καὶ τὸ ἕξον τὸ πρῶτον ὁμοιον λέοντι,
καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἕξον ὁμοιον μόσχῳ,
καὶ τὸ τρίτον ἕξον ἔχων τὸ πρόσωπον ὡς ἀνθρώπου,
καὶ τὸ τέταρτον ἕξον ὁμοιον ἀετῷ πετομένῳ.

The order in Ezek. i. 10 is man, lion, ox, eagle. The text in x. 14 is corrupt, as we have already pointed out. Irenaeus (iii. 11. 8) seems to have been the earliest writer who identified the Four Evangelists with the four Living Creatures—Matthew with the man, Mark with the eagle, Luke with the ox, and John with the lion. Victorinus, on the other hand, understood the man as symbolizing Matthew, the lion Mark, the ox Luke, the eagle John. St. Augustine (*De Cons. Evang.* i. 6) attributes the lion to Matthew, the man to Mark, the ox to Luke, and the eagle to John. Such identifications though popular in the early Church, and indeed in later times, are wholly fanciful. See Alford and Düsterdieck *in loc.*; Swete², *St. Mark*, p. xxxvi sqq.; Zahn, *Forschungen*, ii. 257 sqq. *μόσχος* is here, as it is over 40 times in the LXX, the equivalent of *שׁוֹר*—cf. Ezek. i. 10, and therefore means an ox. In the LXX it is more frequently a rendering of *בָּקָר*, a bull, and occasionally of *בָּקָרָה* and *בָּקָרָה*.

In line 3 *ἔχων* stands here as in 8 for a finite verb in accordance with a Hebrew, or a still more frequent Aramaic idiom. This idiom is found also in the *Κοινή*. See note on xii. 2, where it recurs.

8. καὶ τὰ τέσσαρα ἑῷα, ἐν καθ' ἐν αὐτῶν ἔχων ἀνά πτέρυγας ἑξ.
On the form of the Cherubim in this passage see above, p. 119 sq. For *ἐν καθ' ἐν* and *ἀνά* used distributively see N.T. Grammars.

[κυκλόθεν καὶ ἔσωθεν γέμουσιν ὀφθαλμῶν.] Wellhausen (*Analysed. Offenbarung Joh.*, p. 9) rightly regards this clause as an interpolation, though I can only in part accept his reasons: "κυκλόθεν steht bei Ezek. i. 18 für ἔμπροσθεν καὶ ὀπίσθεν zusammen. Denn ἔσωθεν bedeutet nach v. 1 ebenso viel als ἔμπροσθεν; innen ist vorn und aussen ist hinten." I have already shown (see p. 121 sq.) that our author has modified very considerably the characteristics of the Cherubim as given in Ezekiel, and has transferred to his description of the Cherubim the eyes which in Ezekiel's account belong only to the wheels. The grounds on which I regard this line as an intrusion are: 1. The sentence or line begins without a copula though it contains a finite verb. This is contrary to the writer's custom throughout the preceding verses iv. 2, 3, 5, 6, 7. We should expect καὶ κυκλόθεν. 2. κυκλόθεν καὶ ἔσωθεν is in reality a meaningless phrase. It has proved a hopeless *crux* to interpreters. If in any form it is original, it must be corrupt, and we should have to fall back on the text presupposed by Primasius: "habebant singula alas senas per circuitum. Et erant plena oculis ante se et retro," or still earlier Victorinus: "habentes alas senas in circuitu et oculos intus et foris" (Hausleiter, *Lateinische Apokalypse*, p. 94). These renderings presuppose, as Bousset points out, the text κυκλόθεν καὶ ἔσωθεν καὶ ἔσωθεν, which is actually that of Q and a few cursives. Thus we should have, "they had each six wings round about, and they were full of eyes without and within." Luther was also in favour of connecting κυκλόθεν with what precedes. But this text is very badly attested. It is only an attempt to smooth away the difficulties of an unintelligible gloss. 3. The words, if they had an intelligible meaning, would be a needless repetition of the last clause of 6. 4. The text of Isa. vi., which our author had undoubtedly before him, describes the Seraphim in 2 as having six wings, and then immediately in 3 their ascription of praise, "Holy, holy, holy." This fact is in favour of the excision of this clause, especially as it has occurred before.

But how is the gloss to be explained? The glosser possibly drew the unintelligible phrase κυκλόθεν καὶ ἔσωθεν from the LXX of Ezek. i. 27, ὁρασιν πυρὸς ἔσωθεν αὐτοῦ κύκλω, where, however, the text refers to a description of God.

καὶ ἀνάπαισιν οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς λέγοντες. Here it is distinctly implied that the volume of praise is continuous and unbroken. This fact does not harmonize with 9-14, as we shall see presently. For the phraseology, though the sense differs, cf. xiv. 11.

The widespread conception of praise in heaven is attested by such passages as 1 Enoch xxxix. 12 sq., xl. 3 sq., lxi. 9 sqq., lxi. 26, lxxi. 11, etc.; T. Levi iii. 8; 2 Enoch xvii. 1, xviii. 9,

xix. 6, xx. 4; Ascension of Isaiah vii. 15, 19, 20, 27, 29, 30, 36, viii. 3, 16, 17-18, ix. 28-29, 33, 40-42, x. 1-3, 19, xi. 26, 27, etc.; Chag. 12^b; Apoc. Zephaniah (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 11. 77).

With the trisagion in our text we might compare that in 1 Enoch xxxix. 12, "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Spirits: He filleth the earth with spirits." Here as in our text (see note above) the writer has modified the trisagion to suit the main purpose of his Apocalypse.

We have already shown that the task of the Cherubim together with the Seraphim and Ophannim is to sing the praises of God (see above, p. 120 sq.) in later Apocalyptic literature as in our text. De Wette, Düsterdieck, B. Weiss, and Alford regard the Cherubim as representing the whole animate creation. Düsterdieck and Alford quote the Shemoth rabba, 23, fol. 122, 4^b, as already giving the right point of view: "Quattuor sunt, qui principatum in hoc mundo tenent. Inter creaturas homo, inter aves aquila, inter pecora bos, inter bestias leo." "Dass diese Vier die gesammte lebendige Schöpfung repräsentiren sollen, ist durch die bedeutungsvolle Vierzahl selbst angezeigt" (Düsterdieck, Bengel). Swete (2nd ed., p. 71), following Düsterdieck, writes that "the ζῶα represent Creation and the Divine immanence in nature," and quotes Andreas to the same effect. And again (p. 72): "This ceaseless activity of Nature under the Hand of God is a ceaseless tribute of praise." But this meaning of the Cherubim cannot, so far as I see, be maintained. In the Book of Jubilees the angels are, speaking generally, divided into two classes: those which keep the Sabbath with God and Israel, and those which do not. The former include only the angels of the presence and the angels of sanctification. This latter class are those which sing the praises of God (see my notes on ii. 2, 18, xv. 27, xxxi. 14), and embrace, no doubt, the Cherubim and Seraphim. Now as for the angels who do not keep the Sabbath, these are naturally "the angels of service" who are set over the works of nature. These are inferior in rank and knowledge not only to the two higher orders, but also to righteous men, according to the Talmud (see my commentary on Jubilees, p. 12). Even a knowledge of the law is withheld from them (*op cit.*, p. 111). Since, therefore, the angels, that were intimately connected with nature according to Jewish views, held so subordinate a position, it can hardly be right to identify with them the Cherubim, who are immediately round the throne of God and continually sing His praises, and are the highest order of angels in the N.T. Apocalypse.

The idea of nature as itself praising God is found in Ps. xix. 2 sqq., ciii. 22, cxlviii.; but the Cherubim are not regarded as

vehicles of this praise in our text, but the twenty-four elders (see II, p. 133 sq.).

The trisagion in our text differs from Isa. vi. 3 in that it does not voice the praise of creation, but omits the words, "the whole earth is full of His glory," and confines itself to the holiness, omnipotence, and everlastingness of God.

On the essential nature of God, our author bases his assurance of the ultimate triumph of righteousness.

Ἅγιος ἅγιος ἅγιος κύριος, ὁ θεός, ὁ παντοκράτωρ,
ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος.

Cf. i. 8, xi. 17. The trisagion is borrowed here with modifications from Isa. vi. 3, ἅγιος ἅγιος ἅγιος κύριος σαβαώθ. Our author has not followed the LXX; for in every instance תהוהו is rendered by the translator of the LXX in Isaiah by *σαβαώθ*. On the other hand, ὁ παντοκράτωρ is the rendering of this Hebrew word in the rest of the prophets. Furthermore, our author has inserted κύριος ὁ θεός = יהוה יהוה—a phrase very frequent in Ezekiel (vi. 3, II, vii. 2, 5, viii. 1, etc.). For the second line, cf. i. 4, 8, xi. 17. For other doxologies, see note on II.

On ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος see note on i. 4.

θ. καὶ ὅταν δώσουσιν τὰ ῥῶα δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν καὶ εὐχαριστίαν τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ, τῷ ζῶντι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Commentators are practically agreed that ὅταν δώσουσιν¹ is here to be translated "whenever . . . shall give." That is, the action in 10-11 is represented as occurring as often as that in 8. But since the giving of praise on the part of the Living Creatures is continuous and unbroken (8), it is hard to reconcile this conception with that conveyed in 10, which implies that the praise is not continuous, but bursts forth at intervals, whereupon the four and twenty Elders fall down and worship. The latter view, moreover, is that which underlies the rest of the Apocalypse. The Elders are not always prostrating themselves, but on the occasion of great crises in the Apocalypse, which call forth their worship and thanksgiving: cf. v. 8, 14, xi. 16, xix. 4. One of the Elders also comforts the Seer, v. 5, and tells him who are the great white-robed company that are praising God, vii. 13. Nor are the Cherubim occupied with unbroken praisegiving throughout the rest of the book. Separate acts of praise on their part are implied in v. 9 (ὅταν), and different tasks are ascribed to them in vi. 1, 3, 5, 7, and in xv. 7. Hence we infer that in this respect iv. 1-8 stands apart from the rest of the Apocalypse.

δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν καὶ εὐχαριστίαν. The collocation δόξα καὶ τιμή is found in Ps. viii. 6 (כבוד ודבר), but not in the same

¹ For other examples of ὅταν with indicative in a frequentative sense see Moulton, p. 168.

connection as in our text. A better parallel is furnished by Ps. xxix. 1, xcvi. 7, ἐνέγκατε τῷ κυρίῳ δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν (where, however, τιμὴ is a rendering of נָדָב). But the best parallels to our text are found in 1 Enoch lxi. 10, 11, where the Cherubim and other angels are said to "bless and glorify and extol" (= εὐλογεῖν καὶ δοξάζειν καὶ ὑψοῦν) God. For similar statements cf. xxxix. 10, 12, xlvii. 2, lxi. 12, etc. (= δοξάσουσιν καὶ εὐχαριστήσουσιν). We might also compare Dan. iv. 34.

τῷ ζῶντι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. This phrase recurs in 10, x. 6, xv. 7; see also vii. 2. Cf. Dan. iv. 31 (Theod.), τῷ ζῶντι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα (מְלֵךְ חַי) ἦνεσα καὶ ἐδόξασα; also Deut. xxxii. 40; Dan. xii. 7 (מְלֵךְ חַי); Sir. xviii. 17; 1 Enoch v. 1. This phrase repeats the idea in the second line of the trisagion. See Bousset, *Rel. d. Judentums*, 293. This divine attribute is applied to our Lord in i. 18.

10. οἱ εἴκοσι τέσσαρες πρεσβύτεροι. This conception of a heavenly divan composed of four and twenty Elders is not found in existing Jewish literature. There are indeed echoes of such a conception in 1 Kings xxii. 19 sqq., Job i. 6, ii. 1, which represent God as taking counsel with His angels; and in Dan. iv. 17, vii. 9, where a certain order of angels is regarded as assessors of God and issuers of the divine decrees. But a still closer parallel is found in Isa. xxiv. 23:

βασιλεύσει Κύριος ἐκ Σιὼν καὶ εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ,
καὶ ἐνώπιον τῶν πρεσβυτέρων δοξασθήσεται.

This passage has been, it is true, assigned by Duhm and Marti to the latter half of the 2nd century B.C., and the πρεσβύτεροι (זקנים) are interpreted as the heads of the Jewish community—an interpretation that is already propounded in the Targum on Isaiah. But whether this be so or not, the passage could easily have assumed a different meaning in the 1st century of the Christian era, and formed a starting-point for the development of the conception in our text. In our text the Elders are crowned as kings, and seated on thrones round the throne of God: they are thus the heavenly γερονσία.

Who then are these Elders? that is, whom does the author of our book conceive them to be? for their original meaning and their meaning in the text have no necessary connection.

First let us inquire what we know from our text of these Elders. i. They sit on twenty-four thrones round the throne of God, iv. 4, xi. 16. ii. They wear crowns of gold, and are clothed in white garments, iv. 4. iii. They are called πρεσβύτεροι (זקנים). iv. They are four and twenty in number. v. They occupy these thrones not at the Final Judgment or the consummation of the world, but in the present and apparently in the past (since the

creation?). vi. The Seer addresses one of them, vii. 13, as *κύριε*. vii. They act as *angeli interpretes*, vii. 13. viii. They discharge a priestly function in presenting the prayers of the faithful to God in golden bowls, v. 8. ix. They encourage the Seer when in the spirit he beholds the inhabitants of heaven, v. 5. x. They discharge the office of praising God by singing and playing on the harp, v. 8, 14, xi. 16, xix. 4.

Now these Elders have been variously taken as

I. *Glorified men.*

II. *A College of angels—earlier angelic assessors—originally Babylonian star-gods.*

III^a. *Angelic representatives of the twenty-four priestly orders.*

III^b. *And in their present context Angelic representatives of the whole body of the faithful.*

I. *Glorified men.*—Thus (1) Bleek, 198 sq.; De Wette², 72; Weizsäcker², 617, take them to be representatives of the Jewish and heathen communities. (2) Victorinus, Andreas, Arethas, Bousset, Stern, Hengstenberg, Ebrard, Düsterdieck, 221; B. Weiss, 438, hold them to be representatives of the O.T. and N.T. communities, twelve of them being the O.T. patriarchs from whom the nation of Israel arose, and twelve the N.T. apostles by whom the Christian Church was founded. It is true, indeed, that the name *πρεσβύτεροι* suggests in itself representatives of the community: cf. Isa. xxiv. 23, quoted above, and Ex. xxiv. 11. As representatives of the entire community of believers there would belong to them the kingly dignity; for since faithful believers share the throne of their Lord, and reign, iii. 21, i. 6, xx. 4, 6, xxii. 5 (2 Tim. ii. 12), and wear crowns, iii. 11, it is pre-eminently fitting that their representatives should enjoy such kingly privileges. In the Ascension of Isaiah vii. 22, viii. 26, ix. 10–13, 18, 24, 25, xi. 40, the idea of crowns (*στέφανοι* not *διαδήματα*) and thrones as the rewards of the righteous is repeatedly dwelt upon. Such views, therefore, must have been widely current in early Christendom. Moreover, the idea of crowns as the reward of righteousness is pre-Christian; see T. Benj. iv. 1. Further, it might be urged that there are some grounds for the identification of these Elders with the twelve Patriarchs and the twelve Apostles; for they are closely brought together in the description of the New Jerusalem. Thus the names of the twelve Patriarchs are written on the twelve gates, xxi. 12, and those of the twelve Apostles on the twelve foundations of its wall, xxi. 14. Furthermore, the homogeneity of the Jewish and Christian Churches emerges from the fact that the redeemed sing the song of Moses and the Lamb, xv. 3 (?).

But it has been rejoined, there is no true co-ordination of Jewish and Christian Churches in xxi. 12, 14, else there would be twenty-four gates or twenty-four foundations. Moreover, there is not a hint in the text that the Elders refer to definite persons such as the Patriarchs and Apostles.

But the real difficulty does not lie here, but in the fact that the *Elders cannot be men but must be angels*. This follows from the characteristics mentioned in v., vi., vii., viii., ix. above. These we must now treat more in detail. The Seer addresses one of the Elders as *κύριε*, vii. 13, a fact which, though not conclusive, is in favour of the angelic nature of the Elders. That they act, however, as *angeli interpretes*, vii. 13 (cf. xvii. 3, xxii. 6), is conclusive against their being of human origin. Such duties belong to angels only; cf. Dan. ix. 22 sqq.; 1 Enoch xvii. 1, xix. 1, xxi. 5, xxii. 6, etc.; 2 Enoch, 4 Ezra, 2 Bar. *passim*. No more is the function of offering encouragement to the Seer, v. 5, reconcilable with their being men: cf. Dan. x. 11.

Furthermore, it is angels and not men that offer the prayers of the faithful in golden bowls, T. Levi iii. 7; Chag. 12^b; Sebach, 62^a; Menachoth, 110^a, and so in our text, v. 8; it is angels that sing hymns, 2 Enoch xviii. 9, xix. 3, xx. 4, etc., and so in our text, v. 9, xiv. 3; but this last point must not be pressed.

And again the fact that the elders sit on thrones *prior to the consummation of the kingdom or the final judgment* is against their being conceived as men. Not till this period arrives will the faithful wear crowns and sit on thrones. This holds also in Judaism, as appears from a passage of Tanchuma, fol. 52, quoted by Spitta and others: "Tempore futuro Deus S. B. sedebit et angeli dabunt sellas magnatibus Israelis, et illi sedent. Et Deus S. B. sedet cum senioribus tanquam אב בית דין, princeps senatus, et judicabunt gentiles." To the above passage we might add Dan. vii., where the thrones are set for the angelic assessors of the Most High. Thrones were thus not unfitting for angels, according to pre-Christian Judaism. On the above grounds, therefore, the Elders are to be taken as angels. Whatever the twenty-four Elders may have been originally, in the view of our author, they are not men, but an *order of angels*.

II. *A College of angels—earlier angelic assessors—originally Babylonian star-gods*.—Gunkel (*Schöpfung und Chaos*, 302-308) and Zimmern (*K.A.T.*³ 633) examine the various interpretations adduced, including that given under the next heading, and conclude that neither in Judaism nor in Christianity can any true interpretation of the twenty-four Elders seated on thrones be found. For they urge that the thrones imply that the Elders are kings and judges: that these Elders are supernatural beings,

and that the number twenty-four is no invention of the Seer, but that the whole conception has been taken over from apocalyptic tradition.

They are of opinion that the twenty-four Babylonian star-gods are the original of the twenty-four Elders, and that these gods were transformed by Judaism into angels. They support their view with the following citation from Diodorus Siculus, ii. 31: *μετὰ δὲ τὸν ζῳδιακὸν κύκλον εἴκοσιν καὶ τέτταρας ἀφορίζουσιν ἀστέρας, ὧν τοὺς μὲν ἡμίσεις ἐν τοῖς βορείοις μέρεσι, τοὺς δ' ἡμίσεις ἐν τοῖς νοτίοις τετάχθαι φασί, καὶ τούτων τοὺς μὲν ὀρυμένους τῶν ζώντων εἶναι καταριθμοῦσι, τοὺς δ' ἀφανεῖς τοῖς τετελευτηκόσι προσωρίσθαι νομίζουσιν, οὓς δικαστὰς τῶς ὅλων προσαγορεύουσιν.* With the Babylonian star-gods Gunkel (*Zum Verständniss des N. Testaments*, 43) thinks the twenty-four Yazata of the Persians are related (Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 47).¹ Gunkel admits that the Seer has lost consciousness of the original meaning of these beings in that he assigns them priestly functions, though they were originally kings, senators of the Most High.

This interpretation has received the support of Bousset, J. Weiss, Holtzmann², and is undoubtedly attractive, but the evidence of connection between the Babylonian conception and that which appears in our text is too slight to build upon. It seems to be, in fact, not more than a coincidence; for the points in common between the two can be explained within Judaism.

There is not a trace of what, according to Gunkel, was the original character of these Elders; for the *στέφανοι* and *θρόνοι* do not necessarily in themselves imply kingship. If *διαδήματα* were used instead of *στέφανοι*³ the matter might be different. Nor need the possession of *θρόνοι* involve judicial powers, if we may reason from the passages cited above from the Ascension of Isaiah; while as regards the number twenty-four, it can be satisfactorily accounted for within Judaism.

Since the Elders are not conceived in any way as kings, since they never act as judges and are never consulted by God as His assessors,⁴ but are described as angels discharging priestly (v. 8) and Levitical functions (v. 8), the most reasonable interpretation is that which identifies them with the angelic representatives of the twenty-four priestly orders.

III^a. *Angelic representatives of the twenty-four priestly orders.*

—A great number of scholars in past times derived the number

¹ 2 Enoch iv. 1 might be compared: "And they brought before my face the elders and rulers of the stellar orders."

² I find, however, that *στέφανος* is used of the crown of the sun in 3 Bar. vi., viii.

³ In 1 Enoch xiv. 22, Sir. xlii. 22, it is expressly stated that God stands in no need of counsel though thousands of thousands of angels stand around Him.

twenty-four from the twenty-four priestly orders, such as Alcasar, Vitringa, Eichhorn, Ewald, Hilgenfeld, Renan, Erbes; but it was Spitta (275 sqq.) who first recognized in the Elders the heavenly representatives of the twenty-four orders (1 Chron. xxiv. 7-18). The chief priests were designated not only שָׂרִים, "princes" (so angels are designated in Dan. x. 13, 20, 21), and רָאשִׁים, "heads," but also "elders of the priesthood," זְקֵנֵי כֹהֵנָה (Joma i. 5), and זְקֵנֵי בֵּית אָב, "Elders of a father's house" (Tamid i. 1); Middoth i. 8. See Schürer³, ii. 236. They are also called שְׂרֵי הָאֱלֹהִים, "princes of God," in 1 Chron. xxiv. 5. Spitta quotes the passage from Tanchuma, 52 (cited above), to show that angels sat on thrones. These angels, then, would be the heavenly counterpart of the heads of the twenty-four priestly orders. As such they themselves offered sacrifice¹ in heaven, v. 8—they presented the prayers of the faithful a bloodless offering: cf. T. Levi iii. 6 sq. If, then, this order of angels sat on thrones, it is to be expected also that they should wear crowns. Spitta might further have added that there were also twenty-four orders of Levites, 1 Chron. xxv. 9-31, whose duty was to "prophesy with harps, with psalteries, and with cymbals" (1 Chron. xxv. 1). This duty is discharged by the Elders in our text: cf. v. 8. In favour of this interpretation it may be observed that, since the archetypes of the temple and its accessories, as the altar and the ark, are represented by the Seer as already existing in heaven, it is natural to find the archetypes of the twenty-four priestly orders there also.

These angels Spitta identifies with the θρόνοι mentioned in T. Lev. iii. 8, where their duty, as in several passages in our text, is to offer praise to God (καὶ ὕμνον τῷ θεῷ προσφέροντες).

That they sat on thrones is clear from the Ascension of Isaiah vii. 14, 15, 21, 27, 29, 31, 33, 35, xi. 25.

Finally, this view of the Elders is preserved in the writing, αἰ διαταγαὶ αἱ διὰ Κλήμεντος (Lagarde, *Juris ecclesiastici antiquissima*, 1856, 74 sqq.): εἴκοσι γὰρ καὶ τέσσαρες εἰσι πρεσβύτεροι, δώδεκα ἐκ δεξιῶν καὶ δώδεκα ἐξ εὐωνύμων . . . οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ δεξιῶν δεχόμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαγγέλων τὰς φιάλας προσφέρουσι τῷ δεσπότῃ, οἱ δὲ ἐξ ἀριστερῶν ἐπέρχουσι τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἀγγέλων (quoted by Harnack, *Lehre der 12 Ap*, 233). This passage is an early expansion of our text. It still preserves the priestly element in the conception.

III^b. *And in their present context the Elders may be the*

¹ The priestly character of the Elders may be hinted at in their great hymn in v. 9-10, where the Elders dwell on the *self-sacrifice* of the Lamb as manifesting His worthiness to take the Book of Destiny and open its seals. However, it is just possible that the Living Creatures also join in that hymn.

heavenly representatives of the faithful in their twofold aspect as priests and kings.

It is, of course, possible that the Jewish character of the Elders may persist in our text: but it is not improbable that for our author the Elders have become the heavenly representatives of the faithful, all of whom are priests, i. 6. The risen martyrs are both priests and kings, xx. 6. This conception presents no difficulty, seeing that every man had his guardian angel, Acts xii. 15; Tob. v.; Targ. Jer. on Gen. xxxiii. 10; Chag. 16^a; Ber. 60^b, and particularly "the little ones," Matt. xviii. 10. This phrase has in Matthew a secondary meaning, "the weaker brethren in the faith." The Elders, therefore, may be the heavenly representatives of the whole body of the faithful.

10. βαλοῦσιν τοὺς στεφάνους αὐτῶν ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου. For this act of homage familiar in the East, Wetstein compares Tacitus, *Ann.* xv. 29, "Placuit Tiridaten ponere apud effigiem Cæsaris insigne regium . . . ad quam (sc. effigiem Neronis) progressus Tiridates . . . sublatum capiti diadema imagini subjecit," and Eichhorn, Plutarch, *Lucull.* p. 522, Τηγράνης τὸ διάδημα τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀφελόντος ἔθηκε πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν: and in the Jalkut Shimoni, i. fol. 55^b, "omnes reges orientis et occidentis venerunt ad Pharaonem. Cum vero Mosen et Aaronem in coelesti splendore viderent, tremor ipsorum in eos incidit—et sumserunt coronas de capitibus suis eosque adoraverunt." Cicero, *Pro P. Sestio*, 27: "Hunc Cn. Pompeius, quum in suis castris supplicem abjectumque vidisset erexit, atque insigne regium, quod ille de suo capiti abjecerat reposuit.

11. ὁ δὲ κύριος καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν,
λαβεῖν τὴν δόξαν καὶ τὴν τιμὴν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν,
ὅτι σὺ ἔκτισας τὰ πάντα,
καὶ διὰ τὸ θέλημά σου ἦσαν [καὶ ἐκτίσθησαν].

ὁ δὲ κύριος καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν. The nominative is used here as the vocative: see Blass, *Gram.* p. 87; Moulton², 71. It is possible that the Seer has chosen this title in reference to God in contrast to Domitian's blasphemous claim to be called Dominus et Deus noster (Suet. *Domitian*, 13).

The phrase ὁ δὲ κύριος . . . λαβεῖν recurs in v. 9, 12. In 1 Enoch such doxologies are frequent, and have, as a rule, a close connection with their respective contexts: cf. ix. 4, 5, xxii. 14, xxv. 7, xxxvi. 4, xxxix. 9-13, xlvi. 10, lxxi. 3, lxxxi. 11, lxxxiv., xc. 40. The same rule can be traced in the doxologies of our text: cf. v. 12, 13, vii. 12.

As the doxology of the Cherubim in 8 has for its theme the holiness, omnipotence, and everlastingness of God,—i.e. *the essential nature of God*,—so the doxology of the four and twenty

Elders has for its theme *the glory of God in His works*; for that all things were created by Him.

τὴν δόξαν καὶ τὴν τιμὴν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν. Cf. 1 Chron. xvi. 27-28.

διὰ τὸ θέλημα σου ἦσαν [καὶ ἐκτίσθησαν]. Cf. Ps. cxlviii. 5, "He commanded, and they were created." 1 Enoch lxxxi. 3, "I blessed the great Lord, the King of glory for ever, in that He hath made all the works of the world." Our text is certainly difficult. We should naturally expect ἐκτίσθησαν καὶ ἦσαν. The various corrections in the critical footnotes show how deeply this difficulty was felt. But none of them is helpful. If any change of the text were admissible, it would be best to read ἐκτίσθησαν καὶ ἦσαν, or to omit καὶ ἐκτίσθησαν with A as an explanatory gloss added by a scribe who misunderstood ἦσαν. Then we should have

"For Thou didst create all things,
And because of Thy will they had their being"—

i.e. to Thy will they owed their existence.

But, if the text is correct, there are two possible interpretations. 1. Because of Thy will they had their being (*i.e.* existed in contrast to their previous non-existence) and were created. So Düsterdieck. But this involves an awkward inversion of thought. 2. "Because of Thy will they existed (in the world of thought) and were (then by one definite act) created." So also practically Swete, who writes: "The Divine Will had made the universe a fact in the scheme of things before the Divine Power gave material expression to the fact."

But I confess that the text of A seems best, and from it all the other variations can be explained.

With the idea in our text we might contrast contemporary Jewish speculation. According to 2 Bar. xiv. 18, Ezra viii. 1, 44, the world was created on account of man; but this was only a loose way of putting the idea which is definitely expressed elsewhere, to the effect that the world was created on account of Israel, 4 Ezra vi. 55, 59, vii. 11; Ass. Mos. i. 12, or rather on account of the righteous in Israel, 2 Bar. xiv. 19, xv. 7, xxi. 24. Such was the belief of the Rabbis: see Weber, *Jud. Theol.*² 208 sq.

CHAPTER V.

§ 1. *Contents and Authorship.*

As in iv. we have the vision of Him that sitteth on the throne, to whom the world and all that therein owe their

being, in v. we have the vision of the Lamb into whose hands the destinies of the world and all that is therein are committed. By His victory once and for all (*ἐνίκησεν*, v. 5, and *ὡς ἐσφαγμένον*, v. 6) He has shown Himself equal to this task, for whose achievement none else could be found. And as in iv. the Living Creatures praise God as the All Holy, the Almighty and the Everlasting One, and the Elders fall down and worship Him as the Creator of all things, in v. 8 sqq. first the Living Creatures and the Elders fall down and worship the Lamb who through His redeeming death had won the right to carry God's purposes into effect, next (11 sq.) the countless hosts of angels praise the Lamb as God, and finally (13) the whole world of created things in heaven, in earth and under the earth joins in a universal burst of thanksgiving to Him that sitteth upon the throne and to the Lamb. Thus as in iv. God the Creator is the centre of worship, in v. it is God the Redeemer, who thereby carries God's purposes into fulfilment, while the chapter closes in the joint adoration of Him that sitteth on the throne and of the Lamb.

As regards the authorship, every clause of it is from the hand of our author except two glosses in 8, 11, which are intended to be explanatory and supplementary, but are both in conflict with the thought of the writer. Whilst the diction and the idiom (§ 2), which latter is not so pronounced as in the earlier chapters, are clearly those of our Seer, there is not an idiom or phrase that is not his.

§ 2. *Diction and Idiom.*

There can be no doubt as to this chapter being from the hand of our author.

(a) *Diction.*

2. ἄγγελον ἰσχυρόν: again in x. 1, xviii. 21. ἐν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ: again in xiv. 7, 9, 15. Without ἐν in v. 12, vi. 10, vii. 2, 10, viii. 13, x. 3, etc. Contrast the non-Johannine ἐν ἰσχυρᾷ φωνῇ in xviii. 2.

8. ὑποκάτω. Cf. 13, vi. 9, xii. 1. Elsewhere in NT 7 times.

4. ἄξιός εὐρέθη. For εὐρεῖν with part. or adj. cf. ii. 2, iii. 2, xx. 15.

6. ἄρνιον. This word is applied to Christ 29 times in our author and not elsewhere in the N.T., where ἀμνός is used (Fourth Gospel, Acts, 1 Pet.).

9. ἔδουσιν ὡδὴν καινὴν: cf. xiv. 3, xv. 3. ἐσφάγης: cf. 6, 12, xiii. 8. ἡγόρασας: cf. xiv. 3, 4. ἐν τῷ αἵματι σου: cf. i. 5. φυλῆς κ. γλώσσης κ. λαοῦ κ. ἔθνους: cf. vii. 9, xi. 9, xiii. 7, xiv. 6.

10. βασιλείαν καὶ ἱερεῖς: cf. i. 6. βασιλεύουσιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς:

cf. xi. 4, ἐβασίλευσαν . . . χίλια ἔτη—both statements referring to the Millennial Kingdom. Contrast xxii. 5.

12. ἄξιόν ἐστιν τὸ ἄρριόν . . . λαβεῖν τ. δύναμιν: cf. xi. 17, εἰληφας τ. δύναμιν. τὴν δύναμιν κ. πλούτον κτλ. For the same seven, save in the case of πλούτον, cf. vii. 12.

13. τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπὶ τ. θρόνῳ κ. τῷ ἄρριῳ. Cf. vi. 16, vii. 10, xiv. 4, xxii. 1, 3.

(δ) *Idiom.*

1. τοῦ καθημένου ἐπὶ τ. θρόνου. Cf. 7, 13, and the note on iv. 2, for the unique use of these phrases in our author.

4. ἔκλαιον. The past imperfect is not frequently used in our author, and its use is very forcible (except in v. 14): cf. i. 12, ii. 14, v. 4, 14, vi. 8, 9, x. 10, xix. 14, xxi. 15.

5. εἰς ἐκ. Seven times elsewhere in our author: twelve times in Fourth Gospel: ten times in rest of NT.

δ λέων δ ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς. For this use of the art. connecting the noun with a following phrase, cf. i. 4, ii. 24, viii. 3, 9, xi. 19, xiv. 17, xvi. 3, xix. 14, xx. 8, 13.

6. ἐν μέσῳ . . . ἐν μέσῳ = רִבְּצִי . . . רִבְּצִי = "in the midst of . . . and"—a Hebraism.

ὡς ἐσφαγμένον: A frequent idiomatic use of ὡς in our author. ἄρριόν . . . ἔχων. This breach of concord in gender frequent in our author. Cf. πνεύματα . . . ἀπεσταλμένοι, which follows.

7. ἦλθεν καὶ εἰληφεν: cf. viii. 3, xvii. 1, xxi. 9 for this Semiticism, which does not occur in the Fourth Gospel. Introd. to II.-III. § 2 (a), p. 39. It has been pointed out that the use of the perfect εἰληφα is characteristic of our Seer.

11. ὁ ἀριθμός . . . λέγοντες. Another instance of this breach of concord common in our author occurs in 13, πᾶν κτίσμα . . . λέγοντας.

13. τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς πάντα. πᾶς precedes its noun in our author except here and in viii. 3, xiii. 12.

V. 1. καὶ εἶδον ἐπὶ τὴν δεξιάν τοῦ καθημένου ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου βιβλίον γεγραμμένον ἔσωθεν καὶ ὀπισθεν, κατεσφραγισμένον σφραγίδιν ἐπτά. For the construction ἐπὶ τὴν δεξιάν compare xx. 1, ἐπὶ τὴν χεῖρα. The book-roll lies on the open palm of the right hand, not in the hand.

Opinions are divided as to i. the form, and ii. the contents of the βιβλίον.

i. *The form.*—(a) Grotius (ii. 1160), Zahn (*Einleit.* ii. 596), Nestle (*Text. Crit. of NT*, 333), take it to be not a roll but a codex; for (1) it is said to be ἐπὶ τὴν δεξιάν. Had it been a roll it would have been ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ. This argument is already answered above. (2) "The word used for opening the Book is ἀνοῖξαι (v. 4) and not, as in the case of rolls, ἀνελίσσειν, ἀνελκύν

or ἀναπτύσσειν." But this is not so. ἀνοίξαι is used in Isa. xxxvii. 14 (ἤνοιξεν αὐτό=τὸ βιβλίον) as a rendering of **עָנַה**, the word which Ezekiel uses in ii. 10, and which the LXX renders there by ἀνεῴησεν.

ἀνοίξαι is used of unrolling a book also in Luke iv. 17, where **MD** correct the ἀνοίξας into ἀναπτύξας, against ABL and most Versions. In Luke iv. 20 **πρῶτας** is used of rolling up the book. Nestle further adds: "That it was not written on the outside is also shown by the fact that it was sealed with seven seals, the purpose of which was to make the reading of the book impossible. Not till the seventh seal is broken is the book open and its contents displayed." But the idea in our text is that with the opening of each successive seal a part of the contents of the book-roll is disclosed in prophetic symbolism. Hence these scholars read γεγραμμένον ἔσωθεν καὶ ὀπισθεν κατεσφραγισμένον, taking the two latter words together. To this it has been reasonably rejoined that such a description is superfluous, as a roll is never written on the outside and sealed on the inside.

(b) Spitta, 281, supposes that the βιβλίον is a book consisting of parchment leaves, each pair of which is fastened with a seal.

(c) But with most scholars we take the βιβλίον to be a book-roll. In Ezek. iii. 1, Ezra vi. 2 this is simply called κεφαλὴς (מִנִּי), in Ezek. ii. 9 and Ps. xxxix. 8 κεφαλὴς βιβλίου (מִנִּי סֵפֶר). The roll was ὀπισθόγραφον, written on the back also as in Ezek. ii. 10. In the latter passage it is described as "written before and behind"—γεγραμμένα . . . τὰ ἔμπροσθεν καὶ τὰ ὀπίσω (כְּתוּבָה פָּנִים וְאָחֹר), but in our text as "written within and without"—γεγραμμένον ἔσωθεν καὶ ὀπισθεν. This may be due, as Bousset suggests, to the fact that in Ezekiel the roll is open, but that in our text it is closed. On the use of such ὀπισθόγραφα amongst the Greeks and Romans, Wetstein quotes Lucian, *Vit. Auct.* 9, ἡ πῆρα δέ σοι θέρμων ἔσται μεστὴ καὶ ὀπισθογράφων βιβλίων; Juvenal, i. 6, "Summi plena jam margine libri scriptus et in tergo necdum finitus Orestes"; Martial, viii. 62, "Scribit in aversa Picens Epigrammata charta,"

ii. *The contents.*—(a) According to Huschke (*Das Buch mit den sieben Siegeln*, 1860), Zahn (*op. cit.*), and J. Weiss¹ (*Die Offenb.* 57 sqq.) the Book represents a Will or Testament relating to the Old and New Testament Covenant. A will, according to the Praetorian Testament, in Roman law bore the seven seals of the seven witnesses on the threads that secured the tablets or

¹ A colleague of J. Weiss (*op. cit.* p. 57, n. 3) has shown that it is possible to construct a roll in which the seals fastened to the cords can be so fastened that with the removal of one a part of the roll can be unrolled, while the rest remains secure.

parchment (see Smith, *Dict. of Greek and Roman Ant.*, p. 1117). Such a Testament could not be carried into execution till all the seven seals were loosed.

The Seal visions are, therefore, on this view only signs of the end, the "woes" of the Messiah. But, if this view were right, then our author could not have omitted the most significant part of the whole procedure—the opening of the Book itself after the undoing of the seventh seal.

(δ) The roll contains the divine decrees and the destinies of the world. It deals with the things ἀ μέλλει γενέσθαι. With the loosing of each seal a part of its contents is revealed in symbolic representation. In other words, the Book is a prophecy of the things that fall out before the end. Owing to the solemnity with which it is introduced and the importance attached to it by the Seer, it should contain all the future history of the world described in the Apocalypse to its close; and so Nicolas de Lyra, Corn. a Lap., Bengel, Düsterdieck, Bousset, etc., explain. This appears to be the right view, though it is hard to reconcile this view with the rest of the Apocalypse.

That this Book is sealed with seven seals shows that the divine counsels and judgments it contains are a profound secret (cf. x. 4, xxii. 10; Isa. xxix. 11; Dan. viii. 26, xii. 4, 9), which can only be revealed through the mediation of the Lamb.

In apocalyptic literature we have conceptions closely related to that of the Book in our text. It recalls the thought expressed by the phrase "the heavenly tablets" (αἱ πλάκες τοῦ οὐρανοῦ) which is found in the Test. XII Patriarchs, the Book of Jubilees, and in 1 Enoch. The conception underlying this phrase is to be traced, partly to Ps. cxxxix. 16; Ex. xxv. 9, 40, xxvi. 30, where we find the idea that heaven contains divine archetypes of certain things that exist on earth; partly to Dan. x. 21, where a book of God's plans is referred to; but most of all to the growing determinism of thought, for which this phrase stands as a concrete expression. The conception is not a hard and fixed one: in 1 Enoch and Test. XII Patr. it wavers between an absolute determinism and prediction pure and simple. In the following passages as in our text the heavenly tablets deal with the future destinies of the world in 1 Enoch lxxi. 1 sq., xciii. 1–3, cvii. 19, cvii. 1; and the blessings in store for the righteous ciii. 2. They are apparently called the Book of the Angels, ciii. 2 (*gm*, β), and are designed for the perusal of the angels, cviii. 7, that they may know the future recompenses of the righteous and the wicked. Here there is a divergence between the Book in our text and the books in Enoch. The Book in our text is closed, and can only be opened by the Lamb. Those in Enoch are open to be perused by the angels. Notwithstanding the

ideas are closely related. See my notes on 1 Enoch xlvii. 3 and Jub. iii. 10.

2. καὶ εἶδον ἄγγελον ἰσχυρὸν κηρύσσοντα ἐν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ. A "strong angel" is referred to again in x. 1, xviii. 21. The strength of the angel is dwelt upon, as his voice penetrates to the utmost bounds of heaven and earth and Hades. The phrase ἐν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ (see note on x. 3) recurs in xiv. 7, 9, 15; κηρύσσοντα ἐν is a Hebraism.

τίς ἄξιος ἀνοῖξαι τὸ βιβλίον καὶ λύσαι τὰς σφραγίδας αὐτοῦ. ἄξιος here = ἱκανός. Matt. viii. 8: cf. 2 Cor. ii. 16, πρὸς ταῦτα τίς ἱκανός; In John i. 27 it is combined with ἴνα. The "worthiness" (ἀξιότης) is the inner ethical presupposition of the ability (ικανότης) to open the Book. In ἀνοῖξαι καὶ λύσαι there is a *hysteron proteron*, or else we may take λύσαι as defining more nearly the preceding word ἀνοῖξαι.

3. καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐδύνατο ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς οὐδὲ ὑποκάτω τῆς γῆς ἀνοῖξαι τὸ βιβλίον οὐδὲ βλέπειν αὐτό. Our author uses ἐδύνατο, never ἐδυνήθη. In the whole sphere of creation none was worthy to open the Book. This threefold division is found already in Ex. xx. 4 (cf. xx. 11; Ps. cxlvi. 6), though in an earlier and different form: "that is in the heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth." This latter agrees exactly with the Babylonian division of the world into heaven and earth and water (*apsu* = water under and around the earth: see Zimmern, *K.A.T.*³ ii. 350, 615), each of which had its own god. In Ex. xx. 4 the Babylonian polytheism has of course disappeared, though the cosmic division has survived. But, inasmuch as there has been a great eschatological development between Ex. xx. 4 and the time of our Apocalypse, the third division has become synonymous with Hades. This appears clearly in Phil. ii. 10. On a fourfold division of creation see note on 13.

4. καὶ ἔκλαιον πολὺ, ὅτι οὐδεὶς ἄξιος εὐρέθη ἀνοῖξαι τὸ βιβλίον οὔτε βλέπειν αὐτό. The Seer began to weep unrestrainedly because no being in creation was found worthy to open the Book. Others think that his weeping was due to his fear that the hoped for revelation would now be withheld, as it depended on the opening of the Book.

5. καὶ εἰς ἐκ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων λέγει μοι Μὴ κλαῖε· ἰδοὺ ἐνίκησεν ὁ λέων ὁ ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς Ἰούδα, ἡ ρίζα Δαυεὶδ, ἀνοῖξαι τὸ βιβλίον καὶ τὰς ἑπτὰ σφραγίδας αὐτοῦ. εἰς ἐκ is found twelve times in the Fourth Gospel and eight times in the Apocalypse. One of the Elders here, as again in vii. 13, intervenes, as elsewhere do other angels, x. 4, 8 sqq., xvii. 1, xix. 9, xxi. 9, xxii. 8, in order to inform or guide the Seer. μὴ κλαῖε: cf. John xx. 13. The actual phrase is used by Christ in Luke vii. 13, viii. 52.

ἰδοὺ ἐνίκησεν. The ἰδοὺ serves to introduce vividly the scene represented in the next verse. ἐνίκησεν is to be taken here, as always in the LXX and the N.T., absolutely. It states that once and for all Christ has conquered: cf. iii. 21, ὡς καὶ γὰρ ἐνίκησα, and the object of this conquest was to empower Him to open the book of destiny and carry the history of the world throughout its final stages. Thus the ἀνοῖξαι is to be taken as an infinitive of purpose. The victory has been won through His death and resurrection. The Victor is designated as ὁ λέων ὁ ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς 'Ιούδα in dependence on Gen. xlix. 9, σκύμνος λέοντος 'Ιούδα . . . ἀναπessῶν ἐκοιμήθη ὡς λέων, and as ἡ ῥίζα Δαυεὶδ in dependence on Isa. xi. 1, ἐξελεύσεται ῥάβδος ἐκ τῆς ῥίζης (ἡ ῥίζα) 'Ιεσσαί, καὶ ἄνθος ἐκ τῆς ῥίζης (ἡ ῥίζα) ἀναβήσεται, and xi. 10, καὶ ἔσται ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἡ ῥίζα (ἡ ῥίζα) τοῦ 'Ιεσσαί. The first passage was interpreted Messianically in the 1st cent. B.C., as we see from the Test. Judah xxiv. 5, and the second in Rom. xv. 12. Since Isa. xi. 4, "He shall smite the earth with the rod of his mouth," is applied to the Messiah in Pss. Sol. xvii. 39, we may conclude that Isa. xi. 1-10 was interpreted Messianically in pre-Christian times. In xxii. 16 of our text the author returns to these designations of the Messiah: ἐγὼ εἰμὶ ἡ ῥίζα καὶ τὸ γένος Δαυεὶδ.

6. καὶ εἶδον ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ θρόνου καὶ τῶν τεσσάρων ζώων καὶ ἐν μέσῳ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀρνίον ἑστηκὸς ὡς ἐσφαγμένον. The position of the Lamb, in the scene depicted, depends on the rendering assigned to ἐν μέσῳ . . . ἐν μέσῳ. 1. The text may mean "between the throne and the four Living Creatures (on the one side) and the Elders (on the other)." In this case the Greek would be Hebraistic = רַבִּי רַבִּי. The LXX constantly translate in this way the Hebrew preposition literally, and not idiomatically, as in Gen. i. 4, 7, 18, iii. 15, ix. 16, 17, etc. On this view the Lamb would stand somewhere between the inner concentric circle of the Living Creatures and the outer concentric circle of the twenty-four Elders. 2. Or the two phrases ἐν μέσῳ may be parallel and emphasize the fact that the Lamb stood in the centre of all the beings above named. In favour of the latter view may be cited vii. 17, τὸ ἀρνίον τὸ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ θρόνου. If this view is correct it would imply that the Lamb is standing in immediate closeness to the throne. But v. 7, καὶ ἦλθεν καὶ ἔλθῃ, is against this. Accordingly the text seems to teach that the Lamb, when first seen by the Seer, appeared in the space between the circles of the Living Creatures and the twenty-four Elders.

The term ἀρνίον as applied to our Lord is peculiar to the Apocalypse—elsewhere in the N.T. it is ἀμνός that is used: John

i. 29, 36; 1 Pet. i. 19; Acts viii. 32. This last passage is a quotation from Isa. liii. 7, *ὡς πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγὴν ἤχθη καὶ ὡς ἀμνὸς ἐναντίον τοῦ κείροντος αὐτὸν ἀφένος*. That this passage was interpreted of Christ by the first Christians is shown by Acts viii. 34 sqq. The prophet applies it to himself in Jer. xi. 19, *ἐγὼ δὲ ὡς ἀρνίον ἀκακὸν ἀγόμενον τοῦ θύεσθαι οὐκ ἔγνω* κτλ. The word is used twenty-nine times in twelve chapters of the Apocalypse as a designation of the crucified Messiah. Vischer (38-46) has tried to show that *ἀρνίον* is an interpolation in the present passage as well as throughout the rest of the Apocalypse, but unsuccessfully save perhaps in xiii. 8. So far, however, is Vischer from being right as to the present passage, that with J. Weiss (p. 57) the conceptions of the Book and the Lamb are to be regarded as "the kernel of the Vision." *ὡς ἐσφαγμένον*, i.e. as though slain in sacrifice and still retaining the appearance of death wounds on its body. These wounds are tokens that the sacrifice has been offered. The Lamb is represented *ὡς ἐσφαγμένον*, because in very truth He is not dead but alive: cf. i. 18, ii. 8.

ἔχων κέρατα ἑπτὰ. The horn first of all symbolizes power in the O.T. Cf. Num. xxiii. 22; Deut. xxxiii. 17; 1 Sam. ii. 1; 1 Kings xxii. 11; Ps. lxxv. 4, lxxxix. 17, etc. Next it marks kingly dignity, Ps. cxii. 9, cxlviii. 14; Zech. i. 18; Dan. vii. 7, 20, viii. 3 sqq.; Apoc. xii. 3, xiii. 1, 11, xvii. 3. In 1 Enoch xc. 9 the Maccabees are symbolized by "horned lambs": "And I saw till horns grew upon those lambs": and in Test. Joseph xix. 8 sq., one of this family is designed under the term *ἀμνός*, which destroys the enemies of Israel. While the idea underlying *ἀρνίον* *ὡς ἐσφαγμένον* is clearly derived from Isa. liii. 7, it is very probable that the conception underlying *ἔχων κέρατα ἑπτὰ* is sprung from apocalyptic tradition. It is probable also that it is the Jewish Messiah that is designated *ἀμνός* in the above passage of the Test. Joseph; and such is certainly the case in 1 Enoch xc. 37, "And I saw that a white bull was born with large horns." "The Lamb," then, "with the seven horns" is the all-powerful (observe the perfect number "seven" is used) warrior and king. Cf. Matt. xxviii. 18; John xvii. 1, 2. Over against the Christ so represented we have His counterpart in the Beast with the seven heads in xiii. 1.

καὶ ὀφθαλμοὺς ἑπτὰ, οἳ εἰσιν τὰ [ἑπτὰ] πνεύματα τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπεσταλμένοι εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν. Omniscience appears to be here attributed to the Lamb. The possession of the seven eyes has this import: for these belong to Yahweh in the O.T.: cf. Zech. iv. 10, *ἑπτὰ οὗτοι ὀφθαλμοὶ εἰσιν κυρίου οἱ ἐπιβλέποντες* (דַּבְּרוּ אֵלַי) *ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν*. The clause *οἳ εἰσιν . . . γῆν* has been rejected by Weyland, Spitta (p. 67), Völter, iv. p. 12, Wellhausen

(p. 9) as an explanatory addition. Its removal would certainly make the interpretation of the text easier. But there is no objection to this clause as coming from our author's hand: cf. iii. 1. In iv. 5, on the other hand, we found that alike the verse structure of iv. 1-8 and the order of the words were against the originality of iv. 5^b (?), but not against its insertion, when he edited his visions as a whole. Furthermore, since ἀπεισταλμένοι or ἀπεισταλμένα seems to be a very loose but independent translation of עֲרֻשָׁיִם (LXX, ἐπιβλέποντες), and since we have already found that our author does not depend for his knowledge of the Hebrew on the LXX, this forms a presumption in favour of his authorship of this clause. Accordingly recognizing its originality, we should next determine the true text. This, we fear, cannot be done with any certainty. The authorities are divided between ἀπεισταλμένοι, ἀπεισταλμένα, and ἀποστελλόμενα. This word could be used either of the "eyes" or of the "spirits," and hence gives us no help, though the original passage in Zechariah is in favour of connecting the words ὀφθαλμούς and ἀπεισταλμένοι.

B. Weiss (p. 442) decides definitely for this view and accordingly reads ἀπεισταλμένοι. On the other hand, the context is rather in favour of connecting πνεύματα and the participle. In this case Bousset thinks we should read ἀποστελλόμενα or ἀπεισταλμένα. But there is no necessity whatever for so doing. Such a construction as πνεύματα . . . ἀπεισταλμένοι is quite a normal one in our author, however abnormal in itself. The seven eyes are here identified with the seven spirits of which the Lamb is Lord and Master, iii. 1. The conception of spirits being sent forth as the agents of Divine Providence is easier of comprehension than that in Zech. iv. 10.

On the probable origin and meaning of the eyes and "spirits" in this connection, see note on p. 12 sq.

It is quite impossible to conceive a figure embodying the characteristics of the Lion of the tribe of Judah, the Root of David, and the seven-horned Lamb with seven eyes. The Apocalypse deals with ideas, not with plastic conceptions. The terms used have become for the most part purely symbolical and metaphorical. They have been derived from various sources. Taken by themselves and separately, they are but one-sided and partial representatives of the Messiah of our author. Without any fear of seeming contradiction he combines apparently in one concrete whole these various conceptions, in order to embody fitly the Messiah of his faith and visions. If we confine ourselves to the ideas, and ignore the conflicting plastic manifestations, we shall find no difficulty. The Lion of the tribe of Judah is the one strong member *par excellence* of this tribe; the Root of

Jesse,¹ is, of course, the plant springing from the root of Jesse (cf. Isa. liii. 2; Deut. xxix. 18).

Thus in xxii. 16 ἡ ῥίζα and τὸ γένος are practically synonymous. These two expressions designate in tradition the expected Messiah of the tribe of Judah. When we combine with these the further one, "the Lamb with seven horns and seven eyes," we have a being possessing full power and omniscience—the supreme ruler under God descended from the tribe of Judah. Quite another idea underlies the phrase ἀρνίον ὡς ἐσφαγμένον. As in the former expressions supreme power and omniscience are indicated, by this latter it is supreme self-surrender and self-sacrifice. But there is no contradiction between the ideas, however it may be with their symbols; for this absolute self-sacrifice which has already been undergone, as our author indicates, has become the avenue to supreme power and omniscience.

Such appears to have been the meaning attached to the conception of the Lamb by our author. But some of the elements in the conception may possibly, as Gunkel (*Zum Verständniss NT*, 60 sqq.) and Bousset (259) point out, go back to an ancient heathen myth. One such element is the opening of the sealed Book. Magical books, magical rings, magical oaths and formulas were everywhere current in the East. He who could make himself master of such books or oaths² became to a great degree lord of the universe, and a new deity. By virtue of his magical power, however won, he has power to loose the seals of the book of destiny, to bring the old world to a close and enter on the sovereignty of the new, and thus be enthroned among the ancient deities, as Marduk in the Babylonian creation myth. Gunkel and Bousset assume the currency of some such heathen myth which was subsequently adopted into Judaism and from Judaism into Christianity. However this may be, our author has no consciousness of the existence of this myth, even if in the above form it ever existed. Some elements of the picture, however, do appear to go back to a heathen original.

7. καὶ ἦλθεν καὶ εἰληφεν ἐκ τῆς δεξιᾶς τοῦ καθημένου ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου. In ἦλθεν καὶ εἰληφεν we have a Semiticism (cf. viii. 3) not found in the Fourth Gospel; cf. viii. 3, xvii. 1, xxi. 9. See Dalman's *Words of Jesus*, p. 21. But the ἦλθεν may not be a mere Semiticism, but may describe the actual advance of the Lamb from the place where He appeared between the Living Creatures and the Elders to the throne of God. Weiss, followed

¹ In Jer. xix. 19 the expressions "lamb" and "tree" are applied to the same subject, i.e. Jeremiah.

² Compare the magical oath in 1 Enoch lxix. 15 sqq., by virtue of which the heavens were made fast, the sea created, the earth founded on the waters, and all the planets and stars kept in their courses. Michael the greatest of all the angels and the patron of Israel had the charge of this oath.

by Bousset and Swete, takes the perfect *ἐλήφεν* as pointing to the permanent results of the action. "Christ receives the revelation of the secrets of the future as an abiding possession." On the other hand, Moulton (*Gram. N.T. Greek*, i. 145) and Blass (p. 200) regard *ἐλήφεν* as a genuinely aoristic perfect, as well as the perfect in vii. 14, viii. 5, xix. 3, and probably in iii. 3, xi. 17, ii. 27. Other examples are found in 2 Cor. ii. 13, i. 9, vii. 5; Rom. v. 2^a; Mark v. 15. It is characteristic of the Apocalypse.

8-14. Adoration of the Lamb—first by the Living Creatures and the Elders, 10; next, by the countless hosts of angels, 11-12; next, by all creation, 13; whereupon the Living Creatures say "amen" and the Elders fall down and worship, 14.

8. καὶ ὅτε ἔλαβεν τὸ βιβλίον, τὰ τέσσαρα ἴψα καὶ οἱ ἑικοσι τέσσαρες πρεσβύτεροι ἔπεσαν ἐνώπιον τοῦ ἁγίου. Spitta (p. 67) removes *ἔπεσαν* . . . ἁγίου as a gloss, (1) because elsewhere not the Living Creatures, but only the Elders fall down and worship. But this is not so in xix. 4, and there is no reason why the Cherubim in our author's view of them should not prostrate themselves. (2) As the Elders had harps and censers in their hands they could not fall down. But Hirscht (*Apocalypse und ihre neueste Kritik*, p. 47) adduces the Egyptian picture, in which Rameses II. is represented as falling down before the sun-god Amen-Ra, holding the offering in his left hand and a crozier and a whip in his right (Lepsius, *Aegypt. Wandgemälde d. Königl. Museen*², 1882, p. 26). (3) The falling down of the Elders first takes place in v. 14. This prostration removes, as Bousset points out, the difficulty alleged in (2). Besides, as Hirscht states, 11 seems to presuppose that the Living Creatures are again standing, and the Elders are sitting on their thrones. (4) Through the addition of the verb the following participles are brought unsuitably into relation with the Living Creatures. There is no more cogency in this objection than in the first. The Living Creatures, *i.e.* the Cherubim, were simply angels, and no longer bearers of the throne of God. As such there would be nothing strange, even if the Cherubim were conceived as holding harps and censers in their hands. But the latter belong exclusively to the Elders. On the other hand, J. Weiss (p. 55) would explain the clauses referring to the Elders as additions of the final editor, as in iv. 4, v. 6, and would thus represent the Living Creatures as holding the harps and censers. But though iv. 4 appears to have been added by our author when re-editing an earlier vision, there seem to be no adequate grounds for the view of Weiss with regard to the other passages.

ἔχοντες ἕκαστος κιθάραν καὶ φιάλας χρυσᾶς γεμούσας θυμιαμάτων [αἱ εἰσιν αἱ προσευχαὶ τῶν ἁγίων]. The words *ἔχοντες ἕκαστος*

appear to refer only to the Elders, though, so far as the grammar goes, the ἔχοντες could refer to the τὰ ζῶα taken κατὰ σύνεσιν. Cf. ἔχων in iv. 7. But the office of the Cherubim is not of a priestly nature, as we have already seen above, whereas that of the Elders is (see note). They have harps (cf. xiv. 2, xv. 2) and censers in their hands, and the theme of their hymn is the self-sacrifice of the Lamb, by the which He has won the salvation of His people chosen from every race and tongue. The αἶ refers to θυμιαμάτων and not to φιάλας. Its gender is to be explained by attraction from προσευχαί. The prayers of the saints are symbolized by the incense: Ps. cxl. 2, κατευθυνθήτω ἡ προσευχή μου ὡς θυμίαμα ἐνώπιόν σου. The ἅγιοι are those dedicated to God, i.e. the Christians; for so the latter are frequently designated in the Apocalypse: cf. viii. 3, 4, xi. 18, xiii. 7, 10, xiv. 12, xvi. 6, xviii. 20, xx. 9. Spitta (p. 67) and Völter (iv., p. 13) bracketed the clause αἶ . . . ἁγίων as an explanatory gloss, and a wrong one to boot; for the incense and the prayers are not identical. At most they can be compared to incense. The gloss is due to a spiritualizing of the idea in viii. 3, to the effect that prayer is the true incense of heaven. This is no doubt a true idea, but it does not belong to the Apocalypse. The true relation of prayer and incense in our Book is given in viii. 3.

The office of presenting the prayers of the faithful before God, which the gloss attributes to the Elders, is assigned to Michael in Origen, *De Prin.* i. 8. 1, and to the guardian angels in the Apoc. Pauli, 7-10. In 3 Bar. xi., Michael descends to the fifth heaven to receive the prayers of mankind. According to the Apoc. Pauli, 7-10, the doors of heaven were opened at a definite hour to receive these prayers. Judaism is the source of these views, as we see by going back to an earlier work, the Test. Levi iii. 5-6, where it is said that in the highest heaven the archangels, of whom Michael is the chief, "minister and make propitiation to the Lord for all the sins of the righteous, Offering to the Lord . . . a reasonable and a bloodless offering." Next, in iii. 7, in the fifth heaven, is the order of angels who present the prayers of the faithful to the archangels, who in turn lay them before God. (See my edition with notes *in loc.*) Cf. Tob. xii. 12, 15. Thus in our text (except in viii. 3-5) the four and twenty Elders have definitely taken the part assigned in many circles of Judaism to the Archangels, if the gloss is a valid interpretation of the text. They present before God the prayers of the saints, which they have probably received from a lower order of angels. It is a priestly function, as that of the Archangels in Test. Levi iii. 5-7; Origen, *De Orat.* 11 on Tobit. In the O.T. and later Judaism, as I have

shown in my notes on Test. Levi iii. 5, the angels acted as intercessors for mankind. But in the face of viii. 3-5 the rôle of the Elders can hardly be that of presenting the prayers of the faithful to God. They exercise priestly functions, it is true, but their chief function is the praise of God and of the Lamb, who has redeemed humanity.

Θ. καὶ ᾄδουσιν ᾠδὴν καινὴν λέγοντες. This song is sung exclusively by the Elders, who play on their harps to the accompaniment of their song. "Heaven is revealed to earth as the homeland of music" (C. Rossetti). The ᾠδὴ καινὴ (שִׁיר חָדָשׁ) was originally a song of praise inspired by gratitude for new mercies. As such it occurs six times in the Psalter: xxxii. (xxxiii.) 3, xxxix. (xl.) 4, xcv. (xcvi.) 1, xcvii. (xcviii.) 1, cxliii. (cxliv.) 9, cxlix. 1. But in Isa. xlii. 10 the phrase has a fuller content, corresponding to the deeper sense of "new things" in xlii. 9. The one cycle of events is fulfilled, the other is about to begin. However great the glories of things of old time, they shall be dimmed by the splendour of things to come. To this new cycle the new song belongs. Suddenly in our text the old God-appointed Jewish dispensation, with its animal sacrifices and racial exclusiveness, is brought to a close, and the new Christian dispensation is initiated, as the "new song" declares, by the self-sacrifice made once and for all (ἐσφάγης) by the Lamb, and the universal Church thereby established and drawn from every people and nation and language. The continuous song (ᾄδουσιν) is the note of continuous thankfulness and joy.

The καινότης—the newness in character, purity, and permanence of the New Kingdom is a favourite theme in the Apocalypse, and rightly; for from the beginning of and throughout apocalyptic literature there had been a promise of a new world and a new life. Although in earlier times the expected world may have been in most respects merely a glorified repetition of the world that then was, in later times the expectation became transformed and a world was looked for that was new, not as regards time (νέος), but as regards quality (καινός). And so our Apocalypse, as closing the long development of Apocalyptic in the past, dwells naturally on this theme. The Seer beholds in a vision the οὐρανὸν καινὸν καὶ γῆν καινὴν and the Ἱερουσαλὴμ καινὴν—the new universe created by God, who in the vision declares ἰδοὺ καινὰ ποιῶ πάντα, xxi. 5, 2 (cf. iii. 12). Each citizen, moreover, of this New Kingdom is to bear a new name ὄνομα καινόν, ii. 17, iii. 12, and in praise of this kingdom the Elders sing the new song ᾠδὴν καινὴν, and likewise the angels, xiv. 3, and the blessed company of the martyrs before the throne, xv. 2.

Ἄξιός ἐστι λαβεῖν τὸ βιβλίον
καὶ ἀνοῖξαι τὰς σφραγίδας αὐτοῦ,

- ὅτι ἐσφάγης καὶ ἡγόρασας τῷ θεῷ ἐν τῷ αἵματί σου
 ἐκ πάσης φυλῆς καὶ γλώσσης καὶ λαοῦ καὶ ἔθνους,
 10. καὶ ἐποίησας αὐτοὺς τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν βασιλείαν καὶ ἱερεῖς
 καὶ βασιλεύουσιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

σφάζεσθαι is, as Swete points out, used to describe the death of Christ in this Book (6, 9, 12, xiii. 8) in dependence on Isa. liii. 7, ὡς πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγὴν ἤχθη, and the death of the martyrs in vi. 9, xviii. 24. *ἀγοράζειν* expresses the idea of salvation as one of purchase. Christ has bought the faithful for God by the shedding of His blood (cf. 1 Pet. i. 19). The power or sphere from which the purchase sets free is not mentioned here. In (xiv. 3 it is from the earth and its evils, and in—a gloss) xiv. 4 from wicked men that they are withdrawn through the purchase. *ἀγοράζειν* is a Pauline word, 1 Cor. vi. 20, vii. 23; 2 Pet. ii. 1. B. Weiss (p. 443) holds that the word points back to i. 5, so far as the loosing of the bands of sin makes this possible, in order that the redeemed may become *ἄγιοι*.

Bousset is of opinion that the word suggests release from a hostile power. In later ages many Christian theologians held that Christ purchased His disciples from the devil by His death.

ἐν τῷ αἵματί σου. Here as in i. 5 ἐν = the Hebrew ב, denoting price: "at the cost of Thy blood."

ἐκ πάσης φυλῆς καὶ. This expression does not attribute the same universal scope to the redemptive power of Christ's death as 1 John ii. 2, αὐτὸς ἱλασμός ἐστιν . . . περὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου.

φυλῆς καὶ γλώσσης καὶ λαοῦ καὶ ἔθνους. These four words occur, but in different order, in v. 9, vii. 9, xi. 9, xiii. 7, xiv. 6. In no two instances is the order the same. They recur twice more, but not only in a different order but with *βασιλεύουσιν* instead of *φυλαίς* in x. 11, and *ὄχλοι* instead of *φυλαί* in xvii. 15. But this last occurs in a gloss. There is a similar enumeration in 4 Ezra iii. 7, "Gentes et tribus, populi et cognationes" (= ἔθνη καὶ φυλαί, λαοὶ καὶ συγγένειαι (?)). Now the source of all these is ultimately the Book of Daniel, iii. 4, 7, 29, v. 19, vi. 25, vii. 14, whether it be the Massoretic, Theodotion, or the LXX. In the printed texts of the LXX it is found also in iii. 31, but it is to be observed here that iii. 31–32 were borrowed by Origen from Theodotion. Now, since the Massoretic has in all the above passages נַחֲשָׁהּ נַחֲשָׁהּ נַחֲשָׁהּ and Theodotion λαοί, φυλαί, γλώσσαι, it will become clear as we proceed that the enumerations in our text, which in every case consist of four members and one of these members ἔθνος or ἔθνη, cannot be derived from either the Massoretic text or Theodotion. On the other hand, the LXX has ἔθνος or ἔθνη always as one member of the enumerations, and in iii. 4 there are four members in the enumeration

—*ἔθνη καὶ χώραι* (= *עַמְּיָרָא* ?), *λαοὶ καὶ γλώσσαι*. In the remaining four passages iii. 2, 7, 29, vi. 25, only three are mentioned : in the first three of these *ἔθνη καὶ φυλαὶ καὶ γλώσσαι* (in various cases), and in vi. 25, *ἔθνεσι κ. γλώσσαις καὶ χώραις*. Here we observe that, whereas *λαός* is found in all the passages in the Apocalypse and in Theodotion, it is found only once in the LXX (iii. 4). Thus this list is more nearly related to the LXX than to the Massoretic and Theodotion, but diverges also from the former. Hence our text presupposes either the existence of a translation differing both from the LXX and Theodotion though more akin to the former, or the independent use of an older Aramaic text of Daniel than that preserved in the Canon.

10. *βασιλείαν καὶ ἱερεῖς κτλ.* On the expression *βασιλείαν καὶ ἱερεῖς* see note on i. 6. The present *βασιλεύουσιν*, which is the harder reading, is also the right reading. It resumes the idea in *βασιλεία* and explains it. *In the vision* the Seer sees the saints already reigning. Thus the expression is *proleptic*, and refers primarily to the Millennial Kingdom in xx. Or *βασιλεύουσιν* may, like *συντρίβεται* in ii. 27, be a Hebraism for *βασιλεύουσιν*. Others explain it as preserving its natural sense on the ground that the Church even then was reigning on earth, and that all things were being put under her feet as under those of her Lord: cf. Eph. ii. 6; 1 Cor. xv. 25. Not the Caesars, but the persecuted Christians are the true kings of the earth. But this sovereignty is not referred to here: it is only potential and is not realized till xx. 4.

11. *καὶ εἶδον καὶ ἤκουσα φωνὴν ἀγγέλων πολλῶν κύκλῳ τοῦ θρόνου* [*καὶ τῶν ζώων καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων*], *καὶ ἦν ὁ ἀριθμὸς αὐτῶν μυριάδες μυριάδων καὶ χιλιάδες χιλιάδων*. The *καὶ εἶδον* introduces a new feature in the vision: see note on iv. 1. Round about the two smaller concentric circles of the highest angels, the Seer sees and hears innumerable angelic hosts acclaiming the Lamb with one voice.

I have bracketed *καὶ τῶν ζώων κ. τῶν πρεσβυτέρων* as a gloss. Their special thanksgiving has already been recorded in 9-10: that of the countless hosts of the angels comes in 12; then the thanksgiving of all creation. Further, when the various orders of heavenly beings are mentioned, they are given in the following order: Living Creatures, Elders, angels; or angels, Elders, Living Creatures, according as the Seer's description proceeds from the throne outwards, or *vice versa*. See note on iv. 4. The order of the words *μυριάδες . . . χιλιάδες* is surprising, and Bousset therefore brackets *μυριάδες μυριάδων καὶ* as an addition. They are omitted by the Vulgate and Primasius. The combination is already found, but in its natural order, in 1 Enoch xl. 1, lx. 1, lxxi. 8 = *χιλιάδες χιλιάδων καὶ μυριάδες μυριάδων*, and

these passages may have been in the mind of our author. The same combination is found also in Dan. vii. 10, though verbs intervene: *χιλῖαι χιλιάδες ἐλειτουργοῦν αὐτῷ καὶ μυρίαὶ μυριάδες παριστήκεισαν αὐτῷ* (Theodotion). For partial parallels, cf. 1 Enoch xiv. 22; Ps. lxvii. (lxviii.) 18 (*μυριοπλάσιον, χιλιάδες εὐθηνούντων*), Deut. xxxii. 30; Gen. xxiv. 60, and our text, ix. 16.

12. *ἄξιός ἐστιν τὸ ἄρνιον τὸ ἐσφαγμένον λαβεῖν τὴν δύναμιν καὶ πλοῦτον καὶ σοφίαν καὶ ἰσχὺν καὶ τιμὴν καὶ δόξαν καὶ εὐλογίαν.*

The doxology is uttered either in recognition of the power already possessed by the Lamb, or on its immediately impending assumption by Him. The fact of this assumption is subsequently referred to in xi. 17, *ἐἴληφας τὴν δύναμιν . . . καὶ ἐβασίλευσας*.

In iv. 9, 11 there are only three predicates over against four in v. 13, and seven in v. 12, vii. 12. Next, whereas in iv. 11, vii. 12 the article precedes each number of the ascription, here one article includes them all, as though they formed one word. Again, the seven members of the ascription in our text recur in vii. 12, though in a different order, except that for *πλοῦτος* in v. 12 we find *εὐχαριστία* in vii. 12. The latter doxology, moreover, is addressed to God, as also those in iv. 9, 11. The septenary number may indicate completeness. Two heptads of such titles of honour are found as early as 1 Chron. xxix. 11, 12, though each member does not always consist of a single word, but in xxix. 11 of a clause in two instances, and in three in xxix. 12. In the latter verse four of the members are the same as those in our text, *πλοῦτος . . . δόξα . . . ἰσχύς . . . δύναμις* (נְבוֹרָה . . . כֶּחֶם . . . כְּבוֹד . . . יָשׁוּעַ). These are not the renderings of the LXX. If our author made any use of 1 Chron. xxix. 11, 12 here, he did not use the LXX version of it.

Bousset points out that the seven members of the ascription fall into two divisions of four and three: the four deal with the power and wisdom that the Lamb assumes; the three with the recognition of the Lamb on the part of mankind. In this way he accounts for the different order in v. 12 and vii. 12. Spitta (285) thinks that the different order in the attributes in iv. 11, v. 12, vii. 12 is due to the wish of the writer to bring out more fully the contrast between *τὸ ἄρνιον τὸ ἐσφαγμένον* and the attributes *δύναμις, πλοῦτος, σοφία, ἰσχύς*. Thereupon follow the *δόξα, τιμή, εὐλογία*, which in the doxologies addressed to God, however, are at the beginning.

13. *καὶ πᾶν κτίσμα ὃ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ ὑποκάτω τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ ἐστίν, καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς πάντα, ἤκουσα λέγοντας.*

Again the circle of the worshippers is extended, and on the doxologies and thanksgivings of the Cherubim and Elders, and the innumerable hosts of angels, follows the great finale pronounced by all creation.

Here the writer, who in 3 had given the usual threefold division of creation, now gives a fourfold one. Since the inhabitants of heaven have already been fully (?) enumerated, we should expect the mention of those in the air (*ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ*), on the earth, and in the sea (cf. Ps. viii. 7-8); and this is actually the text of \aleph , some cursives, and two Versions, which omit *ὑποκάτω τῆς γῆς*.

But the textual evidence strongly supports this clause, which is, therefore, to be interpreted of the inhabitants of Hades, as it cannot well admit of any other meaning. That the inhabitants of Hades join in the doxology, shows the vast progress that theology has made from O.T. times, when no praise of God was conceived of as possible in Sheol: Ps. vi. 5, xxx. 9, lxxxviii. 10-12; Isa. xxxviii. 18. This being the meaning of this clause, what meaning are we to attach to *ὁ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ*? (a) If we follow the interpretation suggested above, we have the birds of the air, the men and the animals on the earth, the souls in Hades, and the fish of the sea. This is a very unsatisfactory list. Other explanations of *ὁ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ* have accordingly been offered. (b) Thus Corn. a Lap. has suggested that it refers to the sun, moon, and stars. This is quite possible, since we know that the Jews attributed a conscious existence to these luminaries, 1 Enoch xviii. 13 sqq., and according to 2 Enoch xi. they belong to the fourth heaven. (c) Or the clause may be taken as referring to all the inhabitants of heaven except the Cherubim and the Elders, who pronounce the amen on this doxology. (d) Or, finally, the clause is to be taken resumptively as including all that went before. In favour of this view it may be observed that at the close of the enumeration in 13 we have another resumptive clause embracing exhaustively all the creation of God (*καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς πάντα*). Thus the universe of created things, the inhabitants of heaven, earth, sea, and Hades, join in the grand finale of praise that rose to the throne of God. Yet 14 might seem, but not necessarily, to exclude from these the Cherubim and the Elders.

For a parallel resumptive expression cf. Mark xv. 1, οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς μετὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ γραμματέων καὶ ὅλον τὸ συνέδριον. The phrase *τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς πάντα* is already found in Ex. xx. 11; Ps. cxlv. (cxlvi.) 6.

ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ. So \aleph and various Versions. *ἐπί, cum gen.* impossible here.

τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ καὶ τῷ ἀρνίῳ
ἡ εὐλογία καὶ ἡ τιμὴ καὶ ἡ δόξα
καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπὶ (see note on iv. 2) τῷ θρόνῳ καὶ τῷ ἀρνίῳ. This conjunction of God and the Lamb, which recurs in vii. 1c, attests the advanced Christology of our author. The throne of Both is one and the same, xxii. 1, 3, iii. 21, and the worship offered to Each is also one and the same: cf. vii. 12.

In this verse we have the climax of chaps. iv. and v. Chap. iv. relates to God, and v. 1-12 to the Lamb; v. 13-14 to the conjoined glory of God and the Lamb. The two doxologies offered respectively by the Cherubim (iv. 9) and the Elders (iv. 11) dwell on the holiness, almightiness, and everlastingness of God, and the manifestation of His glory in *creation*. The first two doxologies in v. which are offered by the Cherubim or Living Creatures and the Elders (v. 9-10), and by the innumerable hosts of angels (v. 12), dwell on the *redemption* of the world by the Lamb, and pronounce Him as worthy to rule it and to receive the sevenfold attributes of God (cf. vii. 12). And now the climax of the world's adoration has come, and the worship offered to God in iv., and that to the Lamb in v. 1-12, are united in one great closing doxology, in which all created things throughout the entire universe acclaim together God and the Lamb, with praise and honour and glory and power for ever and ever. The doxology has four members, consisting of the last three attributes in the doxology in 12 together with one which is elsewhere found only in the doxology in i. 6.

14 καὶ τὰ τέσσαρα ζῶα ἔλεγον Ἀμήν. It is fitting that the Cherubim, the highest order of angels, should close the doxology of all creation with the solemn ἀμήν of confirmation, as at the beginning, iv. 8, they had pronounced the first doxology. Both Cherubim and Elders join in this ἀμήν in xix. 4. Cf. Deut. xxvii. 15 sqq.

Amen is used in the Apocalypse in probably four senses.
i. The initial amen in which the words of a previous speaker are referred to and adopted as one's own: v. 14, vii. 12, xix. 4, xxii. 20. The earliest instances of this use are found in 1 Kings i. 36; Jer. xxviii. 6, xi. 5. ii. "The detached Amen, the complementary sentence being suppressed (Deut. xxvii. 15-26; Neh. v. 13)." Such may be the use in v. 14 of our text. This amen was used liturgically, in the time of the Chronicler, 1 Chron. xvi. 36 = Ps. cvi. 48—though not in the Temple service, when the response was different, but in the services of the synagogue (Schürer, *G.J.V.* ii. 453-454, 458), whence the custom passed over to the Christian Church (cf. 1 Cor. xiv. 16). This usage is vouched for by Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i. 65, ὁ παρὼν λαὸς ἐπευφήμει λέγων Ἀμήν, and later by Jerome. iii. The final amen with no change of speaker, i. 6, 7. This use is frequent from the N.T. onwards, but not found in the O.T. save in the subscriptions to the four divisions of the

Psalter, xli. 14, lxxii. 18, lxxxix. 52, cvi. 48. iv. See note on iii. 14. For other uses of this word see the article in *Encyc. Bib.* i. 136 sq., by Professor Hogg, which I have drawn upon for the above notes; and that in Hastings' *D.B.* $\rho\lambda\lambda$ is rendered in the LXX by $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\iota\tau\omicron$ in the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalter, but by $\delta\mu\acute{\eta}\nu$ in the Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Apocrypha. (See note on $\nu\acute{\alpha}\iota$, $\delta\mu\acute{\eta}\nu$, in i. 7.)

With the doxology in 13^{bc} and the succeeding amen we should compare 1 Chron. xvi. 35, $\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\omicron\gamma\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma\ \kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma\ \delta\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma\ \text{Ἰσραὴλ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος καὶ ἔως τοῦ αἰῶνος, καὶ ἐρεῖ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς Ἀμὴν}$. That the doxologies in the Psalter were in the mind of our writer will become clearer when we come to xix. 4.

Swete well remarks *in loc.*, "the whole passage is highly suggestive of the devotional attitude of the Asiatic Church in the time of Domitian towards the person of Christ. It confirms Pliny's report: '(Christianos) carmen Christo quasi deo dicere secum invicem.'" This was already remarked by Völter, *Das Problem d. Apok.* p. 512, "Wenn Plinius an Trajan schreibt, dass die Christen am Tag ihrer Zusammenkünfte gewöhnt seien, carmen Christo quasi Deo dicere, so erinnert man sich dabei . . . der Lobpreisung des Lammes in Apok. v. 13." Here the Elders prostrate themselves before God and the Lamb, as in iv. 10 they had done before God.

APPENDIX.

Writers have dealt very variously with this chapter. Vischer, 54 sqq., Schmidt, 35, are obliged from their standpoint of an original Jewish Apocalypse to reject v. 9-14, since the glorification of the Lamb and His redemption of the Gentiles cannot appear in such an Apocalypse. The former rejects also the words $\delta\rho\nu\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$. . . $\acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \epsilon\sigma\phi\alpha\gamma\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\nu$ in v. 6 and $\delta\rho\nu\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$ in v. 8. Weyland, 148 sqq., from the same standpoint goes farther and assigns v. 6-14 to the Christian redactor, and X. (in *Z.A.T.W.*, 1887, No. 1) is still more drastic and regards v. 2^b, 3-6, 8-14 as derived from a Christian redactor. Rauch, 79 sq., 121 sq., is content with excising v. 9^b, 10, the explanatory relative sentences in v. 6, 8, and the phrase $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\tilde{\omega}\ \delta\rho\nu\acute{\iota}\omega$ in v. 13.

Even critics who start from the basis of a Christian Apocalypse remove v. 11-14. So Völter², i. 156, ii. 27 sq., iii. 84-86, iv. 13 sq., 27, mainly on the grounds that the chronology is expressed only in general terms and takes no account of the Lamb taking the Book and opening the seals, and that He is set on equality with God. This addition he variously assigns to a reviser of the year 129 or 114. In iv. 145 he finds additions made by a redactor of Trajan's time, in v. 6^b

because of the exalted view of the Lamb, and in v. 9^b because of the contradiction existing between this universalistic conception and vii. 1-8, and in v. 10^b where the final clause is added on the basis of xx. 4, xxii. 5. Erbes, 50, 102, regards v. 11-14 as an intrusion in their present context, and thinks that it stood originally after xv. 2-4. Spitta, 280-287, maintains the integrity of the chapter on the whole, but excises as additions of a redactor the relative clauses in v. 6, 8, the final clause of v. 10, and ἰδοὺ . . . αὐτοῦ in v. 5, and ἔρχου . . . ἀπὸ τοῦ in v. 8.

But no valid grounds exist for any such mutilations of the text of this chapter or the preceding one, seeing that the ideas are so closely wrought together and elaborated in a growing *crescendo* (cf. closing note on v. 13), and that the diction and idiom are so distinctively characteristic of our author. To the intrusion of certain glosses in iv.-v. we have already drawn attention.

CHAPTER VI.

The first six Seals—preliminary signs of the End.

§ 1. *Subject of this Section.*—This section gives an account of the six Seals, which in the Gospels and in contemporary and earlier Judaism were the Messianic woes or signs of the immediate destruction of the present world. The world in all its phases subserves a moral end—the training and disciplining of the children of God. When this end is attained, *i.e.* when the number of God's children is complete, 9-11, the present order of things will be destroyed.

The approach of this consummation will be heralded by the breaking up of political and social order, 1-8, and the partial destruction of the present cosmic order, vi. 12-17, will follow. Our author thought that the time of the end was at hand; for he expected a universal persecution and a universal martyrdom. But that hour had not yet come; for the roll of the martyrs was still incomplete. Accordingly the cosmic woes in vi. 12-vii. 3 are still future, and even when fulfilled, are partial and not universal.¹ History has still some time to run, and the happenings of that time are mainly the theme of the rest of the book.

§ 2. The entire chapter is from our author's hand. Inde-

¹ In the Gospels, Mark xiii., Matt. xxiv., Luke xxi., and analogous descriptions of the last times, these woes are to be literally and fully realized, and so to be taken as the immediate heralds of the final judgment; but in our author's hands they have ceased to be the *immediate* heralds of the end, and are to be realized only partially.

pendently of the fact that it forms an organic part of his work, the diction and idiom are obviously his.

(a). *Diction.*

1. καὶ εἶδον See p. 106. ἤνοιξεν—*passim*. τὸ ἀπνίον: used twenty-seven times in our author, but not elsewhere in the N.T. of Christ.

2. καὶ εἶδον καὶ ἰδοῦ: also in 5, 8: see p. 106.

3. θάνατος = λοιμός, as in ii. 23. ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς ἐξουσία: cf. ix. 3, xiii. 5, 7, ii. 26.

4. τῶν ἐσφαγμένων: cf. v. 6, 9, 12, xiii. 8, xviii. 24. Only once in rest of N.T. διὰ τ. λόγον τ. θεοῦ: cf. i. 2, note, 9, xii. 11, xx. 4. διὰ τ. μαρτυρίαν: cf. i. 2, note.

5. ἔκραξαν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ: cf. vii. 2, 10, x. 3, xix. 17, etc. ὁ ἅγιος καὶ ἀληθινός: cf. iii. 7, note. κρίνεις κ. ἐκδικεῖς . . . ἐκ: cf. xix. 2.

6. ἐρρέθη αὐτοῖς ἵνα, *cum fut*: cf. ix. 4. χρόνον μικρόν: cf. xx. 3. οἱ σύνδουλοι αὐτῶν: cf. (xix. 10) xxii. 9. ὡς καὶ αὐτοί: cf. ii. 27, iii. 21. Not in other Johannine books of N.T.

7. ἔπεσαν εἰς τ. γῆν: cf. ix. 1.

8. πᾶν ὄρος καὶ νῆσος ἐκ τ. τόπων ἐκινήθησαν: cf. xvi. 20, where the same idea and in fact the same words recur.

9. οἱ βασιλεῖς τ. γῆς: cf. xix. 18, 19, xxi. 24. βασιλεῖς . . . χυλῖαρχοι . . . ἰσχυροὶ . . . δοῦλος καὶ ἐλεύθερος. These recur in xix. 18.

10. ἡ ἡμέρα ἡ μεγάλη (*i.e.* of judgment). Recurs in xvi. 14, and not elsewhere in N.T. save in Acts ii. 20, where it is a quotation from Joel.

(b) *Idiom.*

1. μίαν ἐκ: cf. ἐνὸς ἐκ in next clause: frequent in our author. ὡς φωνή—a Hebraism for ὡς φωνῇ. See note *in loc*.

2. ὁ καθημέρος ἐπ' αὐτόν: cf. 5: also 16, τοῦ καθημένου ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου. In 4 τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπ' αὐτόν†, the αὐτόν is corrupt for αὐτῷ; see p. 112 sq.

3. ἄλλος ἵππος πυρρός = "another, a red horse." This classical idiom recurs in xiv. 8, 9, and John xiv. 16 (yet see Abbott, *Gram.* p. 612 sq.) may be interpreted in the same way. Otherwise it is not found in the N.T. ἕτερος is used in this sense in Luke x. 1, xxiii. 32.

4. ἵνα . . . σφάξουσιν: cf. 11. ἵνα, *cum inf.*, nine times in our author, fourteen in rest of N.T.

5. ὡς φωνήν. See note on p. 35 sq.

6. φωνὴν τ. τετάρτου ἔψου = "the voice," etc.

7. αὐτοῖς ἐκάστῳ: cf. ii. 23. Outside our author only once in N.T.

§ 3. *Method of interpreting the Seven Seals.*—A short inquiry as to the right method of interpreting the Seven Seals is necessary,

since the bulk of interpretations proceed on wholly arbitrary lines. We can take account only of the most notable interpretations, and then try to arrive at one which is justifiable on historical and critical grounds. Our inquiry relates to the first five seals, since the sixth is universally taken eschatologically. The methods may be given as follows:

i. *Contemporary Historical Method.*—Völter in all his four volumes, Erbes, 37 sqq., Holtzmann, and Swete seek to explain the first five seals by the Contemporary Historical Method. The first three seals reproduce, Erbes asserts, an ancient eschatological scheme, but correspond to events of the present, and in regard to the fourth and fifth Seals these writers find corresponding historical events. The first Rider is the Parthian King Vologäses, who in 62 A.D. forced a Roman army to capitulate. Erbes explains the second Rider by the great insurrection in Britain, 61 A.D., which led to the loss of 150,000 lives and by contemporary wars in Germany and troubles in Palestine; the third Rider by a famine in 62 affecting Armenia and Palestine; the fourth by pestilences in Asia and Ephesus, 61 A.D.; the fifth by the Neronian persecution. Erbes has here, on the whole, gone on the same lines as his predecessors. Völter, Holtzmann, and Swete take the first Rider to represent the Parthian empire, the second to represent Rome, the third they explain by the famine in Domitian's time (see note on 6). Though in his earlier editions Holtzmann seeks to explain the fourth figure as referring to the failure of the harvests in 44, the famines in Nero's time and the great pestilence throughout the Empire in 65 (Tac. *Ann.* xvi. 13; Suet. *Nero*, 39, 45), in the last he prefers to abandon the Contemporary Historical Method, though it is true he refers the fifth Seal to the Neronian persecution.

This method proceeds mainly on the principle that the symbols used in the Seals are either devised or at all events arranged in their present order with a view to represent certain historical events. Now since, as we shall see later, the Apocalypticist has received from tradition both the materials of this vision and almost the very order in which they are cast, it will not be possible to acknowledge it as a *free composition*, as the Contemporary Historical Method would in the main require, and though a few clear references to historical events are to be found, we shall recognize these as reinterpretations of pre-existing materials, or as additions to a pre-existing eschatological scheme.

ii. *Contemporary-Historical and Symbolical with Traditional Elements.*—Bousset feels himself obliged to use these two methods in this interpretation of the Seals. The first Seal must, he holds, be interpreted by the Contemporary-Historical of the Parthian empire on two grounds: (a) The meaning of the white

horse cannot be explained from stereotyped eschatological ideas. (b) The white horse is placed first in our text in contradistinction to the order in Zech. vi. The latter reason, already advanced by Spitta, 291, is not of much weight; for though the horses are mentioned three times in Zech. vi., they occur in a different order each time. The second and fourth Seals are explained symbolically of war and pestilence, though, of course, individual features in the Riders are derived from tradition. In regard to the third Seal, Bousset accepts the Contemporary-Historical explanation, and interprets this Seal by Domitian's Edict in 92 (see note on 6 of my text).

The fifth Seal is likewise interpreted by the same method (p. 274). Thus the first, third, and fifth are to be explained by this method. Spitta, 287 sqq., explains these three Seals by the same method, but arrives at very different results. The first Seal refers to Rome, the third to definite famines, and the fifth (p. 300) to the persecutions of the Christians by the Jews.

Although Bousset's exegesis is, of course, good, it has in my opinion missed the key to the interpretation of the Seals as a whole, and therefore has a show of arbitrariness.

iii. *The Traditional-Historical.*—This method has been applied to the interpretation of the first four Seals by Gunkel (*Zum religionsgesch. Verst. d. N.T.* 53 sq.), who is of opinion that primitive Oriental materials lie behind this vision and help to explain some of its details. The four horsemen, which in the Apocalypse are conceived as plague spirits, must originally have had a wholly different significance. This, he holds, is quite clear in the case of the first victorious and crowned horseman, which has ever been a *crux interpretum*. These four horsemen were originally the four world gods, which ruled each over one of the four world periods, and are distantly related to the four beasts in Dan. vii., each of which represents a world empire. The first horseman was originally a sun-god: his horse is white (as in vi. 2, ἵππος λευκός: cf. the white horse of the divine slayer of the dragon, xix. 11; the white horses of Mithras in the Avesta—Cumont, *Mystères de Mithra*, p. 3). He carries a bow (so vi. 2, ἔχων τόξον) as the sun-god (Zimmern, *K.A.T.*³ 368, note 5): he wears a crown (so vi. 2, ἐδόθη αὐτῷ στέφανος) as Mithras (Cumont, *op. cit.* 84; Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie*, 11, 15), and is always victorious (so vi. 2, νικῶν καὶ ἵνα νικήσῃ), and hence is called ἀνίκητος, "invictus" (Cumont, *op. cit.* 82). The second horseman is the god of war, and the third, originally the god of grain, is here transformed into a famine god: thence is explained his sparing the oil and wine.

Now, whilst the above theory is ingenious and offers some attractive explanations, it is nevertheless unsatisfactory and

inconsistent. For, first of all, how can the first of the four horsemen, who are said to have been originally world gods who preside over the four world periods, be afterwards described as the sun-god, the war-god and grain-god! Gunkel makes no attempt to find the original (?) equivalent of the fourth horseman, *thávaros*, in our text. In regard to the first horseman, however, his theory is interesting; but that the Seer had any idea of the original meaning of this figure cannot be entertained for a moment.

iv. *Contemporary-Historical and Traditional-Historical.* Under this heading J. Weiss (59 sqq.) is to be mentioned, though it is difficult to characterize his exegesis accurately. The Apocalypticist, according to Weiss, was using traditional material, and the particular form into which he cast this material was due to the eschatological ideas in the Parousia discourses of our Lord, which he had learnt from the Gospels or from oral tradition. The recognition of the connection of the Seals with the Woes in the Parousia discourses, which is already to be found in Alford, is the chief merit in his exegesis of this passage. And yet he has only partially appreciated the permanent importance of this fact, as we shall see presently. In the original Johannine Apocalypse (*circa* 60 A.D.) which Weiss assumes, the following plagues were enumerated: "pestilence, war, famine, Hades, persecution, earthquakes"; or "war, famine, pestilence, Hades, persecution, earthquakes."¹ This Apocalypticist the final Apocalypticist re-edited, and this particular passage he transformed by prefixing the victorious Rider on the white horse and displacing the mention of mere persecution by an account of actual martyrdom (vi. 9-11) already in the past. The victorious Rider represents the victorious course of the Gospel, which must be preached to all nations before the woes come (so Weiss interprets Mark xiii. 10). Thus, while in the completed Apocalypse the fifth Seal represents events already in the past, the first represents a present process: while in the Johannine Apocalypse the second, third, and fourth represent future events, yet it is to be presumed that these too in the completed Apocalypse refer to past events. This exposition is no more satisfying than those which precede. I proceed, therefore, to offer another explanation of the Seals, which explains more or less fully all the difficulties of this Vision.

¹ Weiss (p. 60) is of opinion that originally the four figures were war, famine, pestilence, and Hades, which gathered the victims of the first three, and that then the Apocalypticist affixed the first figure, which represents the victorious course of the Gospel. But to this we reply that our author had before him an eschatological scheme of *seven* woes which he found in the document behind Mark xiii., Matt. xxiv., Luke xxi.

v. *Traditional-Historical Method with incidental references to contemporary Events.*—The more closely we study the Seals in connection with Mark xiii., Matt. xxiv., Luke xxi., the more strongly we shall be convinced that our author finds his chief and controlling authority in the eschatological scheme there set forth. By putting these authorities and our text in parallel columns we shall make this close connection undeniable.

MATT. xxiv. 6, 7, 9^a, 29.

1. Wars.
2. International strife.
3. Famines.
4. Earthquakes.
5. Persecutions.
6. Eclipses of the sun and moon; falling of the stars; shaking of the powers of heaven.

LUKE xxi. 9-12^a, 25-26.

1. Wars.
2. International strife.
3. Earthquakes.
4. Famines.
5. Pestilence.
6. Persecutions.
7. Signs in the sun, moon, and stars; men fainting for fear of the things coming on the world; shaking of the powers of heaven.

MARK xiii. 7-9^a, 24-25.

1. Wars.
2. International strife.
3. Earthquakes.
4. Famines.
5. Persecutions.
6. (As in Matt.)

REV. vi. 2-17, vii. 1.

- Seal 1. War.
- „ 2. International strife.
- „ 3. Famine.
- „ 4. Pestilence. (Death and Hades.)
- „ 5. Persecutions.
- „ 6. (vi. 12-vii. 3) Earthquakes, eclipse of the sun, ensanguining of the moon, falling of the stars, men calling on the rocks to fall on them, shaking of the powers of heaven, four destroying winds.¹

Even a cursory comparison of these lists shows that they practically present the same material.²

If we accept the Domitian date of the Apocalypse, there can be no question as to the dependence of our author on the tradition represented in the Gospels. The six Seals embrace the seven ³ woes of Luke by combining two woes, *i.e.* the third

¹ This feature may have its parallel in Luke xxi. 25, where the nations are said to be distressed, *ἐν ἀπορίᾳ ἡχούσας θαλάσσης καὶ ὁδοῦ*. The winds in our text, vii. 1, are not to blow upon the sea till the final judgment. The storm winds of Yahweh are a well-known eschatological element in O.T.

² Other signs prelude the end are given in connection with the predicted fall of Jerusalem (cf. Mark xiii. 14 sqq. and parallels, Luke. xxi. 20 sq.); but since Jerusalem had fallen over twenty years before, our author is not concerned with these.

³ A scheme of seven plagues was already current in Jewish literature: see Sir. xl. 9; Test. Benj. vii. 2; Sayings of the Fathers, v. 11. Also Lev. xxvi. 21, “I will bring seven times more plagues upon you according to your sins.” It is noteworthy that in Parsism we find many of the above signs mentioned as precursors of the end of the world, such as the following: wars

and seventh, under the sixth Seal. It is remarkable that neither in Luke on the one hand nor in Matthew or Mark on the other can we find the full list of woes that appears in Revelation. In this respect they are complementary. On the one hand, our text agrees with Luke rather than with Mark and Matthew. Thus while pestilence, the fourth plague in Revelation, is omitted in the first and second Gospels, it is found in the third; and, while the predictions in Rev. vi. 15-17 are wanting in the first two, their equivalent is found in Luke xxi. 25. This shows a greater dependence on the Lucan form of the narrative. On the other hand, whereas the eclipse of the sun and moon and the falling of the stars (Rev. vi. 12-13) are only referred to in the Lucan account as "signs in the sun, moon, and stars," they are described in Matt. xxiv. 29 and Mark xiii. 24 in almost the same language as in our text. The question naturally arises therefore: Did our author make use of two of the Gospels, Luke together with Matthew or Mark; or did he use *the document behind the Gospels*—the Little Apocalypse, the existence of which so many scholars have felt themselves obliged to assume; or thirdly, was he simply dependent on oral tradition for his material? The first and third alternatives are possible, but less likely than the second. The second seems highly probable, if we may assume the independent existence of the Little Jewish-Christian Apocalypse (= Mark xiii. 7-8, 14-20, 24-27, 30-31, and parallels in Matthew and Luke). In this Little Jewish Apocalypse, so far as it is preserved in the Gospels, there is no reference to the persecution of the faithful. But since in the Psalms, Daniel and later apocalyptic literature this is a constant subject of complaint to God, it cannot have been wanting in the original form of the Little Apocalypse. If such an Apocalypse were current, it is but natural to assume that such a profound master of this literature as our author would be acquainted with it. However this may be, the conclusion that *our text is dependent on the Gospel accounts, or rather on the document behind them*, seems irresistible. The subject-matter, then, of the Seals is derived from a pre-existing eschatological scheme. The number seven in such a connection is known to tradition (see note *in loc.*); but independently of this fact it is postulated by our author's plan, in which seven plays a predominant rôle—Seven Churches, Seven Bowls.

The dependence of our author on a pre-existing eschatological scheme is further shown by his seeming abandonment of it in two

(Bahman—Yasht ii. 24 sqq.); social divisions (*op. cit.* ii. 30); earthquakes, famines, and pestilences (*op. cit.* iii. 4); falling of the star Gurzihar on the earth (*op. cit.*; Bundahish xxx. 18); the sun losing its light (ii. 31). See Böhlen, *Verwandschaft der jüdischchristlichen mit der Parsischen Eschatologie*, p. 88 sqq.

particulars. 1. Although he gives a new character to the seventh woe quite distinct from that of the last woe in these Gospels, he is careful not to omit the subject-matter of this last woe, and accordingly embodies it under the sixth Seal. Thus the sixth Seal embraces the two Gospel woes—earthquakes and signs in the powers of heaven. Our author therefore preferred including these two woes under one Seal to omitting these elements of tradition. 2. Our author has changed the order of the woes. He has relegated the “earthquakes” to the sixth Seal, whereas it is third in Mark and Luke and fourth in Matthew. Two valid reasons for this change can be given.

1. In his fresh reproduction of the traditional material, our author personifies four¹ of the woes under forms borrowed from Zech. i. 8, vi. 1-8. Now, since “earthquakes” cannot be so personified, they are relegated to the sixth Seal, and their place is taken by “pestilence.” Thus the four Riders represent war, international strife, famine, and pestilence.

2. But there is another and weightier reason. The more closely the vision is studied, the more manifest becomes the dramatic fulness of the order of the Seals, and the growing intensity of the evils they symbolize. These begin with social cataclysms (Seals 1-4) and end with cosmic (Seal 6). Human society is overthrown by war, revolutions, famines, and pestilences (Seals 1-4), which rage without ceasing, till a large proportion of the number of the martyrs is accomplished (Seal 5). Social catastrophes are followed by cosmic in the sixth Seal. The solid crust of the earth breaks, the heaven is rent above, sun and moon are darkened or ensanguined, and the stars of heaven fall. From the standpoint of our author, therefore, the necessity of transposing “earthquakes” from the third or fourth place to the sixth is obvious.

Thus the subject-matter of the Seals, which is derived from a pre-existing eschatological scheme, is recast under new forms.

But, further, in this reproduction of the first five woes our author so recasts them as to give three or possibly all of them a more or less clear historical reference to contemporary events. Thus the first Rider *with the bow* refers to the Parthian empire that was to overthrow the hated Rome; the second may have a secondary reference to Rome, as the source of social disorder and destruction, though earlier regarded as the upholder of order and peace; the third possibly (?) to the edict of Domitian, and the fifth certainly to the martyrdoms under Nero.

But these references are due to our author, and do not belong to the original eschatological scheme. Such contemporary

¹ This number is already suggested by the number of the four Living Creatures who severally summon the four Riders.

historical references are, however, to be looked for, though primarily the subject-matter is traditional: cf. 1 John ii. 18.

1. καὶ εἶδον ὅτε ἤνοιξεν τὸ ἀρνίον μίαν ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ τὰ σφραγίδων. The loosing of the Seals is a symbolical action. The visions are not read out from the Book, but the contents of the Book are forthwith translated into action in the visions of the Seer. On καὶ εἶδον see note on iv. 1. In μίαν ἐκ = "the first of," we may have a Hebraism = יְהִי אֶל; but there is the possibility, of course, as Moulton, *Gram.* i. 95 sq., contends, that εἰς came in Byzantine Greek to be used as an ordinal, and that we have such an instance here. The partitive use of ἐκ is frequent in the Apocalypse: cf. Blass, *Gram.* p. 97. But the fact that in μίαν ἐκ we have a double Hebraism, and that it occurs in a book containing so many Hebraisms, is in favour of the phrase being taken as such. We might compare Ezek. x. 14, "the face of the first" = τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ ἐνός = יְהִי אֶל יְהִי אֶל, where four are mentioned: Job xlii. 14. But the phrase may simply mean "one of." The occurrence of the ordinals, however, in v. 3, 5, 7, appears to be against this.

καὶ ἤκουσα ἐνός ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων ζώων λέγοντος ὡς φωνὴ βροντῆς ἔρχου. On ἐνός ἐκ = "the first of," see preceding note. The four Cherubim in succession summon the four Riders. This is the most natural interpretation, as J. Weiss, 59, Bousset², 264, Wellhausen, 10, and Holtzmann³, 444, have recognized. Others have taken the words as addressed to the Seer; but elsewhere xvii. 1, xxi. 9, where the Seer is summoned, δεῦρο is used. Moreover, as J. Weiss observes, it is inconceivable that the ἔρχου should be addressed four times to the Seer. Others—Alford and Swete—again suppose it to be addressed to Christ, and cite as parallels xxii. 17, 20.

ὡς φωνή. Nearly all the textual evidence is against reading φωνῇ, which in order to arrive at an intelligible text we must read.

But ὡς φωνή is susceptible of explanation. The writer may have had ἡρᾶ in his mind and rendered this as ὡς φωνή, whereas idiomatically it = ὡς φωνῇ, the ᾶ being suppressed after ᾶ. Cf. Isa. v. 17, ix. 3.

2. καὶ εἶδον καὶ ἰδοὺ ἵππος λευκός. On the apocalyptic phrase καὶ εἶδον καὶ ἰδοὺ, which recurs in vi. 5, 8, xiv. 1, 14, xix. 11, see note on iv. 1.

The *subject-matter* of the first four Seals appears, as we have seen (see p. 157 sqq.), derived from the woes mentioned in (the Jewish-Christian Apocalypse) Mark xiii. 7 sqq.; Matt. xxiv. 6 sqq.; Luke xxi. 9 sqq., i.e. war, international or civil strife, famine, pestilence (i.e. death).

The *form* of the Vision in vi. 2-8 is based on the vision of

καὶ ὁ καθήμενος ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἔχων τόξον, καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ στέφανος, καὶ ἐξῆλθεν νικῶν καὶ ἵνα νικήσῃ. As has already been pointed out, the rider here symbolizes war in the first instance; for this is the first woe in the source from which the woes in the Seals are derived (see pp. 157-9); but owing to the rider carrying a bow¹ and riding on a white horse, we can hardly evade the conclusion that a secondary reference to the Parthian empire is here designed as representing triumphant war. The great victory of Vologäses in 62 over the Romans gave birth to the idea that Rome would be finally overthrown by an Oriental power. This idea recurs later in our author (see xvii. 16). The very form of the words favours this view. ἐξῆλθεν νικῶν would refer to past achievements of this empire, and ἵνα νικήσῃ to its ultimate conquest of the west. The *gift* of the στέφανος is equivalent to a promise of victory. Furthermore, as regards the στέφανος, which, as a symbol of victory, was given to him, it may be mentioned, though the fact probably does not concern our text, that Seleucus, the Parthian king, who founded Seleucia on the Tigris, was named Νικάτωρ. The Parthian leaders, according to Wetstein, rode white horses in battle.

Other interpretations are as follows:

1. The text points *first and solely* to the Parthian empire: so Holtzmann, Schmidt, 11; Ramsay, 58; Swete, Bousset.

2. Völter in his different works, and Erbes, 37 sqq., interpret the first Rider of Vologäses. This is a less defensible view than 1.

3. Spitta, 290, interprets the text of Rome; but this view is generally rejected.

קָדָם, and changed קָדָם into קָדָם three times (with Wellhausen). Next I have restored the lost קָדָם, "to the west country," and finally I have transposed קָדָם before קָדָם from the beginning of 7, where they are meaningless. Thus we have, "The black horses go forth to the north country, and the white go forth to the east country, and the spotted go forth to the west country, and the red go forth to the south country." All appears right here except the word קָדָם, vi. 2, 8 = "spotted." In i. 8 קָדָם = "sorrel," a yellowish or reddish brown colour, appears in its stead. Since in i. 8 red is already mentioned, we should take this word with Bochart, *Hierozoicon*, i. 50, as meaning "yellow." Thus the "yellow" horses go to the quarter of which yellow is the symbol. This may be the source of the word χλωρός, "pale" or "pale yellow," in our text, vi. 8. As regards בָּרִידִים I see no way of explaining it from an archaeological standpoint, nor of reconciling it with the apparently right word קָדָם in Zech. i. 8. Here again our author does not follow the LXX. The above four colours are said to be connected with the planets Jupiter, Mars, Mercury, and Saturn. But among the Babylonians white has never been discovered to be the colour of Jupiter or of the other three. The speculations of Jeremias (*Babylonisches im N.T.* 24 sq., and in *Das A.T. im Licht des alten Orients*) on this question are often merely fantastic. See Müller, "Die Apokal. Reiter," *Z.N.T.W.*, 1907, 290-316.

¹ See Herod. v. 49, vii. 61; Ovid, *Trist.* ii. 227; Ammianus Marcellinus, xii. 8; and Wetstein *in loc.*

4. A great number of interpreters—Victorinus, Primasius, Bede, Bullinger, Paraeus, Grotius, Vitranga, Düsterdieck, B. Weiss, 445, have identified the first horseman with the Rider on the white horse in xix. 11 sqq., *i.e.* the Messiah. But the Messiah cannot appear before the Messianic woes; nor can he be at once the Lamb who opens the Seals, and the Rider who appears in consequence of such opening. Moreover, the details are distinct. The former carries a *τόξον*, the latter a *ρομφαία*; the former wears a *στέφανος*, the latter *διαδήματα πολλά*. Not a bow, but the sword of the word belongs to Christ. In fact the two Riders have nothing in common but the white horse.

5. Hilgenfeld (*Z. W. T.*, 1890, p. 425), Zahn, ii. 592, Alford, Kübel take this horseman to represent the victorious course of the Gospel. J. Weiss, 59 sqq., accepts this interpretation, and maintains that it receives support from the Parousia discourses of Christ. For although Mark xiii. 9 treats of the beginning of the Messianic woes, yet according to xiii. 10 the Gospel must first be made known to all nations. The woes, therefore, in both passages begin when the victory of the Gospel is decided. Despite all tribulations, the victory is once and for all assured. This view with modifications was earlier put forward by Andreas, Arethas, Lyra, and Ribeira.

Over against explanations 4 and 5, it is to be maintained that there is an essential likeness among the Riders: they clearly belong together, and represent the *ἀρχὴ ὧδῶν* (Mark xiii. 8). All four have to deal with judgments—"the beating down of earthly powers, breaking up of earthly peace, the exhausting of earthly wealth, the destruction of earthly life" (Alford). The first horseman like the rest, therefore, is to be interpreted of woe—denoting first of all war, as it did in its immediate source, and in a secondary aspect through its fresh remoulding by our author, the Parthian empire.

3. καὶ ὅτε ἤνοιξεν τὴν σφραγίδα τὴν δευτέραν, ἤκουσα τοῦ δευτέρου ζώου λέγοντος Ἔρχου. 4. καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἄλλος ἵππος πυρρός, καὶ τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπ' αὐτὸν † ἐδόθη [αὐτῷ] λαβεῖν τὴν εἰρήνην [ἐκ] τῆς γῆς καὶ ἵνα ἀλλήλους σφάξουσιν, καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ μάχαιρα μεγάλη. This second horseman is a symbol of international and civil strife. The immediate source of our author is, as we have seen, the document behind the Gospel accounts, Matt. xxiv. 7; Mark xiii. 8; Luke xxi. 10 (see pp. 157-9). But there are other references to such civil strife as prelude the Parousia in Jewish literature: cf. Jub. xxiii. 19; 1 Enoch lvi. 7; 4 Ezra v. 9, vi. 24, xiii. 31; 2 Bar. xlvi. 32, lxx. 3, 6. The expectation that civil strife would herald the end of the world is found also in Babylonian literature. See Zimmern, *K. A. T.*³ 393. Since we have here to deal with a stereotyped prediction, which exhibits no

new elements pointing to historical events, there is no occasion to enumerate the various historical interpretations that have been advanced.

As in the case of the first Seal the Rider is furnished with a bow (which gives the Seal an historical reference), so here the second Rider is provided with a sword. This symbol, however, belongs to eschatological tradition. This sword is mentioned in this eschatological sense in Isa. xxvii. 1, xxxiv. 5, xlv. 10, xlvii. 6; Ezek. xxi. 3 sqq., where it is wielded by Yahweh Himself. In the next stage of development it is committed to Israel to take vengeance on their own and God's enemies. The very words *ἐδόθη . . . μάχαιρα μεγάλη* are found in 1 Enoch xc. 19, "A great sword was given to the sheep, and the sheep proceeded against all the beasts of the field to slay them." This sword is again mentioned in xci. 12, xc. 34. The object with which it is given in Enoch is that the faithful Israelites may therewith destroy their enemies, who are the enemies of God.

In the third stage of development it is given to the enemies of God that they may destroy one another with it. This stage is found in 1 Enoch lxxxviii. 2, where Gabriel causes the giant offspring of the fallen angels and the daughters of men to destroy each other by giving them a sword. "And one of them drew a sword and gave it to those elephants and camels and asses: then they began to smite each other, and the whole earth quaked because of them." The command to do so is given in apocalyptic language in x. 9, "Proceed against the bastards . . . and destroy the children of fornication, and the children of the watchers . . . send them one against another that they may destroy each other in battle." In our text, as also in Matt. x. 34, *μὴ νομίσητε ὅτι ἦλθον βαλεῖν εἰρήνην ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν· οὐκ ἦλθον βαλεῖν εἰρήνην ἀλλὰ μάχαιραν* (cf. Luke xii. 51), the symbol has the same eschatological force. Our text, *λαβεῖν τὴν εἰρήνην [ἐκ] τῆς γῆς . . . ἐδόθη αὐτῷ μάχαιρα*, looks like a reminiscence of the words of our Lord just cited. The Massoretic text of Ezek. xxxviii. 21 seems to attest the same idea, but it is corrupt, and the text of the LXX (B) is to be followed here (see Marti *in loc.*).

Holtzmann and Moffatt have taken the "sword" as symbolizing Rome, just as the "bow" symbolizes the Parthian empire, and holds that the two world empires are here designated. But this is not so. The "bow" is *characteristic* of the first Rider; but the sword is not characteristic of this Rider, but is *given* to him, just as the "crown" is given to the first Rider. As the "crown" is given to foreshow conquest, the sword is given to bring about civil and international strife. There may, however, be a remote reference to Rome as the destroyer of order

and life as opposed to the rôle it was conceived to play by St. Paul.

λαβεῖν τὴν εἰρήνην [ἐκ] τῆς γῆς. The object of this woe is to take away the false peace of the earth. Contrast John xiv. 27. Thus it seems best here to follow A and some cursives in omitting ἐκ. Cf. the kindred phrase "children of earth," 1 Enoch c. 6, cii. 3, over against "children of heaven," ci. 1.

For ἵνα with the fut. Ind. see Robertson, *Gram.* 998 sq.

δ. καὶ ὅτε ἤνοιξεν τὴν σφραγίδα τὴν τρίτην, ἤκουσα τοῦ τρίτου ζώου λέγοντος Ἐρχου. καὶ εἶδον, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἵππος μέλας, καὶ ὁ καθήμενος ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἔχων ζυγὸν ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ. Famine is here symbolized by the black horse, as we have seen (see p. 161). For the more detailed explanation see next verse. The ζυγός is literally the beam of the balance from which the scales are suspended. That bread is sold by weight is a token of scarcity. Cf. Ezek. iv. 16, φάγονται ἄρτον ἐν σταθμῷ καὶ ἐν ἐνδείᾳ, and Lev. xxvi. 26, ἀποδώσουσι τοὺς ἄρτους ὑμῶν ἐν σταθμῷ καὶ φάγεσθε καὶ οὐ μὴ ἐμπληροθῇτε.

ε. καὶ ἤκουσα ὡς φωνὴν ἐν μέσῳ τῶν τεσσάρων ζώων λέγουσαν Χοῖνιξ σίτου θηναρίου, καὶ τρεῖς χοίνικες κριθῶν θηναρίου· καὶ τὸ ἔλαιον καὶ τὸν οἶνον μὴ ἀδικήσης. On the peculiar use of ὡς here see note on p. 33 sq. We have the same use on xix. 1, 6. The voice, as Bousset suggests, may be that of the Lamb.

The voice states a coming price of the wheat and barley—almost a famine price; for a χοῖνιξ of wheat—about two pints—constituted the daily consumption of a man. So Herodotus assumes in estimating the amount of food consumed by Xerxes' army: vii. 187, εὐρίσκω γὰρ συμβαλλόμενος εἰ χοίνικα πυρῶν ἕκαστος τῆς ἡμέρης ἐλάμβανε καὶ μηδὲν πλέον. Thucydides, iv. 16, mentions as the allowance made for the Spartans in Sphacteria—σίτον . . . δύο χοίνικας ἕκαστῳ Ἀττικᾷς ἀλφίτων καὶ δύο κοτύλας οἶνον καὶ κρέας, θεράποντι δὲ τούτων ἡμισία. The quantity here stated was the ordinary allowance made at the Spartan mess, the allowance both of grain and wine being *double* of that which was supposed to be necessary. Similarly in Athenaeus, iii. 20, τὴν δὲ χοίνικα ἡμεροτρόφίδα, and Diog. Laert. *Pythag.* viii. 18, and Suidas under Pythagoras: ἡ γὰρ χοῖνιξ ἡμερήσιος τροφή. For other references see Wetstein.

The denarius, which was worth about 9½d. (see Hastings' *D.B.* i 427), was the ordinary daily wage (cf. Matt. xx. 2 sqq.). The following passages from Cicero are instructive. Cicero, *Verr.* iii. 81, "Idque frumentum Senatus ita aestimasset, quaternis H.S. tritici modium, binis, hordei. . . . Cum in Sicilia H.S. binis tritici modius esset . . . summum H.S. ternis . . . tum iste pro tritici modiis singulis ternos ab aratoribus denarios exegit. 84, Cum esset H.S. binis aut etiam ternis . . . duodenos sestertios

exegisti." Here wheat appears to have been twice the price of barley in Sicily; whereas it was three times in our text. In the next place the modius of wheat cost 2 or 3 sesterces, or according to the estimate of the Senate 4. Now, since a modius contains 8 choenices, and a denarius = four sesterces, it follows that the price in our text was 16 times the lowest price of wheat in Sicily, 10 $\frac{2}{3}$ times the highest, and 8 times the estimate made by the Senate.

Thus at the time designed in our text a denarius—a man's daily wage—could purchase only two pints of wheat—a quantity sufficient merely for his own immediate needs, whereas at other times its purchasing power was 8, 12, or 16 times as great, if we may use the data supplied by Cicero. But since the workman would not buy wheat but barley, he could earn enough to procure something for his family as well, though the supply was inadequate and deaths occurred through starvation (see 8). The text, then, speaks of a time of very great dearth, but not of absolute famine, that was coming upon the world. It is the *λῆμοί* predicted in Mark xiii. 8; Matt. xxiv. 7.

But the words that follow, τὸ ἐλαιὸν καὶ τὸν οἶνον μὴ ἀδικήσης, when taken in conjunction with what precedes, may point to a special time when the necessities of life were scarce and its superfluities abundant.

According to Erbes, 40, the more moderate the scarcity is represented, the more manifestly it belongs not to the region of fancy but to history, and in his opinion to the year 62 (Tac. *Ann.* xv. 5; Joseph. *Ant.* xx. 9. 2); whilst Völter in his various works assigns this event to the latter half of Nero's reign (Suet. *Nero*, 45; Tac. *Ann.* xv. 18). But a more satisfactory explanation has recently been advanced by Harnack (*T.L.Z.*, 1902, col. 591 sq.) in a short notice on S. Reinach's "La mévente des vins sous le haut-empire romain," *Rev. Archéol.*, sér. iii. t. xxxix., 1901, pp. 350–374. Owing to the lack of cereals and the superabundance of wine, Domitian issued an edict (Suet. *Dom.* 7: cf. Euseb. *Chron.*, on 92 A.D.) that no fresh vineyards should be planted in Italy, and that half the vineyards in the provinces should be cut down. But, as Suetonius observes, Domitian did not persevere in this matter; for the edict set the Asiatic cities in an uproar, and owing to their agitation they prevailed on Domitian not only to withdraw his edict, but to impose a punishment on those who allowed their old vineyards to go out of cultivation (cf. τὸν οἶνον μὴ ἀδικήσης of our text).¹ Our author from his ascetic standpoint had sympathized with Domitian's decree, which according to its own claims was directed against

¹ Our author, according to Harnack, added the oil of his own initiative, or else found it in a decree unknown to us.

luxury, and was accordingly the more indignant when it was recalled. Accordingly, he predicts an evil time, when men will have oil and wine¹ in abundance, but suffer from lack of bread. In favour of this view it may be added that the date of the Apocalypse therein implied would agree with that assigned to it by Irenaeus and Epiphanius. This explanation is accepted by Bousset and Swete, but is treated as doubtful by Holtzmann and rejected by Wellhausen.

Though Wellhausen suggests no alternative explanation, he is right, I think, in rejecting the last mentioned. At all events the decree of Domitian, if here operative at all, was not the cause, but only the occasion of the statement in our text. The scarcity of bread and the plentifulness of the vintage in the last days was an old Jewish expectation. Thus we have in Sotah, 49^b, "In the times when the Messiah is at hand shamelessness will increase, and there will be a dearth: the vine will yield its fruit, but wine will be dear (ויוקר יהוא הנפן תתן פריה וחיין ביוקר); the empire of the world will become minaeon: there will be no discipline . . . the son will despise the father, the daughter resist the mother, the daughter-in-law the mother-in-law: a man's foes shall be they of his own household (בן מנבל אב בת קמה באמה כלה בחמותה אחיב) (איש איש ביתו)." The last clauses here may have been in the mind of our Lord when He uttered Matt. x. 35 sq. (= Luke xii. 53), while the opening words may explain our text. Rabbi Nehemiah (in Hadrian's time) quotes the first part of the above, and R. Nehorai and R. Judah, his contemporaries, other portions of it in Sanh. c 7^a. It seems, therefore, to have been in an old apocalypse. This apocalypse states that there will be a general dearth, but not of the vintage, though, owing to the disorder, wine would be dear. Domitian's edict may have occasioned the mention of this old eschatological expectation.

7. καὶ ὅτε ἤνοιξεν τὴν σφραγίδα τὴν τετάρτην, ἤκουσα φωνὴν τοῦ τετάρτου [τοῦ λέγοντος Ἐρχου. 8. καὶ εἶδον, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἵππος χλωρός. The fourth horse is described as χλωρός, "pale yellow," "pallid," or "pale." This appears to be an independent rendering by our author of שָׁרָקִים in Zech. i. 8 (see note on p. 162). The LXX has here ποικίλος. Now ποικίλος evidently presupposes שָׁרָקִים, as in Zech. vi. 3, 7, and not שָׁרָקִים. But as we have seen in the note referred to, we require in Zechariah a word signifying "yellow" or "pale yellow." Bochart (*Hierozoicon*, i. 50) gives good grounds for assuming this to be the meaning of שָׁרָק, and holds that שָׁרָק and יָרָק were related colours, since in Lev. xi. 18, Deut. xiv. 17, the same bird is called יָרָקָא in

¹ In Jub. xxiii. 18 the first Messianic woe is given thus: "There shall be no seed of the vine and no oil."

Onkelos and ארררש in Ps. Jon. The Nisaeen horses were somewhat of this colour, as Phavorinus attests : Νισαῖος ἵππος ὁ ἐστὶ ξανθός· ἡ γὰρ Νίσα πάσας τὰς ἵππους ξανθὰς ἔχει (see Bochart, *loc. cit.*). Now Aristotle (*Meteor.* 3, 4, 5) defines ξανθός as the colour in the rainbow between red and green. "Pale yellow" then is the meaning required by our text and most probably by that of Zech. i. 8. Possibly our author found a form יריר or יררריר instead of רש in Zech. i. 8; for χλωρός is the most frequent rendering of this word in the LXX. ירר means "paleness," "lividness."

8^b. ὁ καθήμενος ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ ὄνομα αὐτῷ ὁ θάνατος¹
 [καὶ ὁ ᾄδης ἠκολούθει μετ' αὐτοῦ]
 καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ἐξουσία ἐπὶ τὸ τέταρτον τῆς γῆς,
 [ἀποκτείνειν ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ καὶ ἐν λιμῷ
 καὶ ἐν θανάτῳ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν θηρίων τῆς γῆς].

Either the above text is corrupt or the writer confused beyond all precedent. I have come to the former conclusion, the grounds for which are given below. The Rider symbolizes "the pestilence" (ὁ θάνατος). And the original text is to be translated as follows: "He that sat upon him was named Pestilence, and there was given to him authority over the fourth part of the earth."

Let us now study the text as it stands. First of all, Death and Hades are personified as in i. 18, xx. 13, 14. But how are we to conceive them in the present passage? There is only one horse and there are two figures. From the analogy of the preceding Seals we expect here only one figure. Hence J. Weiss, 59, thinks that Hades is here "suspiciously" thrust into the corner and granted only a shadowy existence, since he scarcely appears to be aught else than a double of Death. This writer then goes on to conjecture that θάνατος here was in the original conception a personification of pestilence (= דבר), and that Hades then represented Death in a general sense, whose function was to gather the victims of the preceding plagues. Originally, therefore, the four were War, Famine, Pestilence, and Hades, and not as in our text. These four became in our author's hands five, when he prefixed the first Rider, who, according to J. Weiss, symbolizes the progress of the Gospel. Death and Hades were then of necessity represented as one. This theory is attractive, but the evidence, as I have sought to show (p. 157 sqq.), is in favour of the vision of the Seals being based on the material given in Mark xiii., Matt. xxiv., Luke xxi., by means of which we can explain the first six Seals. Besides, we cannot accept this

¹ The irregular construction here is due to a Hebraism (cf. ix. 11). The line = שׁוֹמֵר מִן הַמָּוֶת מִן הַמָּוֶת.

scholar's explanation of the first Seal (see p. 163). How then are we to recover the original text? By a careful study of the details.

1. There is only one horse mentioned under the fourth Seal: there could not be two; for there are only four horses altogether presupposed. Hades then cannot be riding a separate horse, as there is only one horse; nor can he be riding on the same horse as Death, for then we should expect οἱ καθήμενοι and not ὁ καθήμενος. Hence the clause καὶ ὁ ἄδης . . . αὐτοῦ introduces confusion of thought and diction, and looks like an intrusion.

2. We should expect λοιμός here, as in Luke xxi. 11. But θάνατος can be used in the same sense, as it frequently appears in the LXX as a translation of דָּבָר. In Sir. xxxix. 29 we have the combination דָּבָר וְדָבָר; LXX, λιμός καὶ θάνατος: Vulg. "fames et mors"; and also in Pss. Sol. xiii. 2, λιμοῦ καὶ θανάτου. But the fact that θάνατος and not λοιμός is used is instructive. It forms an additional argument that our author is using not our Canonical Gospels, but the document behind Mark xiii., Matt. xxiv., Luke xxi.; for the word in this Aramaic document would be מָוֶת;¹ for this is the rendering in the Targum of Onkelos of דָּבָר in Ex. ix. 15; Num. xiv. 12; Targ. Jon. of Jer. xiv. 12, xxi. 6, 7, 9, xxiv. 10, xxix. 17, 18, xlv. 13; Ezek. v. 12, 17, xiv. 21, xxxiii. 27, etc. Now מָוֶת can mean either "death" or "pestilence." Luke rendered it by the unmistakable word λοιμός in xxi. 11, but our author by θάνατος, which might mean either "death" or "pestilence." But to return. We expect, as we saw in 1, a single Rider: in the next place we expect him to be named "the pestilence," as in the source used by our author. And this, in fact, θάνατος could mean, and not only the source, but the context requires such a meaning; for such a plague as "the pestilence" would be in keeping with what precedes and what follows; for all these refer to plagues or evils which bring about death, but are not synonymous with death. Death conceived generally, according to the traditional text, as the lord of all kinds of destroying agents, and Hades do not belong to the present category of evils.

3. The reading ἰδὸθι αὐτῷ, strongly attested by the Versions and Q, is in favour of one figure only, i.e. θάνατος, "pestilence."

Accordingly we reject καὶ ὁ ἄδης ἡκολούθει μετ' αὐτοῦ as the interpolation of a scribe who was familiar with our author's combination of these two conceptions, Death and Hades. Cf. i. 18, xx. 13, 14. But his perverse industry did not stop here; for to him we owe the final clause, as will appear from the next paragraph.

¹ If the source were in Hebrew, דָּבָר (= λοιμός in Aq. or Sym., or θάνατος in the LXX) would account for the above facts.

4. If the above conclusions are right that only one Rider is referred to and that his name is "pestilence," then the last clause of the verse, ἀποκτείναι . . . γῆς, can hardly be genuine. It cannot be said that power was given to "the pestilence" to destroy "with the sword, and with famine, and with pestilence," etc. Even if by any possibility θάνατος in the first instance meant death itself, the lord of destruction, it would have been culpably careless to use the same word again in the same sentence with quite a different meaning.

It is further to be observed that the clause ἀποκτείναι . . . γῆς, which seems intended to resume the evil activities of the second, third, and fourth plagues, is clearly otiose here. The statement adds nothing to the weight of what is already better said, and the reference to θάνατος is extremely awkward, since it obliges us to assume θάνατος (= lord of all the plagues) controlling θάνατος (= a single plague), or θάνατος (= pestilence) controlling its underling θάνατος (= pestilence).

Hence I conclude that the clause is an interpolation. Furthermore, its subject-matter and, in fact, its diction are based on Ezek. xiv. 21, ῥομφαίαν καὶ λιμὸν καὶ θηρία πονηρὰ καὶ θάνατον. This borrowing explains the presence of ῥομφαίαν instead of μάχαιραν (cf. vi. 10) and the concluding phrase, i.e. ὑπὸ τῶν θηρίων τῆς γῆς, which has no connection with the context as the other three plagues have. The construction of ὑπὸ after an active verb is unexampled elsewhere in the N.T. and is found very rarely in classical Greek. With θηρίων τῆς γῆς (Gen. i. 30; Ezek. xxxiv. 28), the only near parallel in the N.T. is Acts xi. 6.

The fact that there are four plagues described in our text, and that Ezekiel in xiv. 21 speaks of "four sore judgments," may have led to the incorporation of this gloss in our text.

8-11. In a certain mechanical manner the first four plagues are grouped together and the last three. The first four possess one characteristic in common—the impersonation of their leading features: another is their connection with the four living beings. But in another aspect the first five are more nearly related to each other as evils affecting man *directly*, whereas the two evils which are combined in the sixth Seal—the breaking up of earth and heaven—are in their first reference cosmic, and affect man *indirectly*.

The fifth Seal.—Verses 9-11 deal with Christian martyrdom. In the corresponding sections in Mark xiii. 9-13, Matt. xxiv. 9-10, Luke xxi. 12-18, persecutions and martyrdom are foretold. In our text they are in part already accomplished. The standpoint, therefore, is wholly changed. Instead of reproducing the stereotyped description of persecutions still to come carrying with them the sanction of Christ Himself, our author refers in

unmistakable language to a great persecution in the past: nay more, with his own eyes—for he is in heaven—he beholds the souls of the martyrs already offered on the heavenly altar before God; hears them supplicating for judgment on the heathen world, and sees them being clothed with their heavenly bodies—a spiritual privilege limited exclusively to the martyred righteous; for the rest of the righteous could not receive their heavenly bodies till the final resurrection.

9. καὶ ὅτε ἤνοιξεν τὴν πέμπτην σφραγίδα, εἶδον ὑποκάτω τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἐσφαγμένων διὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ διὰ τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἣν εἶχον. In this verse we have to deal with three questions: 1. The altar in heaven. 2. The souls under the altar—in Judaism and Christianity. 3. The reasons for which the faithful suffered martyrdom.

1. *The altar in heaven.*—The fact that the altar, though not mentioned hitherto, is preceded by the article, points to a current belief in the existence of an altar of burnt-offering in heaven.¹ That, according to Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic, there was only one altar in heaven, and that this altar had the characteristics partly of the earthly altar of incense and partly of the altar of burnt-offering, but mainly of the former, I have shown later on at some length. (See note on viii. 3.) How early this belief arose cannot be definitely determined. Since, however, according to Ex. xxv. 9, 40, Num. viii. 4, the earthly altar and tabernacle were to be made after the likeness of heavenly patterns or originals,—a view which recurs in Heb. viii. 5, ix. 23,—the belief in question may be of very early origin—as early as Isa. vi. 1 sqq., though scholars are divided as to the scene of the vision in that chapter, Duhm, Whitehouse, Gray, Marti contending that it is in the earthly temple, while Delitzsch, Dillmann, and Jeremias maintain that it is in the heavenly. At all events it was current in the 2nd cent. B.C., as we have seen above.

2. *The souls under the altar in Judaism and Christianity.*—The souls in our text are those of the martyrs. It has been generally supposed that our text is to be explained from the Jewish ritual, according to which the blood of the victim was to be poured on the base of the altar (Lev. iv. 7, τὸ αἷμα τοῦ μόσχου ἐκχεῖ παρὰ τὴν βάσιν τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου). Since the life was in the blood, the souls were thus conceived to be beneath the altar.

¹ Spitta, 296 sqq., argues strongly for the altar in Jerusalem; but most of his arguments are beside the mark. On the other hand, the whole vision implies a heavenly scene, witnessed by our Seer ἐν πνεύματι. All the visions in iv. 1—x. the Seer beheld while *in heaven* (see p. 109). The white garments in which the martyrs were arrayed is a heavenly vesture. Furthermore, the situation implies the age of Domitian, when the Temple was no longer standing.

But this is unsatisfactory. The souls are beneath the heavenly altar; for they have already been sacrificed thereon. Let us examine the evidence. That a sacrificial death of the martyrs is implied in our text is clear from the words *θυσιαστήριον* and *ἐσφαγμένων*. Elsewhere in the N.T. the martyrs are regarded as victims offered to God, 2 Tim. iv. 6; Phil. ii. 17; and in later times cf. Ignatius, *Ad Rom.* ii. 2, *πλέον δέ μοι μὴ παράσχησθε τοῦ σπονδισθῆναι θεῷ, ὡς ἐτι θυσιαστήριον ἑτοιμόν ἐστιν*: iv. 2, *ἵνα . . . θεοῦ θυσία εὐρεθῶ*. But the belief that the martyrs were a sacrifice was already current in pre-Christian Judaism, as appears from the passages quoted from 4 Maccabees below.¹

These passages refer to martyrs. In later times the souls of the *righteous* are conceived by the Christians as well as by the Jews (see later) as offered in sacrifice. Cf. Questions of Bartholomew i. 29, *ὁ δὲ Βαρθολωμαῖος ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν*· Κύριε, τίς ἐστιν ἡ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ ἀναφερομένη θυσία; ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς λέγει· ψυχαὶ δικαίων. Vita Pachomii abbatis tabennensis xxxviii. "Multitudo sanctorum angelorum cum magna laetitia sumentes animam ejus velut electam hostiam Christi conspectibus obtulerunt."

In Judaism also we find the belief that the souls of the righteous were *under the altar in heaven*. This in the *Aboth R.N.* xxvi., "Rabbi Akiba declares . . . that whoever was buried in the land of Israel was just as if he were buried under the altar, and *whoever was buried under the altar was just as if he were buried under the throne of glory*."

In Shabb. 152^b it is stated that "the souls of the righteous are preserved under the throne of glory," and in Debarim rabba, 11, God says to the soul of Moses: "Go forth, delay not, and I will bring thee up to the highest heaven, and cause thee to dwell under the throne of My glory amidst the Cherubim and Seraphim and heavenly hosts." But if the souls of the righteous were under the heavenly altar, they had first been offered upon it. Thus in the Tosaphoth on Menachoth, 110^a, it is said, according to some teachers, that Michael sacrifices upon the heavenly altar the souls of the students of the law. In the

¹ According to 4 Macc. vi. 29 the martyr's death was conceived to be a true sacrifice and possessed an atoning power. *καθάρισον αὐτῶν πώλησον τὸ ἐμὸν αἷμα καὶ ἀντίψυχον αὐτῶν λάβε τὴν ἐμὴν ψυχὴν*. Cf. also *op. cit.* xvii. 21, 22. Moed Qatan, 28^a, where the death of the righteous is said to atone as a red heifer. In Gittin, 57^b, the mother of the seven martyrs exclaims: "My sons . . . tell Abraham your father, Thou didst build an altar whereon to offer thy son as sacrifice. I have built seven altars." Now, if the Jewish martyrs were regarded in pre-Christian times as an atoning sacrifice, it is more than probable that the belief in the abode of righteous souls under the heavenly altar *arose first in connection with the martyrs*, and that this privilege was afterwards extended to the righteous generally. See 1 Enoch xlvii. 4, which is quoted under 11.

סדר ק ען (ed. Jellinek, *Bet ha Midrasch*, iii. 137), "And there stands . . . the great prince Michael and the altar before him, and he offers all the souls of the righteous on that altar (כל נפשות הצדיקים על המזבח הזה)." In the *Jalkut Rub. f. 112^b* (Schöttgen, *Horae*, i. 1220), "Et ille (*i.e.* Michael) stet et offert animas justorum"; and similarly in *Jalkut Chad. f. 118*, col. 4.

Again in *Jalkut Rub. fol. 14*, col. 3 (*Horae*, i. 1215), the souls of the righteous are offered (on the heavenly altar): "Ex quo tempore conditum est altare terrenum dixit Deus: Nolo ut mihi in altari caelesti oves aut boves offerantur nisi tantum animae justorum." See, further, Lueken, *Michael*, 48 sq.

The above Jewish authorities are late, but they must represent, when taken with analogous phenomena, a Jewish tradition—anterior at all events to Christianity; for it is not reasonable to suppose that it was borrowed from early Christian sources.

We conclude, therefore, that by our author *the martyr was conceived first and chiefly as a sacrifice to God, and that though his body was slain on earth, the sacrifice was in reality made in heaven, where his soul was offered on the heavenly altar.* Our text, therefore, has come to represent symbolically the consummation of the idea expressed by St. Paul in Rom. xii. 1, where he exhorts his readers, παραστήσαι τὰ σώματα ὑμῶν θυσίαν ζῶσαν ἁγίαν τῷ θεῷ εὐάρεστον, τὴν λογικὴν λατρείαν ὑμῶν. Cf. Rom. vi. 13; Phil. ii. 17; Col. i. 28.

3. *The reasons for which the faithful suffered martyrdom.*—The martyrs were put to death because of the word given by God and the witness borne by Jesus. The testimony no less than the word is an objective possession of the faithful. Many scholars have taken the witness to be that which the martyrs had borne to Christ; but the expression εἶχον is against such a view, and implies a testimony that has been given them by Christ and which they have *preserved*. John iii. 32, ὁ ἑώρακεν καὶ ἤκουσεν τοῦτο μαρτυρεῖ, καὶ τὴν μαρτυρίαν αὐτοῦ οὐδεὶς λαμβάνει· ὁ λαβὼν αὐτοῦ τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἐσφράγισεν ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ἀληθὴς ἐστίν. Thus the clause in our text is the exact equivalent of the fuller clause in xii. 17, xx. 4. The martyrs are incontestably Christian martyrs, to wit, the martyrs of the Neronian times.¹

10. καὶ ἔκραξαν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ λέγοντες Ἔως πότε, ὁ δεσπότης ὁ ἅγιος καὶ ἀληθινός, οὐ κρίνεις καὶ ἐκδικεῖς τὸ αἷμα ἡμῶν ἐκ τῶν κατοικούντων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς;

ἔκραξαν. The aorist appears here to refer to a single definite prayer; the righteous souls made one appeal to God and it was immediately answered. They are not represented as continuing

¹ Spitta, 300, is of opinion that only Jewish persecutions of the Jews are referred to here.

to urge such supplications, as in the Jewish Apocalypses quoted below.

ὡς πότε. Cf. Matt. xvii. 17 = Mark ix. 19; John x. 24. The phrase is frequent in the LXX, especially in the Psalms. Cf. iv. 2, vi. 3, xii. (xiii.) 1, 2, lxi. (lxii.) 3, etc. ὁ θεσπότης = δέσποτα. On the vocative with the article see Moulton, *Gram.* 70 sq., 235; Blass, *Gram.* p. 87. θεσπότης (= מֶלֶךְ or מִלְכָּה, Gen. xv. 2, 8; Josh. v. 14; Isa. iii. 1; Dan. ix. 8, 15, 16, etc.) is applied to God in only two other passages in the N.T., Luke ii. 29; Acts iv. 24. It is applied to Christ twice, in 2 Pet. ii. 1; Jude 4. ὁ ἅγιος καὶ ἀληθινός. These epithets are used in reference to Christ in iii. 7 (see note). κρίνεις καὶ ἐκδικεῖς. For this combination cf. xix. 2, ὅτι κρίνεν . . . καὶ ἐξεδίκησεν, and 1 Sam. xxiv. 13 in the Hebrew, וְנִכְרַם . . . כִּדְשָׁה. xix. 2 affords another parallel to our text in the epithets ἀληθινὰ καὶ δίκαια which are applied to κρίσεις. In fact, xix. 2 describes the fulfilment of the prayer in our text.

ἐκδικεῖς τὸ αἷμα . . . ἐκ (= כִּן כִּדְשָׁה נִכְרַם דָּקָה). Cf. xix. 2, where this phrase recurs. ἐκδικεῖν is followed by ἐκ (Deut. xviii. 19; 1 Sam. xxiv. 13) or ἀπό (Luke xviii. 3) in reference to the persons from whom the vengeance is exacted. Cf. also 2 Kings ix. 7, ἐκδικήσεις τὰ αἵματα τῶν δούλων μου. On the meaning of the phrase κατοικούντων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς see note on iii. 10.

As regards the thought of the words, it has been maintained that they "only assert the principle of Divine retribution which forbids the exercise of personal vengeance (Rom. xii. 19)." It has been urged also that Luke xviii. 7, ὁ δὲ θεὸς οὐ μὴ ποιῇσιν τὴν ἐκδίκησιν τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν αὐτοῦ τῶν βωόντων αὐτῷ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός, practically expressed the same view.

The teaching of the Gospel passage and of our text is, however, different. In Luke the entire passage refers to the *living* elect (cf. xviii. 1), and the spirit of the teaching must be construed in keeping with the context. In our text, however, the *departed souls* are referred to, and the note of personal vengeance cannot be wholly eliminated from their prayer. The *living* pray to God to free them from unjust oppression and secure them their just rights. On the other hand, the *departed* pray for vengeance for what they have suffered or lost. The former is prospective and breathes the spirit of justice, the latter is retrospective as well as just. Both Luke xviii. 1-8 and our text appears to go back to Jewish originals or Jewish traditional views. The former has several elements in common with Sir. xxxii. 15-22, where it is said that God is a just God, and hearkens to the prayer of him that is wronged, and to the supplication of the widow, and that He will not be slack in doing justice to them, nor will He be slow over them

(μακροθυμήσει ἐπ' αὐτοῖς: cf. Luke xviii. 7, καὶ μακροθυμεῖ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς), "till He have smitten in sunder the loins of the unmerciful." Both Luke xviii. 1-8 and Sir. xxxii. 15-22 refer to the living; and the former, at all events, when taken in conjunction with Christ's other teaching, postulates the surrender of all desire for *personal* vengeance. The same postulate cannot be said to hold for the Sirach passage; for in Sirach, policy is laid down no less frequently than principle as the motive of action.

We thus discriminate the temper underlying our text from that in Luke xviii. 1-8.

The true forerunners of our text are to be found in 1 Enoch xlvii. 2, 4, "The prayer of the righteous (that the shedding of their blood) may not be in vain before the Lord of Spirits, That judgment may be done unto them, And that they may not have to suffer for ever." 4, "And the hearts of the holy were filled with joy, Because . . . the prayer of the righteous had been heard, And the blood of the righteous been required before the Lord of Spirits." In xxii. 5, 7 the spirits of the righteous, who are in Sheol and had suffered persecution or violent death, pray for vengeance. In a contemporary work, *i.e.* 4 Ezra iv. 35, the souls of the righteous in the chambers of Sheol ask, "How long are we to remain here? when cometh the fruit upon the threshing-floor of our reward?" Prayer for vengeance is taught as a continuous duty in 1 Enoch xcix. 3, civ. 3, therefore it was the manifestation of a permanent attitude of mind. This is not so in our text.

The prayer of the souls under the altar for a righteous vindication on their persecutors, made here once and for all and not uninterruptedly pressed as in Judaism, is represented as fulfilled in xviii. 20, xix. 2. Therein is reflected the temper that in part animated the Church in the persecutions of the 1st century. We might compare the attitude of the martyrs towards their judges in Polyc. *Mart.* 11, or the later Acts of the Martyrs.

11. καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς ἐκδότης στολή λευκή. This white robe was their heavenly body (see note on iii. 5, and Additional Note at close of this chapter: cf. vii. 9).

The martyrs have thus in a great degree attained their consummation. Their reception of the heavenly body at this stage is a special privilege accorded to the martyrs, just as they exclusively are to return with Christ to reign for the 1000 years; cf. xx. 4.¹ To all the righteous these white robes are given finally.

καὶ ἔρρεθον αὐτοῖς ἵνα ἀναπαύσονται ἑπὶ χρόνον μικρόν. Augustine, Alcasar, Ribiera, Bengel, De Wette, Bleek, Holtzmann, Bousset, etc., explain these words as meaning that the martyrs

¹ Erbes, 42 sq., seeks to explain the text by the individual martyrdoms of Jews and Christians before 62 A.D.

are to be patient and to abstain from their cry of vengeance; but Hengstenberg, Düsterdieck, Kliefoth, Alford, Swete, and others, as meaning that they are to rest in blessedness, as in xiv. 13, ἵνα ἀναπαύσονται ἐκ τῶν κόπων αὐτῶν.

ἕως πληρωθῶσιν καὶ οἱ σύνδουλοι αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μέλλοντες ἀποκτείνεσθαι ὡς καὶ αὐτοί. The martyrs are kept waiting until their fellow-servants also (*i.e.* καί), who with them have the same Master (δεσπότης, 10), and their brethren (*i.* 9), have also been slain. The σύνδουλοι and the ἀδελφοί are the same persons viewed under different aspects. The repeated αὐτῶν can best be explained as an unconscious Hebraism.

The above clause looks back to the martyrdoms under Nero, and anticipates a final and universal persecution under Domitian which would follow "in a little time." In this persecution he expects the number of the martyrs to be completed. Then would ensue the end.

Instead of either of the above explanations of ἀναπαύονται ἐν, the evidence of contemporary literature is perhaps in favour of the following: the souls of the martyrs, now clothed in spiritual bodies (*cf.* Asc. Isa. ix. 6 sq., where Abel, Enoch, and others are represented as being so clothed, and in the seventh heaven, but not yet in possession of their full privileges), are bidden to enjoy their present rest and quietness for a little while longer, when, on the completion of the roll of the martyrs, the judgment they demanded would ensue. In a much earlier work, 1 Enoch c. 5, the righteous souls in the intermediate state are referred to:

"And over all the righteous and holy He will appoint guardians from amongst the holy angels,
To guard them as the apple of an eye."

In cii. 5 they are bidden "to wait for the day of the judgment of sinners," and in civ. 3 (*cf.* xxii. 5-7, xlvii. 2, xcvi. 3-5), to pray for judgment on their oppressors. From the contrast of the conditions of the righteous and wicked in Sheol in xci.-civ., it is clear that, though the righteous demand vengeance on the evil-doers, they are enjoying peace and rest.

In 4 Ezra vii. 85 part of the torment of the wicked souls after death will consist in seeing "how the habitations of the other souls are guarded by angels in profound quietness," whilst part of the blessedness of the righteous souls will consist in beholding the present evil condition of the souls of the wicked, and the still greater torments that await them (vii. 93), and in appreciating "the rest which they now, being gathered in their chambers, enjoy in profound quietness guarded by angels" (vii. 95).

From the standpoint of the Gospels we cannot understand

how the souls of the righteous could enjoy such rest in the presence of such suffering.

The view that the end of the world would ensue when the roll of the martyrs was complete was current in pre-Christian Judaism.

This thought is highly characteristic of later Judaism, which held that everything was carried out in the divine government of the world according to a certain predestined number, time, or measure. This appears in 4 Ezra iv. 36 sq. :

“For He has weighed the age in the balance,
And with measures has measured the times,
And by number has numbered the seasons:
Neither will He move nor stir things
Till the measure appointed be fulfilled.”

In 1 Enoch xlvii. the end will come when the *number of the martyrs is complete*.

Thus in xlvii. 1 it is said that

“In those days (*i.e.* the last) shall have ascended the prayer
of the righteous,
And the blood of the righteous from earth before the Lord
of Spirits.”

In the next verse (xlvii. 2) the angels supplicate and intercede

“On behalf of the blood of the righteous which has been
shed,
And that the prayer of the righteous might not be in vain
before the Lord of Spirits,
And that judgment should be done unto them,
And that they may not have to suffer for ever.”

Here clearly the souls of Jewish martyrs are referred to, which demand vengeance and pray against the further postponement of it. In xlvii. 3 the books are opened and the Lord of Spirits seats Himself on the throne of judgment. In xlvii. 4 reads:

“And the hearts of the holy were filled with joy,
Because the number of the righteous had been offered,
And the prayer of the righteous had been heard,
And the blood of the righteous been required before the
Lord of Spirits.”

Here, as the context shows, the righteous are martyrs. This is the earliest form of this conception, and is reproduced in our text. A later development of it (see p. 173) is found in 4 Ezra iv 35. “Were not these questions of thine asked by the souls

of the righteous in their chambers? How long are we to remain here? When cometh the fruit upon the threshing-floor of our reward? And to them the archangel Jeremiel made reply and said: Even when the number of those like yourself is fulfilled!"

And in 2 Bar. xxx. 2, "And it will come to pass at that time that the treasures shall be opened in which is preserved the number of the souls of the righteous."

From the above passages it follows that our author is following a current Jewish tradition. There is no need for supposing that he had any acquaintance with 4 Ezra; for the latter represents a later development of this conception, as we have shown. Bousset, as Spitta, 298, had already done, regards our text and 4 Ezra iv. 35 sq. as independent, but as derived from a common older source. He represents our author as transforming the current Jewish tradition, that the world would come to an end when the number of the souls of the righteous was completed, into the form given in our text; but Bousset's view was due to the unintelligible text of 1 Enoch xlvii. 4, which, however, when retranslated into Hebrew, presents the same tradition as our text. The unintelligibility was due to the Greek translator rendering קר as "had drawn nigh" (a possible meaning), instead of "had been sacrificed," as the context here required (so in later Hebrew and Aramaic). See p. 172.

11-VII. 8. *The sixth Seal—its plagues and the ensuing pause during which the faithful Israelites are sealed to secure their safety.*—These woes are still in the future. They are not in our author the immediate heralds of the end, as in the Gospels. The end cannot come till the great persecution and martyrdom of the faithful have taken place. With the text compare Mark xiii. 8, 24-25; Matt. xxiv. 7, 29; Luke xxi. 11, 25-26, xxiii. 30. The woes, therefore, are not to be taken in their full literal significance. This is manifest from the fact that after the stars of heaven had fallen, the heaven been removed as a scroll, and every mountain and island had been removed out of their places, the kings of the earth and the mighty, the bond and the free, could hardly be described as hiding themselves in the caves and rocks of the earth and imploring the mountains to fall upon them.

12. καὶ εἶδον ὅτε ἤνοιξεν τὴν σφραγίδα τὴν ἕκτην,
καὶ σεισμὸς μέγας ἐγένετο,
καὶ ὁ ἥλιος ἐγένετο μέλας ὡς σάκκος τρίχινος,
καὶ ἡ σελήνη ὅλη ἐγένετο ὡς αἷμα.

The earthquake here is not to be explained by that in Laodicea in 61, or at Pompeii in 63. It is rather a single great earthquake, which is a precursor of the end of the world. Thus

the σεισμοὶ κατὰ τόπους (= Mark xiii. 8) has not only been transformed into a single world catastrophe, but also transposed from holding the third or fourth place in the list of woes to the sixth, as we have already pointed out.

Earthquakes belong, of course, to the traditional eschatological scheme. Cf. Amos viii. 8, ix. 5; Ezek. xxxviii. 19; Joel ii. 10; Ass. Mos. x. 4; 4 Ezra v. 8, ix. 3; 2 Bar. lxx. 8. See Gressmann, 12 sqq. There are further references to an earthquake in our text: viii. 5, xi. 13, xvi. 18. The darkening of the sun is also a constant eschatological phenomenon: Amos viii. 9; Isa. xiii. 10, l. 3, ἐνδύσω τὸν οὐρανὸν σκότος καὶ ὡς σάκκον θήσω τὸ περιβάλλον αὐτοῦ: Ezek. xxxii. 7; Joel ii. 10, 31 (= Mass. iii. 4), ὁ ἥλιος μεταστραφήσεται εἰς σκότος καὶ ἡ σελήνη εἰς αἷμα πρὶν ἔλθῃν ἡμέραν κυρίου: Matt. xxiv. 29; Mark xiii. 24; Luke xxiii. 45; Ass. Mos. x. 5; Acts ii. 20 (quotation from Joel ii. 31); Rev. ix. 2.

To Joel ii. 31 (see quotation above) and Ass. Mos. x. 5, "(luna) tota convertet se in sanguinem," we have a very remarkable parallel in our text. The passage in Ass. Mos. appears to be directly dependent on the text of Joel save that it adds *tota*. Now our text, while it gives a free rendering of the Hebrew behind both passages (סגל יסגל), embodies the addition of δλη in the Ass. Mos. This might be a coincidence, but it seems to be more. Our author may not improbably have had the text of this book before him in some form; for the Ass. Mos. x. 4-5 contains references to earthquakes, the eclipse of the sun, the ensanguining of the moon, and the disorder of the stars: "Et tremebit terra . . . sol non dabit lumen . . . et (luna) tota convertet se in sanguinem et orbis stellarum conturbabitur." In any case he is not dependent on the LXX. For the expectation in Babylonian literature that the sun and moon would be darkened, see Zimmern, *K.A.T.*³ 393.

18. καὶ οἱ ἀστέρες τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἔπεσαν εἰς τὴν γῆν, ὡς συκὴ βάλλει τοὺς ὀλύνθους αὐτῆς ὑπὸ ἀνέμου μεγάλου σειομένη, 14. καὶ ὁ οὐρανὸς ἀπεχωρίσθη ὡς βιβλίον ἐλισσόμενον. This passage appears to be based on Isa. xxxiv. 4, καὶ τακῆσονται πᾶσαι αἱ δυνάμεις τῶν οὐρανῶν, καὶ ἐλιγήσεται ὡς βιβλίον ὁ οὐρανός, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἀστρα πεσεῖται ὡς φύλλα . . . ἀπὸ συκῆς. If this is so, then our author may seem dependent on the LXX, since the Massoretic has יצב, "will fade," and not יב = πεσεῖται, but that Symmachus also has πεσεῖται. This clause is found also in Matt. xxiv. 29, καὶ οἱ ἀστέρες πεσοῦνται ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ; also in Sibyll. iii. 83, καὶ πέσεται πολύμορφος ὁλος πόλος ἐν χθονὶ διῆ, ii. 202, viii. 190; and the same expectation in the Bundelesh xxx. 18 (Böcklen, p. 87).

The world and its wellbeing depend on the faithfulness with

which the luminaries of heaven fulfil their parts. The unvarying order and loyalty with which they do so was a favourite theme with apocalyptic writers: cf. 1 Enoch ii. 1, xli. 5, xliii. 2, lxix. 16 sqq.; T. Naph. iii. 2; Pss. Sol. xviii. 11-14; 4 Ezra vi. 45. When, then, the sun and moon and stars forsook this order, the end of the world was at hand. Cf. 1 Enoch lxxx. 5, 6; 4 Ezra v. 4, 5; Sibyll. iii. 801 sq.

The darkening of the sun and the ensanguining of the moon and the falling of the stars in our text, have a like significance.¹

The mention of the fig-tree appears to be due wholly to Isa. xxxiv. 4, and to have no connection with Matt. xxiv. 32 and its parallels. *δλυνθος* = τὸ μὴ πεπεμμένον σῦκον (Hesychius). The figure in *ἀπεχωρίσθη* . . . *ἐλισσόμενον* is that of a papyrus rent in two, whereupon the divided portions curl and form a roll on either side. With this clause we might compare 2 Pet. iii. 10, οἱ οὐρανοὶ ροιζήδον παρελεύσονται, though the thought is here different. An excellent parallel appears in Sibyll. iii. 82, οὐρανὸν ἐλίζη, καθ' ὅπερ βιβλίον εἰλείται. Cf. viii. 233, 413. In the O.T. the heavens are said to be "shaken" and "rent" (שָׁרַף): cf. Isa. xiii. 13, lxiii. 19; Hagg. ii. 6, 21.

καὶ πᾶν ὄρος καὶ νῆσος ἐκ τῶν τόπων αὐτῶν ἐκινήθησαν. This statement recurs in xvi. 20, πᾶσα νῆσος ἐφυγεν, καὶ ὄρη οὐχ εὐρέθησαν. No real parallel has hitherto been found for these words. Nah. i. 5 is adduced by some, and Jer. iv. 24 by others, but neither is at all likely. Such cosmic phenomena must in their original context have been *immediate* precursors of the end; but as they are not such in our author, the words are not to be taken literally.

15. καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς καὶ οἱ μεγιστᾶνες καὶ οἱ χιλιάρχαι καὶ οἱ πλούσιοι καὶ οἱ ἰσχυροὶ καὶ πᾶς δούλος καὶ ἐλεύθερος ἔκρυψαν ἑαυτοὺς εἰς τὰ σπήλαια καὶ εἰς τὰς πέτρας τῶν ὀρέων. With the above enumeration compare xiii. 16, xix. 18. The number of classes in our text is seven—a favourite number with our author. It includes every one from the emperor down to the slave. For similar enumerations see Jub. xxiii. 19; 2 Bar. lxx. 3, 4, 6, though these are mentioned in connection with what is given in our text under the second Seal.

With the thought of 15-16 cf. Luke xxi. 26, ἀποψυχόντων ἀνθρώπων ἀπὸ φόβου καὶ προσδοκίας τῶν ἐπέρχομένων τῇ οἰκουμένῃ, αἱ γὰρ δυνάμεις τῶν οὐρανῶν σαλευθήσονται. The βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς (cf. xvii. 2, 18, xviii. 3, 9; Isa. xxiv. 21) are the heads of the heathen nations. The μεγιστᾶνες are probably here to be

¹ Gressmann (*Ursprung d. Isr.-Jüd. Eschat.* 27-28) traces back the ideas in our text and such as underlie Isa. xxxiv. 4 to the mythical conception of a heavenly tree with the stars as its fruit and the sirocco which casts them to the ground.

identified with the Parthian princes (cf. Mommsen, v. 343 sq.). So Holtzmann and Bousset. The word is used six times in Theodotion's translation of Daniel as a rendering of דָּרָבָר, who were an order of great nobles and court officials under Belshazzar and Darius. Swete takes them to be civil officials, *i.e.* the persecuting proconsuls. As distinguished from the Parthian nobles we have the Roman military tribunes referred to in οἱ χιλιάρχου.

With ἐκρυνψαν ἑαυτούς κτλ. cf. Isa. ii. 10, 18 sq., εἰσέλθετε εἰς τὰς πέτρας καὶ κρύπτεσθε εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ φόβου κυρίου. . . . καὶ τὰ χειροποίητα πάντα κατακρύψουσιν, εἰσενέγκαντες εἰς τὰ σπήλαια καὶ εἰς τὰς σχισμὰς τῶν πετρῶν. See also Isa. ii. 21; Jer. iv. 29.

With 15-16 cf. 1 Enoch lxii. 3, "And there shall stand up in that day all the kings and the mighty, | And the exalted and those who hold the earth, | And they shall see and recognize | How He sits on the throne of His glory"; lxii. 4, "Then shall pain come upon them as upon a woman in travail . . ."; lxii. 5, "and they shall be terrified." Cf. also lxii. 9, lxiii. 1.

16. καὶ λέγουσιν τοῖς ὄρεσιν καὶ ταῖς πέτραις· Πέσατε ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ κρύψατε ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ καθημένου ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς τοῦ ἀρνίου. These words are drawn from Hos. x. 8, where the LXX has ἐροῦσιν τοῖς ὄρεσιν Καλύψατε ἡμᾶς, καὶ τοῖς βουνοῖς Πέσατε ἐφ' ἡμᾶς. Here our text differs from the LXX in its renderings, λέγουσιν, πέτραις, κρύψατε, and in the order of its verbs. This order is found also in Luke xxiii. 30, where this quotation is given: ἀρξονται λέγειν τοῖς ὄρεσιν Πέσατε ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, καὶ τοῖς βουνοῖς Καλύψατε ἡμᾶς. It may not be necessary to assume an independent translation of Hos. x. 8 here, but only the use of a current collection of eschatological passages, or a collection of the sayings of our Lord. Either of these hypotheses would account for the inversion of the order of the verbs. The use of κρύψατε and πέτραις could be accounted for by the occurrence of these words in 15.

Against the genuineness of the clause, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς τοῦ ἀρνίου, Vischer, 40; Spitta, 78; Weyland, 150; Völter, i. 51, iv. 22; J. Weiss, 64, and others have variously urged that elsewhere in the Apocalypse the Lamb has always a peaceful rôle, whereas the wrath of God is frequently spoken of: xi. 18, xiv. 10, 19, xv. 7, xvi. 1, 19, xix. 15. Further, that six verses earlier, *i.e.* vi. 10, where the martyrs cry for judgment, God and not the Lamb is addressed; and that this is so in the present passage is shown by the αὐτοῦ in 17. Spitta urges that the words disturb the unity of the situation, since in iv.-vi. God is the Judge on the throne, whereas the Lamb appears elsewhere in these chapters before the throne, surrounded by angels. J. Weiss

regards the clause as a later addition of the final editor, according to whose view the enmity of the Beast is directed against the Lamb and His followers, xvii. 14-15.

Two rejoinders have been made to the above arguments. 1. The clause is to be retained; for the Lamb is the central figure of this chapter. Since He opens the Sealed Book, He is in a certain sense the cause of the woes that follow: it is Christ that pronounces the great *κατάρα* in Matt. xxv. 41 sqq. on the wicked, and the irregular *αὐτοῦ*, where we should expect *αὐτῶν*, has its parallel in 1 Thess. iii. 11, where sing. verb follows *ὁ θεός* . . . *καὶ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν*: moreover, God and Christ are set on an equality by our author, i. 17, 18, xxii. 13. See Hirscht, 58 sq.

2. The clause is to be retained; for the *αὐτοῦ* refers not to God, but to the Lamb only. So Bousset.

It is perhaps best to accept the clause on the second ground. The Messiah was expected to be the judge of the world in Judaism, 1 Enoch lxix. 27: our author, who took a far higher view of His Person, regarded Him in the same light, xxii. 12.

17. *ὅτε ἦλθεν ἡ ἡμέρα ἡ μεγάλη τῆς ὀργῆς αὐτοῦ, καὶ τίς δύναται σταθῆναι.* The verse seems to be based on Joel ii. 11, *μεγάλη ἡμέρα τοῦ κυρίου . . . καὶ ἐπιφανὴς σφόδρα, καὶ τίς ἔσται ἱκανὸς αὐτῇ* (אֵלֶּיךָ): ii. 31^b, *πρὶν ἔλθειν ἡμέραν κυρίου τὴν μεγάλην*. That our author had the Hebrew of these passages before his mind may be inferred also from the fact that in 12 he has already borrowed from Joel ii. 31^a directly or indirectly.

In Zeph. ii. 2 we have another close parallel, *πρὸ τοῦ ἐπελθεῖν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ὀργὴν κυρίου, πρὸ τοῦ ἐπελθεῖν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἡμέραν θυμοῦ κυρίου*. To the last clause in our verse, the original of which is probably in Joel ii. 11 (see above), we have further parallels in Nah. i. 6, *ἀπὸ προσώπου ὀργῆς αὐτοῦ τίς ὑποστήσεται καὶ τίς ἀντιστήσεται ἐν ὀργῇ θυμοῦ αὐτοῦ*. "The great day" and equivalent phrases are very frequent in Enoch and later Jewish literature: see Bousset, *Religion d. Judenthums*, 246; Volz, *Jud. Eschat.* 188; 1 Enoch xlv. 2 (note in my edition).

This verse expresses the alarm of the conscience-stricken inhabitants of the earth, but not the thought of our author.

The woes already past, which had hitherto been regarded as the immediate forerunners of "the great day," might well have justified such a cry of despair; but our author teaches that the end is not yet; the roll of the martyrs is not yet complete; the unbelieving world has worse woes still to encounter.

With *τίς δύναται σταθῆναι*; we might contrast the picture in vii. 9 sqq. of the innumerable host standing (*ἑστῶτας*) before God.

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON VI. 11.

ἡδύοις αὐτοῖς στολῇ λευκῇ. It is best to give at the outset the interpretation of the στολῇ λευκῇ that can be justified by Jewish and Early Christian literature, and this is that the στολῇ λευκῇ signifies the spiritual bodies which were forthwith given to the martyrs, but not to the rest of the faithful departed till after the Final Judgment. Attempts have been made by Böklen (*Verwandtschaft d. jüdisch-christlichen mit d. Parischen Eschatologie*, pp. 61–62) to find this conception in the Zend-Avesta (Yasht xiii. 49 sq.: see *S.B.E.* xxiii. 192–193¹), but it cannot be regarded as successful. In the Pahlavi literature (8th cent. A.D. or later) to which he appeals (p. 62), there is a doctrine approximating, but only approximating, to that of our author: see Bund. xxx. 28 (*S.B.E.* v. 127). “This too, it says, that whoever has performed no worship, and has ordered no Geti-kharid, and has bestowed no clothes as a righteous gift, is naked there; and he performs the worship of Aṭharmazd, and † the heavenly angels provide him the use of clothing †.” Cf. also Dādistan-i Dīnīk, xliii. 19 (*S.B.E.* xviii. 149 sq.), and Sad Dar, lxxxviii. 2–6 (*S.B.E.* xxiv. 351). There is therefore no evidence to prove that Judaism or Christianity is beholden to the Zend religion for this doctrine.

We now return to pre-Christian and later Judaism, where we find this view undoubtedly prevalent.

In Ps. civ. 2, “Thou clothest Thyself with light as with a garment,” we find one of the sources of the conception with which we are dealing. Now as God was clothed in light, the risen faithful were likewise so conceived, as in 1 Enoch cviii. 12, “I will bring forth in shining light those who have loved My holy name, and I will seat each on the throne of his honour.” But since the light going forth from God was likewise the glory of God, the resurrection bodies of the righteous could be described as “garments of glory.” Thus in 1 Enoch lxii. 16:

“And they shall have been clothed with garments of glory,
And these shall be the garments of life from the Lord of
Spirits”;

and in 2 Enoch xxii. 8, “And the Lord said to Michael: Go and take Enoch from out his earthly garments . . . and put

¹ Here the departed souls revisiting the earth say: “Who will receive us with meat and clothes in his hand and with a prayer worthy of bliss?” The clothes so given are supposed to clothe the soul in the next world. This idea is poles apart from that in our text, and yet Clemen (*Erklärung d. NT*, 135) and many other Germans accept this view without any attempt to consult the *S.B.E.*

him into the garments of My glory." The garments are "white," as the white garment is a symbol of the light streaming forth from a supernatural being. Thus the raiment of the angels is "white," Mark ix. 3 (τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ . . . λευκὰ λίαν), xvi. 5 (στολὴν λευκὴν); Acts i. 10 (ἐσθήσεσιν λευκαῖς), or "dazzling," Luke ix. 29 (ὁ ἱματισμὸς αὐτοῦ λευκὸς ἐξαστράπτων), xxiv. 4 (ἐν ἐσθῇτι ἀστραπτούσῃ).

So far we see that the bodies of the risen righteous were described as "garments of glory," *i.e.* the supernatural glory or light belonging to God Himself (2. Enoch xxii. 8), and that the garments of the angels in the N.T. are described in analogous terms as "white" or "dazzling." The angels are then apparently to be conceived of as having spiritual bodies. But the identification of the "white garments" or "white raiment" of the blessed with their spiritual bodies can be fully established. For in the Ascension of Isaiah (*circa* 88–100 A.D., or 100–120 A.D. according to Beer) we have a *writing contemporary, or almost contemporary, with that of our author, which deals definitely with this question*. Thus in iv. 16 we read: "But the saints will come with the Lord with their garments which are (now) stored up on high in the seventh heaven: with the Lord they will come, whose spirits are clothed . . . and He will clothe (*i.e.* reading ἐπενδύσει for ἐνισχύσει, which latter the Ethiopic presupposes) the saints who have been found in the body . . . in the garments of the saints." Again in viii. 14 we find: "When from the body . . . thou hast ascended hither, then thou wilt receive the garment which thou seest." For other references to these "garments" or spiritual bodies see vii. 22, viii. 26, ix. 9, 17, 24–26, xi. 40. These garments were most probably termed ἐνδυμήματα in the lost Greek original, since this term is found in the *Greek Legend*, ii. 35, which is based on the Asc. Isa. See p. 145 of my edition of this work. From the Ascension we may proceed to Hermas, *Sim.* viii. 2. 3, ἱματισμὸν δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν πάντες εἶχον λευκὸν ὡσεὶ χιόνα, and 4 Ezra ii. 39, "Qui se de umbra saeculi transtulerunt, splendidas tunicas a domino acceperunt . . . 42. Ego Esdras vidi in monte Sion turbam magnam, quam numerare non potui . . . 44–45. Tunc interrogavi angelum et dixi: Qui sunt hi, Domine? Qui respondens dixit mihi: Hi sunt qui mortalem tunicam deposuerunt et immortalem sumpserunt."

From the evidence given in the preceding paragraph we conclude that, in the circles best fitted to understand apocalyptic symbols, the symbolism of the white garments from 88 or thereabouts to 200 A.D. was clearly understood as given above. We may now return to the N.T., to the Pauline Epistles, and our author. That St. Paul held analogous beliefs though he expressed them somewhat differently, is clear from 1 Cor. xv. 44,

where he distinguishes the *σῶμα ψυχικόν* from the *σῶμα πνευματικόν*, the latter of which is said (xv. 49) to be "the likeness of the heavenly" (*τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἐπουρανίου*). This heavenly body he calls in 2 Cor. v. 1 *an οἰκοδομὴν ἐκ θεοῦ . . . οἰκίαν ἀχειροπονητοῦν αἰώνιον ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς*: in the next verse he defines it as *τὸ οἰκητήριον ἡμῶν τὸ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ*, being clothed with which we shall not be found naked (*ἐνδυσάμενοι οὐ γυμνοὶ εὐρεθυσόμεθα*). Finally he declares (Phil. iii. 21) that this body of our humiliation will be fashioned anew so as to be conformed to the body of His (*i.e.* Christ's) glory (*σύμμορφον τῷ σώματι τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ*). Here the *σῶμα τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ*¹ denotes the same thing as the "garments of glory" in 1 Enoch lxii. 16, though the form of expression is different.

Let us next examine the views of our author on this question. In this connection he uses two words, *στολή* and *ἱμάτιον*. Since the meaning is less clear with regard to *ἱμάτιον* we shall begin with *στολή*.

First of all, in vi. 11, when the souls under the altar appealed for judgment on their oppressors, a *στολή λευκή* (*i.e.* a spiritual body) was given to each, and they were bidden to rest till their fellow-servants on earth should suffer martyrdom even as they had. Here there is no definite answer given to their collective cry for retribution, but a definite boon is accorded—even the gift of spiritual bodies. But thereby their complete blessedness is not yet fulfilled. This cannot be accomplished till all the faithful have finished their warfare on earth. They are not to enjoy perfect blessedness till the roll of the martyrs is complete and the Millennial Kingdom established on the earth. In this kingdom they are to reign with Christ for 1000 years (xx. 4), sitting on His throne (*i.e.* sharing in His authority), iii. 21 (cf. Luke xxii. 29, 30; Matt. xix. 28), and to be crowned as victors in the strife on earth, ii. 10, iii. 11 (cf. 2 Tim. iv. 7, 8). We might compare with our

¹ It is noteworthy that this idea of a resurrection body of glory or light is used in a purely spiritual sense in the Odes of Solomon:

Cf. Ode xi. 9-10. "I forsook the folly which is spread over the earth
And I stripped it off and cast it from me:
And the Lord renewed me in His raiment
And formed me by His light."

Ode xxi. 2. "I put off darkness and clothed myself with light,
And my soul acquired a body
Free from sorrow or affliction or pains."

Ode xxv. 7-8. "In me there shall be nothing but light,
And I was clothed with the covering of Thy Spirit,
And I cast away from me my raiment of skin."

Rendel Harris (*Odes of Solomon*, p. 67) points out that according to Rabbi Meir, Adam was originally clothed with "coats of light" (*כְּתָנִים אֵשֶׁת*), but that after the Fall he was clothed with "coats of skin" (*כְּתָנִים עוֹר*).

author's expectation Asc. Isa. ix. 9, where the Seer sees all the righteous from Adam onwards "stript of the garments of the flesh" (= τὰ τῆς σαρκὸς ἐνδυμήματα, cf. *Greek Legend*, ii. 33) and clothed in "their garments of the upper world," and appearing "like angels." 10. "But they sat not on their thrones, nor were their crowns of glory on them." 11. And I asked the angel who was with me: How is it that they have received the garments but not the thrones and the crowns? 12, 13. And he said unto me: Crowns and thrones of glory they do not receive till the Beloved" has descended into the world and reascended (17-18). Here, though the time limit differs, the idea is similar. The idea in our text is that of the solidarity of the Church of the Martyrs. That of the entire Church, Jewish and Christian, is well set forth in Heb. xi. 39-40, "These all . . . received not the promise, God having provided some better thing concerning us, that apart from us they should not be made perfect."

The στολή λευκή in vi. 11 is, then, clearly the spiritual bodies which are given by God to the martyrs, and according to our author to the martyrs only at this stage. This phrase used in connection with the glorified martyr host in heaven in vii. 9 (ὄχλος πολλὸς . . . περιβεβλημένους στολὰς λευκάς) and in vii. 13 (οὗτοι οἱ περιβεβλημένοι τὰς στολὰς τὰς λευκάς) has, of course, the same meaning.

There are two other passages, vii. 14, xxii. 14, in which this phrase occurs, and which at first sight seem to place considerable difficulty in the way of the above interpretation. But the difficulty is more seeming than real. To solve it, however, we must turn to our author's use of ἱμάτιον¹ as a synonym of στολή, and likewise βύσσινος—a second synonym for στολή. Faithful discipleship in Christ provides the spirit with a spiritual body: otherwise it is *naked*, as we saw above in 2 Cor. v. 1-5. Now this spiritual body is the joint result of God's grace and man's faithfulness. It is, on the one hand, a divine gift: in iii. 18, where Christ declares in συμβουλευώ σοι ἀγοράσαι παρ' ἐμοῦ . . . ἱμάτια λευκὰ ἵνα περιβάλῃ καὶ μὴ φανερωθῇ ἡ αἰσχύνη τῆς γυμνότητός σου (cf. 2 Cor. v. 1-5), and most probably in iii. 5, ὁ νικῶν οὕτως περιβαλεῖται ἐν ἱματίοις λευκοῖς, and again in xix. 8, ἐδόθη αὐτῇ ἵνα περιβάλῃται βύσσινον λαμπρὸν καθαρὸν. On the other hand, the spiritual body is in a certain sense the present possession of the faithful, and can, therefore, only be preserved through faithful-

¹ In iv. 4 the ἱματίοις λευκοῖς are the spiritual bodies of the Elders, which they have as heavenly beings. In xix. 14, ἐνδεδυμένοι βύσσινον λευκὸν καθαρὸν, and in xv. 6, ἐνδεδυμένοι λίθον καθαρὸν λαμπρὸν, the heavenly bodies of the angels are referred to in any case, even if there is a secondary reference to their white garments. In xix. 13, 16 ἱμάτιον is apparently used in its literal sense. See footnote on p. 82.

ness: cf. iii. 4, *ὃ οὐκ ἐμόλυναν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν*: xvi. 15, *μακάριος ὁ . . . τηρῶν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ ἵνα μὴ γυμνὸς περιπατῇ*. The faithful disciple will walk with Christ in white (*ἐν λευκοῖς*, i.e. will possess a spiritual body, iii. 4). These *promises* are *eschatological* and relate to the future. Christ may come at any hour (iii. 3), and according to the faithfulness or unfaithfulness of His disciples, so will they be clothed or naked hereafter.

It must be confessed that iii. 4 (*ὃ οὐκ ἐμόλυναν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν*) taken in and by itself could be interpreted as relating wholly to the spiritual experience of the Christian in the present; but the clause that follows is against this, being purely eschatological, *καὶ περιπατήσουσιν μετ' ἐμοῦ ἐν λευκοῖς*, and still more so is the next verse. The being clothed in white garments is the result of faithfulness unto death (*ὁ νικῶν*). The "nakedness" in iii. 18, xvi. 15, is, as we have seen, the same thing as in 2 Cor. v. 1-5, and denotes the loss of the spiritual body.

Now let us return to vii. 14, xxii. 14 (*οἱ πλύνοντες τὰς στολὰς αὐτῶν*). If it is possible to defile the heavenly body (iii. 4), or even to destroy it (iii. 18, xvi. 15), it is no less possible to cleanse it (vii. 14, xxii. 14) and make it white (*λευκαίνειν*, vii. 14) in the blood of the Lamb.

Thus to sum up. The present life of faith has within it the promise and the potency of a blessed immortality of the soul endowed with an organism (symbolized in our author by *στολή λευκή* or *ἱμάτιον λευκόν*) adapted to its spiritual environment. Every true Christian has potentially and actually this spiritual body, which he can defile (iii. 4) or cleanse (vii. 14, xxii. 14) and make white (vii. 14), or destroy wholly (iii. 18, xvi. 15). Every act of the present life is thus linked up inexorably with the future. Moreover, while it is true on the one hand that God bestows on us the spiritual body (iii. 18, vi. 11), it is equally true on the other that we have our share in the creation of this body (iii. 4, xvi. 15), through the fellowship of our spirit with that of Christ, and can destroy alike its possibilities and itself by unfaithfulness to Christ (iii. 18, xvi. 15).

CHAPTER VII.

§ 1. In the preceding three chapters there has been continuous movement, and the Seer has placed before his readers a progressive drama, advancing in a series of visions, dealing in iv. with God the Creator of the world and the Source of all goodness and power and glory therein, and in v. with Christ the Redeemer, who, by undertaking the opening of the seven-sealed book, had thereby taken upon Himself the destinies of

the world and the fulfilment of God's purposes; and in vi. with the opening of the first six Seals, which were followed by a succession of social and cosmic woes. But to this divine drama, moving onwards inexorably and ceaselessly, there comes a pause in vii. The preceding Seals (the first four and the sixth) had been purely physical and had affected all men alike; but the three Woes, each heralded by a trumpet blast, were to be of a demonic character and to affect only the inhabitants of the earth—"such men as had not the seal of God on their foreheads" (ix. 4). Hence to secure the faithful against these impending demonic woes a pause is made (vii. 1-3), and during it the living faithful—Jew and Gentile alike—and so far the spiritual Israel, are marked with the seal of the Living God (vii. 4-8). There is thus a pause in the movement of the divine drama in vii. 1-8, but in vii. 9-17 there is more: there is an actual breach in that unity of time which has been so carefully observed in iv.-vii. 8. But this breach (and it recurs under like circumstances later) is purposeful. The faithful have indeed been sealed in vii. 4-8, but since this sealing does not secure them against physical suffering and martyrdom, to encourage and inspire them in the face of these impending evils the Seer recounts that wonderful vision in vii. 9-17 in which, looking to the close of the great tribulation, he beholds those who had been sealed and had died the martyr's death already standing blessed and triumphant before the throne of God.

§ 2. This chapter presents many difficult questions. Owing to the apparently Jewish or Jewish-Christian character of vii. 1-8, and the universalistic character of vii. 9-17, critics have for the most part decided against the unity of the chapter. While Spitta makes vii. 9-17 the immediate sequel and actual close of i.-vi. (*i.e.* of "the original Christian Apocalypse," and assigns vii. 1-8 to J 1 (the first Jewish source), Völter, Vischer, Pfeleiderer (1st ed.), Schmidt, regard vii. 9-17 as an interpolation in a Jewish-Christian or Jewish groundwork. Others again seek to reconstruct the original by making certain excisions. Thus Erbes removes vii. 4-8, 13-17, as additions from a Jewish source; while Weyland strikes out certain phrases in vii. 9, 10, 14, 17; and Rauch deletes vii. 13, 14 wholly, as well as certain phrases in vii. 9, 10, as additions of a Christian reviser.

But a more excellent way of dealing with the text is taken by Weizsäcker, Sabatier, Schoen, Holtzmann, Bousset, Wellhausen, Porter, Scott, Moffatt, who maintain the relative unity of the chapter, and regard vii. 1-8 either as the work of our author or as incorporated by him in his text and adapted thereto. Sabatier, Holtzmann, Hirscht, and Bousset interpret vii. 1-8 as referring to Jewish, and vii. 9-17 to Gentile-Christians; while Reuss,

Bovon, Schoen, Porter, Wellhausen, and Moffatt interpret the two passages as describing the same body under different conditions. My own studies have led me independently to the same view, though with a difference.

So far we have recorded in briefest form the conclusions of scholars on the critical structure of this chapter. We must now proceed to discuss the questions in detail, and first of all the relation of vii. 9-17 to the rest of the Apocalypse, since this is the easiest.

§ 3. vii. 9-17 is from the hand of our author. For (a) it proclaims the absolute universalism of Christianity, as does the entire Apocalypse so far as it comes from his hand. (b) Its diction and idiom are those of our author. Here the evidence is conclusive.

9. μετὰ ταῦτα εἶδον καὶ ἰδοῦ. So iv. 1 (see note *in loc.*). δὲ . . . αὐτόν—Hebraism. Cf. iii. 8, xii. 6, xiii. 8, 12, xx. 8. ὄχλος πολὺς. So xix. 1, 6, in same connection. ἔθνους κ. φυλῶν κ. λαῶν κ. γλωσσῶν. Cf. v. 9. ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου (also vii. 15). So iv. 5, 6, 10, vii. 15, viii. 3, etc. ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου καὶ ἐν. τοῦ ἀρνίου (cf. vii. 10). So xxii. 1, 3. περιβεβλημένους στολὰς λευκάς (also vii. 13). So vi. 11 (note).

10. κράζουσι φωνῇ μεγάλῃ. So vi. 10, x. 3, xiv. 15 (xviii. 2), xix. 17. ἡ σωτηρία τῷ θεῷ. So xix. 1.

καθήμεν ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ. (See exceptional use in 15.) So iv. 2 (see note *in loc.*). The peculiar use of ἐπὶ after the participle is that of our author—ἐπὶ with dative after the dative participle and ἐπὶ with the accusative after the nominative participle.

11. κύκλῳ τοῦ θρόνου καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ τῶν τεσσάρων ζώων. So iv. 4 (note).

ἔπεσαν ἐνώπιον. Cf. iv. 10.

ἔπεσαν . . . ἐπὶ τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῶν καὶ προσεκύνησαν τῷ θεῷ.

So xi. 16 (word for word).

12. ἡ εὐλογία καὶ ἡ δόξα κτλ. Seven members. Cf. the doxology addressed to the Lamb in v. 12, with seven members.

13. περιβεβλημένοι τὰς στολὰς. See under 9.

14. τῆς θλίψεως τῆς μεγάλης. Cf. ii. 22.

ἐπλυναν τὰς στολὰς αὐτῶν. Here and in xxii. 14 only.

τῷ αἵματι τοῦ ἀρνίου. Cf. xii. 11 (i. 5, v. 9).

15. ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου. See under 10.

λατρεύουσιν αὐτῷ. Cf. xxii. 3.

ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ † τοῦ θρόνου †. This construction is exceptional—a primitive scribal error (?); see note on iv. 2.

σκηνώσει ἐπὶ αὐτοῦς. Cf. xxi. 3, σκηνώσει μετ' αὐτῶν.

16. καῦμα. Here and in xvi. 9 only in N.T.

17. τὸ ἀρνίον τὸ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ θρόνου. Cf. v. 6.

ἐπὶ ζωῆς πηγὰς ὕδατων. Cf. xxi. 6 (cf. xxii. 1, 17).

ἐξαλείψει . . . πᾶν δάκρυον ἐκ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν. So xxi. 4 (word for word).

From the above evidence it follows that vii. 9-17 is from the hand of our author.

§ 4. We have now to deal with vii. 1-8.

vii. 1-8 is derived from independent Jewish sources, which have however, been recast in the diction of our author.

I. The diction is that of our author.

VII. 1.¹ μετὰ τοῦτο εἶδον (see iv. 1, note). ἐστῶτας ἐπὶ τὰς . . . γωνίας. So ἵστημι with ἐπὶ and acc. in iii. 20, viii. 3 (AP An), xi. 11, xii. 18, xiv. 1, xv. 2; except when followed by ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς (on these see next clause): in xix. 17 with ἐν, but in a different sense. πνέη ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς μήτε ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης μήτε ἐπὶ πᾶν δένδρον. We should expect either accusatives throughout or genitives; but our author uses εἰς τὴν γῆν or uses ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, and never ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, except in xiv. 16—an interpolation. Hence this clause exhibits a characteristic usage.

2. καὶ εἶδον. See iv. 1 note. θεοῦ ζώντος. See note on p. 128. ἀνατολῆς ἡλίου: cf. xvi. 12. ἔκραξεν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ—frequent in the Apocalypse, but only in xiv. 15 is it followed as here by the dative of the persons addressed. οἷς . . . αὐτοῖς, a Hebraism; see on ὃν . . . αὐτόν, above. ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς ἀδικῆσαι. For this construction cf. ii. 7, iii. 21, xiii. 7, 15, xvi. 8.

ἀδικῆσαι τὴν γῆν = "to hurt the earth." Outside the Apocalypse this use of ἀδικεῖν is not found elsewhere in the N.T. except Luke x. 19, but it is frequent in our text; cf. ii. 11, vi. 6, ix. 4, 10, 19, xi. 5 (*bis*).

3. τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν. Cf. vii. 10, 12, xii. 10, xix. 1, 5 (θεός μου, iii. 2, 12 (ii. 7 [?])). ἐπὶ τῶν μετώπων. This phrase is characteristic. Our author uses ἐπὶ in this phrase with the genitive if the noun is in the plural: cf. ix. 4, xiv. 1, xxii. 4, but with the acc. if the noun is in the singular: cf. xiii. 16, xvii. 5, xx. 4, except in xiv. 9.

II. The subject-matter of vii. 1-8 is borrowed from Jewish sources.

Behind vii. 1-8 there are possibly two independent traditions or documents—the one relating to the four winds and the other to the sealing of the 144,000.

(a) vii. 1-3 from a Jewish source, which has not apparently undergone any essential transformation. The letting loose by the four angels of these destructive winds² was, as the text implies,

¹ κρατεῖν is used in the sense of "holding in check" in 1—a meaning not elsewhere found in the Apocalypse. In ii. 13, 14, 15, 25, iii. 11, it means "hold fast," i.e. "keep carefully." πνέη here only in our author.

² Compare the onset of these winds on the sea in the little Apocalypse—Luke xxi. 25, ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς συνοχὴ ἐθνῶν ἐν ἀπορίᾳ ἡχοῦς θαλάσσης καὶ σάλλου.

to take place after the sealing of the faithful had been accomplished, or at all events shortly before the end. And yet these four angels and these four winds are not directly referred to again.¹ Hence we conclude, as already other critics have done, that our author has here used fragmentarily an older tradition. For the existence of the tradition in various forms, later evidence can be adduced.² The various elements in our text can be

¹ I have shown in the note on ix. 14 that there are many grounds for believing that in their original context these winds at the bidding of the four angels brought plagues of natural locusts from the corners of the earth. In ix. 1 sqq., however, a plague, not of natural, but of demonic locusts arises from the pit, and, as such, not subject to the four angels, but to the angel of the abyss. Thus vii. 1-3 prepares the way, though indirectly, for ix. 1-13.

² First of all we find analogous situations in Jewish Apocalyptic. In vii. 1-3 we are told that a *pause* in the judgments is commanded in order that during this pause the faithful may be sealed. Similarly in 1 Enoch a like pause takes place before the Deluge for the preservation of Noah and his family. Thus in lxvi. 1-2 it is said, "And after that he showed me the angels of punishment, who are prepared to come and let loose all the powers of the waters, which are beneath in the earth, in order to bring judgment and destruction on all who dwell on the earth. 2. And the Lord of Spirits gave commandment to the angels who were going forth, that they should not cause the waters to rise, but should hold them in check; for those angels are over the powers of the waters." From lxvii. it becomes clear that the object of this pause is to give time for the building of the Ark. For another like pause and, as regards the form of the tradition, a very remarkable parallel, we should compare 2 Bar. vi. 4 sqq., "And I beheld, and, lo! four angels standing at the four corners of the city, each of them holding a torch of fire in his hands." 5. And another angel descended from heaven and said unto them: "Hold your torches, and do not light them till I tell you." Here we have four angels standing at the four corners of Jerusalem, ready to destroy it, and a fifth angel bidding them pause and not destroy it till the sacred vessels of the Temple were secured and hidden away, vi. 7.

Independent developments of traditions relating to the four winds or probably independent traditions are to be found in later Apocalypses, as Bousset has pointed out; but these are not derived from our text. For the purpose of the four winds in our text is *to destroy the earth*, and the life thereon, *before the judgment*, whereas in the later Apocalypses the purpose of the four winds is *to cleanse the earth after the judgment*. Cf. the pseudo-Johannine Apoc. 15, *τὸτε ἀποβουλῶσω* ("I will unseal") *τὰ τέσσαρα μέρη τῆς ἀβύσσου καὶ ἐξελευσιν τέσσαρες ἄνθρωποι μεγάλοι καὶ ἐκλείψουσιν ἅπαν τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς, καὶ λευκανθήσεται πᾶσα ἡ γῆ ὡς περ χιῶν* (MS F): the Syriac Apoc. Peter: "Therefore I will order the four winds and they shall be let loose one in the direction of the other. And when the sea-wind is let loose, there arises brimstone before it; and when the south wind is let loose, there arises a flaming fire before it; and when the west wind is let loose, the mountains and the rocks are cleft in twain." Cf. also Sibyll. viii. 204 sqq.: *πολλὴ δὲ τε λαίλαπι θύων γαῖαν ἐρημώσει· νεκρῶν δ' ἐπαράστασις ἔσται*. (These quotations are from Bousset, p. 280.)

Now these latter passages do not appear to be based on our text, but all seem to be derived from an older tradition, which has its foundation in the O.T. and in 1 Enoch lxxvi. First of all, the sirocco or south-east wind (מזרח, Jer. xxiii. 19, and מזרח קדים, Hos. xiii. 15) was regarded as a special manifestation of God: Nah. i. 3; Zech. ix. 14. It is His chariot, Jer. iv. 13; Isa. lxxvi. 15, it is His breath, Job xxxvii. 10. It rends the

satisfactorily explained from the tradition as we see from footnote ² on preceding page.

The episode in vii. 1-3 is introduced because a new order of plagues is about to ensue, and a pause must be made in order that during it the faithful may be sealed before this new order of plagues, *i.e.* the demonic, sets in.

(b) *vii. 4-8 is from a Jewish or Jewish-Christian source.*

(a) *The 144,000 were Jews or Jewish Christians in the original tradition.*—For since the tribes are definitely mentioned one by one, and the number sealed in each tribe is definitely fixed (even though symbolically), the twelve tribes can only have meant the literal Israel in the original tradition.

Thus Jewish particularism was the central idea of this section.¹

(β) *This tradition was thus originally a purely Jewish one, and recalls Ex. xii. 7, 13, 23 sq.; Ezek. ix. 3 sq.; but if the order of the tribes in our text is the same as that in the source used by our author, then this source was probably Jewish Christian and a recast of the original Jewish tradition.*—In favour of this view might be adduced the remarkable order in which the tribes are given, Judah being put in the first place and Levi in the eighth.²

Now in the twenty different arrangements of the tribes in the O.T. (cf. *Encyc. Bib.* iv. 5207 sqq.; Hastings' *D.B.* iv. 810 sqq.) Judah is found first in two, *i.e.* those in Num. ii., vii., x., and in 1 Chron. ii. 3-viii., xii. But Judah is first in the latter on purely geographical grounds (see Buchanan Gray, *Encyc. Bib.* iv. 5204),

mountains and the rocks, 1 Kings xix. 11; it withers up the grass, Isa. xl. 7, 24; and dries up the stream and river and sea, Nah. i. 4; Ps. xviii. 15, cvi. 9. Next the sirocco becomes an element in the eschatological expectations of Israel: Ps. lxxxiii. 14; Amos i. 14; Isa. xxxiv. 4: it is to destroy the enemies of God, Jer. xxiii. 19, xxx. 23; Hos. xiii. 14 sq. (See Gressmann, *Isr.-Jüd. Eschat.* 20 sqq.)

This conception of the sirocco prepares us for a similar conception of "the four winds." These are mentioned in a topographical sense in Zech. ii. 6, but in vi. 5 as God's servants which present themselves before Him and execute His vengeance.

In this sense it is already a technical conception; they come as His ministers of judgment from the four ends of heaven, Jer. xlix. 36; they break forth on the sea, Dan. vii. 2. In 1 Enoch xxxiv. 3, lxxvi. 4, they come from the four corners and are bearers of plagues, two from each corner. The winds are conceived as having "spirits," 1 Enoch lxix. 22; Jub. ii. 2.

¹ The omission of the tribe of Dan would also point to the Jewish origin of the tradition. According to a 1st cent. B.C. fragment, *i.e.* Test. Dan v. 6-7, Satan is said to be the prince of Dan. For other evidence on this connection of Dan with the Antichrist see my notes (*op. cit.* v. 6-7).

² Buchanan Gray (*Encyc. Bib.* iv. 5209) conjectures that 5-6 should be transposed after 8. This transposition makes the text normal (see note under vii. 5-8 (Judah, Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Issachar, Zebulun from Leah, etc.)). There are still the two outstanding irregularities to which we have drawn attention, the omission of Dan (Jewish), and the setting of Judah at the head of the list (Jewish-Christian).

and in the former, because of its pre-eminence among the tribes, is assigned this leading position in the camp, Levi being omitted in this warlike disposition of the tribes.¹ But after the return from the Captivity Levi gradually acquired a predominant influence among the tribes, and after the Maccabean rising took the lead even of Judah. While, on the other hand, in Jub. xxviii. 11 sqq. the twelve sons of Jacob are enumerated in accordance with the date of their birth, and in xxxiv. 20 and in the order of the books of the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs are grouped according to their respective mothers and the groups arranged in order of birth; on the other hand, in the rest of the Testaments when Judah and Levi are mentioned together, as they frequently are, Levi is *always* placed first, unless in the Christian interpolations and the MSS manipulated by Christian scribes, where Judah is set before Levi (see my note on Test. of XII Patr., p. 13). The reason for this change is obvious from this standpoint: Christ was sprung from Judah. Since, therefore, in our text Judah is placed first, it is to be inferred either that the list of the twelve tribes had undergone a Jewish-Christian transformation, and that it was this Jewish-Christian recension that our author made use of, or that our author made this change himself.

§ 5. *The sealing of the faithful in our text does not mean (a) preservation from physical evil, nor (b) from spiritual apostasy, but (c) from demonic and kindred influences under the coming reign of Antichrist.*

(a) *The sealing of the faithful* in the original tradition meant preservation from physical evil and death, as in Ex. xii. 7, 13, 22 sq., and Ezek. ix. 3 sq.² This Judaistic conception of preservation from physical evil is found also in the Little Jewish Apocalypse in the Gospels: cf. Mark xiii. 17-20; Matt. xxiv. 20-22.

That it was indeed a current Jewish expectation we see in part from the N.T. references just given, and we know that it was such from a 1st cent. B.C. authority. From Pss. Sol. xv. 8, 10—an eschatological psalm—we learn that “the sign of the Lord is to be upon the righteous unto their salvation” (τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ δικαίους εἰς σωτηρίαν), and that accordingly “famine and the sword and pestilence were to be far from the righteous” (λιμὸς καὶ ῥομφαία καὶ θάνατος ἀπὸ δικαίων μακράν). The contrast between the expectation in our text and in this psalm could not

¹ Except Num. ii. 17, where the Levites encamp in the centre.

² In Shabbath, 55^a, we have an haggadic interpretation of this verse: “God said to Gabriel: Go and impress on the forehead of the righteous a mark of ink, רשום על מצחו של צדיקים חתי של רבו שלא ימלשו בהם מלאכי חבלה, that the destroying angels may have no power over him; and on the foreheads of the godless a mark of blood, that the angels of destruction may have power over them.”

be greater. In the psalm the sign is placed on the brows of the righteous to secure them from the eschatological woes *that follow*; in our text the sign is not placed *till after these very woes had taken place*. In xv. 6, 7 of the same psalm the righteous are promised immunity from all the evils which are sent against the ungodly in the last days. Moreover, as the psalmist expected a sign to be impressed on the brows of the saints, so he declares, xv. 10, that "the sign of destruction will be set on the foreheads of the sinners" (τὸ γὰρ σημεῖον τῆς ἀπωλείας ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου αὐτῶν), and that accordingly "famine and the sword and pestilence" "would pursue and overtake the sinners" (xv. 8, 9), and that they would "perish in the day of judgment of the Lord for ever" (xv. 13).

If preservation from physical evil had been intended by our author, the sealing should have taken place before the first Seal¹ and not in the midst of the cosmic catastrophies of the sixth. Vitringa feels this so strongly that he maintains that vii. 1-8 belongs essentially before vi. 12-17, while Hengstenberg would place it before vi. Holtzmann (3rd ed., p. 449), while maintaining that "die furchtbaren Plagen der Endzeit sie (die Versiegelten) nicht treffen, und sie daher vom Verderben verschont bleiben," yet gives away his cause by admitting: "unerledigt bleibt allerdings die Frage, warum diese Versiegelung nicht vor das sechste Siegel . . . verlegt worden sei."

Yet Bousset (287 sq.) interprets the sealing in this sense, but admits the possibility of (*b*) being right, or indeed of both being alike right.²

(*b*) Now the consciousness of the wrongness of this interpretation led Düsterdieck to propound the view that *it is not from physical evil but from spiritual apostasy* under the last and greatest trials that should befall the world, *that the sealing is designed to secure the faithful*. But that this is not the immediate object of the sealing appears to follow from ix. 4, where the implication of

¹ From the fact that the sealing does not take place before the first Seal, Erbes (p. 52) concludes that the first four Seals belong to the past and present, and that the sixth deals with the future. But even in that case the sealing should have taken place before the *sixth* Seal, if the sealing were intended to preserve from physical evil.

² The view that the 144,000 are Jewish Christians, can only be advocated on the ground that our author, as a Jewish Christian, believes profoundly in the spiritual prerogatives of this nation. But since our author holds also that martyrdom is the highest consummation of the Christian faith, and that the highest place in the future life awaits the martyrs, and that none but martyrs share in Christ's reign of 1000 years, he cannot at the same time entertain the belief that the elect 144,000 Jewish Christians are to be excluded from the supreme privilege of the faithful. On these and other grounds (see section 5) we conclude that the sealing does not exclude the possibility of martyrdom, and that the 144,000 include Gentile as well as Jewish Christians.

the text is that it is from demonic agencies that the sealed are secured and not from physical evil in any form, from the visitations of nature, even the greatest at the end of the world. This last passage suggests the right interpretation of the text which follows in (c).

(c) *The sealing in our text secured the faithful against demonic agencies in the coming reign of Antichrist.*—As this reign, so full of superhuman horrors, was about to begin, the sealing was carried out just then and not earlier or later. This sealing did not secure against social or cosmic evils, nor yet against martyrdom, xviii. 24, but only against diabolic or demonic powers, as we see from ix. 4.¹ It is the special help that the faithful needed against the coming manifestation of Satanic wickedness linked with seemingly supreme power. With this help the weakest servant of God need not dread the mightiest of his spiritual foes. The seal of God engraven on his brow marked him as God's property, and as such ensured him God's protection. But it did not in itself secure him against spiritual apostasy. Against this Christ warns the elect in Matt. xxiv. 24, and requires of them unfailing endurance: Mark xiii. 13, ὁ δὲ ὑπομείνας εἰς τέλος οὗτος σωθήσεται. If the elect bear with patience the natural trials incident to their faithful discipleship of Christ, then He will preserve them from the superhuman trials which are about to come on the whole world, as He promises in iii. 10 of our text: ὅτι ἐτήρησας τὸν λόγον τῆς ὑπομονῆς μου, καὶ γὰρ σε τηρήσω ἐκ τῆς ὥρας τοῦ πειρασμοῦ τῆς μελλούσης ἐρχεσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ὅλης. The reasonableness of this view appears clearly from another standpoint. In the O.T., with its belief in a heathen Sheol, the righteous had to be recompensed on earth if they were to be recompensed at all—hence a long and happy life was the natural prerogative of the faithful. But in later times, and above all in the N.T., when the doctrine of a future life was fully and finally established, the centre of interest passed from things material to things spiritual. *Protection not from physical death, but from the demonic and Satanic enemies of the spirit*, became the supreme aim of the faithful. So far is it from being true that the faithful were secured by the sealing from physical death, that it is distinctly stated that they should all suffer martyrdom (xiii. 15).

The idea in another form appears in a contemporary writer, Clem. Rom. *ad Corinth.* lix. 2: αἰτησόμεθα, ἐκτενῆ τὴν δέησιν καὶ ἱκεσίαν ποιούμενοι, ὅπως τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν κατηριθμημένων τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν αὐτοῦ ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ διαφυλάξῃ ἄθραστον ὁ δημιουργὸς τῶν πάντων.

¹ As the sealing of the faithful secured them against demonic agencies and temptations, so the seal of the Beast on the brow of his followers made them the inevitable victims of the deceit of the second Beast: see xix. 20.

The above interpretation has apparently been lost to Christendom for 1600 years or more.¹ The reason seems in part to have been that at a very early date the term σφραγίς was associated with baptism (cf. *Hermas, Sim.* ix. 16. 2-4). To baptism there is, of course, no allusion in our text, but baptism combined the two ideas here present: (1) it marked the baptized as God's (or Christ's) property; (2) it secured the baptized against demonic powers. A very significant passage is to be found in the Acts of Thomas, 26, Δὸς ἡμῖν τὴν σφραγίδα· ἡκούσαμεν γὰρ σου λέγοντος ὅτι ὁ θεός . . . διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ σφραγίδος ἐπιγινώσκει τὰ ἴδια πρόβατα. Here baptism is a seal: it is also the mark which distinguishes the believer from the unbeliever. For the passages designating baptism as σφραγίς—see 2 Clem. vii. 6, viii. 5-6; Acts of Thomas (p. 68, ed. Bonnet), τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ . . . πάρασχέ μοι σφραγίδα καὶ . . . τὸ λούτρον λάβω τῆς ἀφθαρσίας: Acts of Paul, 28 = Martyrdom of Paul, 7; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* ii. 3. Other passages combine the ideas of a means of recognition and defence: Clem. *Eclog. Prophet.* 12, πληρωθέντων γὰρ τῶν κενῶν τότε ἡ σφραγίς ἐπακολουθεῖ ἵνα φυλάσσῃται τῷ θεῷ τὸ ἅγιον. *Excerpt ex Theod.* 80, διὰ γὰρ πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος σφραγισθεὶς ἀνεπίληπτός ἐστι τῇ ἄλλῃ δυνάμει: *ibid.* 86; Cyrill. *Cat.* i. 3, ἐκεῖ τὴν σωτηριώδη δίδωσι σφραγίδα, τὴν θαυμασίαν, ἣν τρέμουνσι δαίμονες καὶ γινώσκουσιν ἄγγελοι, ἵνα οἱ μὲν φύγῃσιν ἐλασθέντες, οἱ δὲ περιέπωσιν ὡς οἰκείον: *ibid.* iii. 12. See Heitmüller, *Im Namen Jesu*, p. 334. In Lactantius the entire meaning attaching to the sealing in our text is attributed to Christian baptism. Thus in his *Instit. Divin.* iv. 26 he speaks of "Christ being slain for the salvation of all who have written on their foreheads the sign of blood—that is, the sign of the cross" ("signum sanguinis, id est crucis"). The presence of Christians bearing this sign when attending on their masters at a heathen sacrifice put to flight the gods of their masters, *i.e.* the demons (iv. 27: "cum enim quidam ministrorum nostri sacrificantibus dominis assisterent, imposito frontibus signo, deos illorum fugaverunt"). "But since (the demons) can neither approach those in whom they have seen the heavenly mark, nor injure those whom the immortal sign as an impregnable wall protects, they harass them by men and persecute them by the hands of others" ("sed quoniam neque accedere ad eos possunt, in quibus coelestem notam viderint, nec iis nocere, quos signum immortale munierit,

¹ J. Weiss (*Schriften des NTs.* ii. 634, 1908) might at first sight appear to have rediscovered this ancient and true interpretation ("der mit dem göttlichen Namen Geweihte ist mit ihm gefeigt, geschützt gegen alle Feinde, gegen Dämonen und Teufel"); but this is not so. On the next page he writes: "Ihre Versiegelung bedeutet . . . sie sollen . . . von dem Martyrium bewahrt bleiben." Thus even J. Weiss holds that the sealing secures against physical death.

tanquam inexpugnabilis murus, lacesunt eos per homines et manibus persequuntur alienis"). Here the sign of the cross discharges the very same function as the seal affixed to the forehead of the faithful in our text. This passage thus indirectly attests the right interpretation of the sealing in the Apocalypse.

An inroad of diabolic agencies on Israel and a special strengthening of Israel against this invasion by Michael is predicted in Test. Dan vi. 1, 5, προσέχετε ἑαυτοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ Σατανᾶ καὶ τῶν πνευμάτων αὐτοῦ . . . αὐτὸς γὰρ ὁ ἄγγελος τῆς εἰρήνης ἐνισχύσει τὸν Ἰσραὴλ μὴ ἐμπεσεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς τέλος κακῶν. Cf. 2 Bar. xxvii. 9, where it is said that the final tribulation is to embrace "a multitude of portents and incursions of Shedim" (i.e. evil spirits).

The idea of sealing plays a large rôle in the Apocalypse. In vii. 2 sq., ix. 4, xiv. 1, xxii. 4 (here all the righteous are sealed) it is the servants of God who are sealed; but in xiii. 16 sq., xiv. 9, xvi. 2, xix. 20, xx. 4, the followers of the Beast, where the mark is engraven on the brow or right hand of the latter. This practice was apparently frequent among the earliest Christians. But it was current also in Judaism, as we have already seen from the Pss. of Solomon (see above, and compare Heitmüller, *Im Namen Jesu*, 132 sqq., 143 sqq., 153, 174, 234), and also in O.T. times: cf. Isa. xlv. 5, "Another shall write on his hand: Unto the Lord"; Ezek. ix. 4. Even Yahweh Himself the prophet represents by an anthropomorphism as engraving Zion on the palms of His hands (Isa. xlix. 16). Yet this custom was strictly forbidden by the Law. Cf. Lev. xix. 28, xxi. 5, 6; Deut. xiv. 1. Clearly Isa. xlv. 5, xlix. 16, Ezek. ix. 4, saw no evil in it, if used in connection with the right persons. See Gal. vi. 17.¹

¹ This practice was prevalent in heathenism. Slaves were branded occasionally (see Wetstein's note on Gal. vi. 17), and soldiers sometimes branded themselves to show that they were in service and under the protection of their lords. But the true analogy to the practice in our text is that of slaves attached to some temple (ιερόδουλοι), or individuals devoted to the service of some deity, whose persons were so branded. Thus Ptolemy iv. Philopator had the Alexandrian Jews branded with an ivy leaf, the sign of Dionysus, 3 Macc. ii. 29; and Philo, *De Monarch*, i. 8, reproaches apostate Jews for allowing their persons to be so branded, ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν . . . καταστίζοιτες. There was a temple of Heracles at one of the mouths of the Nile, from which a fugitive slave who had once been branded with the sacred stigmata could not be reclaimed: cf. Herod. ii. 113, Ἡρακλῆος ἱρὸν, ἐς τὸ ἦν καταφυγὼν οὐκ ἔτις θτεψ ἀνθρώπων ἐπιβάλληται στίγματα ἱρὰ ἐωντὸν διδοῦς τῷ θεῷ, οὐκ ἔστι τοῦτου ἀψασθαι: Lucian, *de Dea Syr.* § 59, στίζονται δὲ πάντες, οἱ μὲν εἰς καρπούς, οἱ δὲ ἐς ἀρχένας, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε πάντες οἱ Ἀσσύριοι στίγματη-φορέουσι: Plutarch, *Lucull.* p. 507, Βόες . . . Ἀρτέμιδος, ἣν μάλιστα θεῶν οἱ πέραν βάρβαροι τιμῶσιν . . . χαράγματα φέρουσαι τῆς θεοῦ λαμπάδα. See Wetstein and Lightfoot on Gal. vi. 17; Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, 334; Spencer, *Leg. Rit. Heb.* ii. 14. Heitmüller (*op. cit.* 184 sq.) points out how closely related were such beliefs in Babylon, Egypt, and Judea; and Giesebrecht (*Schätzung*, 86) regards the former as distinctly operative on Jewish beliefs (see Clemen, *Religionsgeschichtliche Erklärung des NT*, 184). Heitmüller

Finally, we find references to this sign on the forehead in the *Odes of Solomon* (ed. Rendel Harris, 1909), iv. 7, "For who is there that shall put on Thy grace to be hurt?" iv. 8, "For Thy seal is known, and Thy creatures know it, and Thy hosts rejoice (emended) in it; and the elect archangels are clad with it"; viii. 16, "Before they came into being I took knowledge of them, and on their faces I set My seal." The seal here does not seem to be used in an eschatological sense, but simply marks its bearer as God's property.

§ 6. *Chapter vii. refers only to the present generation of believers, first as militant on earth, vii. 1-8, and next as triumphant in heaven, vii. 9-17.*

It is obvious that vii. 1-8 deals only with the present generation of the faithful; for in the thought of the Seer it is only this generation that has to endure the last and greatest tribulation. To preserve it against the superhuman evils that are about to burst on the world, the progress of the plagues is stayed and the faithful are secured against such as are of a demonic character, being sealed as God's own possession.

It is no less obvious that the great host in vii. 9-17 does not embrace the whole Church, but *only those who had come ἐκ τῆς θλίψεως τῆς μεγάλης*. Not only on account of the definite article and the distinctive epithet τῆς μεγάλης, but also on account of the whole vision and its relation to the rest of the book, it is wholly inadmissible to interpret "the great tribulation" quite generally as any or every tribulation that is incident to the life of faithful discipleship.¹ "The great tribulation" is about to fall upon the present generation, and in vii. 9-17 are represented the great multitude which had come through it faithfully.

§ 7. *The 144,000 in the present context are (a) Christians belonging not to Israel after the flesh, but to the spiritual Israel, (b) and are in this respect the same as the 144,000 in xiv. 1-5.*

(a) We have seen above, § 4, II. (b), that these 144,000 were

(*op. cit.* 333 sq.) connects the ideas of baptism and sealing. The name of Jesus marked the baptized as the property of Jesus, placed him under His protection, and assured him against alien powers. The name in this significance is a σφραγίς. Thence it becomes easy to designate baptism itself as a seal, though in this development the influences of the Greek Mysteries may have co-operated. But there is no reference to baptism in our text, although σφραγίζειν here and βαπτίζειν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τινος in the N.T. have practically the same meaning. The design of "the sealing" and "the baptizing into the name of" is to show that the person so affected was the property of God or Christ.

¹ The scribe of A may have been conscious of the difficulty of the text and so read ἀπὸ θλίψεως μεγάλης. But \aleph PQ and all the cursives agree in reading as above. Cf. *Hermas*, *Vis.* II. ii. 7, μακάριοι ὅσοι ὑπομένετε τὴν θλίψιν τὴν ἐρχομένην τὴν μεγάλην—which is based partly on vii. 14 and iii. 10 of our book, and which testifies to the form of our text between 110-140 A.D.

Jews or Jewish Christians in the original tradition. That they are Jewish Christians in their present context is maintained by Düsterdieck, Holtzmann, Bousset, and others. These scholars hold that the 144,000, vii. 4-8, and the countless host, vii. 9-17, are not to be identified; for in the one case we have a definite number, in the other an indefinite one; in the one a multitude of all nations and peoples, in the other a definite number of Jewish Christians; in the one case the last great woe is still impending, in the other it is already surmounted and left behind. Now the last objection is of no weight. The vision in vii. 9-17 is prophetic. It prophesies the outcome of the present strife, and therefore the two visions presuppose different conditions—the one a phase of the Church militant, the other a phase of the Church triumphant. From this standpoint no objection can be maintained against the identity of the two groups under different conditions of time and place.

The other objections, when considered in the light of the thought which underlies the sealing of the faithful, lose forthwith any force they seemed to have. For since we have already seen that "the great tribulation" was about to come upon *the whole world* (iii. 10), that the essential danger connected with this tribulation was its demonic character, and that the sole object of the sealing was to preserve the faithful against demonic powers, it follows inevitably that *the sealing must be coextensive with the peril*, and must therefore embrace the entire Christian community, alike Jewish and Gentile. For the *necessary* grace of preservation from demonic influence cannot be accorded to the faithful descended from Israel according to the flesh and withheld from the faithful descended from Israel according to the spirit, in a work of so universalistic import as the Apocalypse. In other words, the 144,000 belong not to the literal but to the spiritual Israel, and are composed of all peoples and nations and languages.¹ From this standpoint the number 144,000 presents no difficulty. It is merely a symbolical and not a definite number. The real explanation of its appearance here is that it is a part of a tradition taken over by our author, and a part to which he attaches no definite significance in its new context. The part of the tradition with which he is concerned is the sealing. This element is of overwhelming significance. It is the measure

¹ Here the spiritual Israel is intended, as in 1 Pet. i. 1. Cf. i. 14, 18, ii. 9, 10, iv. 3, 4, and Jas. i. 1. This was the view of Hippolytus, *περὶ τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου*: vi. ἔδωκεν ὁ κύριος σφραγίδα τοῖς ἐς αὐτὸν πιστεύουσιν, καὶ αὐτοὺς (=ὁ Ἀντίχριστος) δώσει ὅμοιως. Here all the faithful are saved. In his commentary, however, on this passage preserved only in the Arabic (see articles, Hippolyt's *Kleinere Schriften*, p. 231, ed. Achelis) he takes the 144,000 to be Jewish Christians.

adopted by God to secure His servants against the manifestation and for the time victorious self-assertion of the Satanic world. The other elements of the tradition, though taken into the text, are of the slightest concern, or of none at all, to our author. This is frequently his practice. We have already seen it in vii. 1-3, where the main idea is the *pause* which is commanded in the succession of the plagues in order to effect this sealing. As regards the four winds—another element in the tradition there used—our author never again refers directly to them.

(b) *The 144,000 in vii. belong to the spiritual Israel as do the 144,000 in xiv. 1-5.*—If what we have above contended is valid, there can be no question as to the identity of the two bodies—at least as regards their origin. This identity of spiritual origin helps to confirm the conclusion arrived at on other grounds.

§ 8. *vii. 9-17 is the work not of a redactor, but of our author; for every verse and nearly every phrase is related in point of diction and meaning to the rest of the Apocalypse.*—Since we have shown in our commentary an overwhelming amount of evidence in support of the above statement, we must refer the reader to the notes in question.

§ 9. *The ὄχλος πούλος in vii. 9-17 is identical with the 144,000 in vii. 4-8.*—In § 6 we have seen that the ὄχλος πούλος embraces not the Christians or faithful of all time, but only the Christian contemporaries of the Seer—the faithful of the present generation. Since the 144,000 refer to the same body, it is clear that the ὄχλος πούλος and the 144,000 are identical qualitatively if not quantitatively.

§ 10. *In the original form of the vision of vii. 9-17 the ὄχλος πούλος (a) represented the entire body of the blessed in heaven after the final judgment, but does not do so in its present context; but (b) represents the martyrs of the last tribulation serving God in heaven before the final judgment, or rather before the establishment of the Millennial Kingdom in chap. xx.*

(a) The original form of this vision represented the entire body of the blessed in heaven or in the New Jerusalem on the new Earth (as in xxi. 1-4) after the final judgment. (a) For the same phraseology is used of God and the blessed (cf. vii. 15 and xxi. 3, xxii. 3; vii. 17 and xxi. 4) after the final judgment in the New Jerusalem. (β) There is no phrase in the section which in itself definitely limits the description to the martyrs. The phrases that demand such a limitation are, as we shall see, of an indirect though cogent character, and are due to our author's adaptation of one of his independent visions to a new context. (γ) The clause *ὃν ἀριθμῆσαι αὐτὸν οὐδεὶς ἰδύνατο* cannot be rightly used of a section of the blessed, but fittingly describes the countless

hosts of all the blessed. (δ) Apart from the phrases οἱ ἐρχόμενοι, ἐκ τῆς θλίψεως τῆς μεγάλης, and ἐν τῷ νάφ (not in xxii. 3), the whole impression of the vision is that it deals with the final condition of the blessed in heaven, in which they render perfect and ceaseless service to God, and all the sorrow and pain of the earthly life are in the past (vii. 17). (ε) After the final judgment *all* the faithful are to be clothed in white.

(δ) But this cannot be the meaning of the vision in its present context. (α) For in § 6 above, we have seen that the ὄχλος πολὺς embraces not all the faithful, but *only the faithful that are to issue victoriously from the great tribulation*. (β) Next, if we take οἱ ἐρχόμενοι¹ strictly as an imperfect participle, *the great tribulation is still in progress*,² the end of the world is not yet come, and all who belong to the great multitude are *martyrs*, for all are already clothed in white (vi. 9, 11). This vision in vii. 9-17 is proleptic, like that in xiv. 1-5. In both cases the multitudes are martyrs and martyrs only; for they are clothed in white, and the final judgment is not yet come. (γ) Our interpretation receives support from the general theme of the Book—the glorification of martyrdom, and especially from the place of this section in the Book; for the time which it deals with forms the very eve of the last and greatest tribulation.

Hence we conclude that the vision in its present form refers to the martyrs of the great tribulation, though it exhibits survivals of ideas and statements which show that originally it

¹ In the sentence, οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ἐρχόμενοι ἐκ τῆς θλίψεως τῆς μεγάλης καὶ ἐπλυναν τὰς στολὰς αὐτῶν, the καὶ ἐπλυναν κτλ. is to be taken along with οἱ ἐρχόμενοι as the predicate of the sentence: i.e. "these are those who come through the great tribulation and washed," etc. So the ancient Versions—the Vulgate, Syriac (1st 2^d), Ethiopic—rightly rendered the Greek. So also the A.V.; but the R.V. is quite wrong in making καὶ ἐπλυναν κτλ. a co-ordinate sentence with οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ἐρχόμενοι, and translating: "these are they which have come out of the great tribulation, and *they* washed," etc. The R.V. always and the A.V. generally mistranslate this idiom in our author. We have here a Hebraism, in accordance with which Hebrew writers after using a participle or infinitive added other clauses not with participles or infinitives as we should logically expect, but with finite verbs. (See Driver, *Hebrew Tenses*, § 117.) This Hebraism is occasionally reproduced in the LXX. Thus Jer. xxiii. 32, וַיִּשְׁכַּח יְהוָה . . . רַחֵם נַפְשׁוֹ וְנִבְּאֵה לְעַמּוּלָא = LXX, ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ πρὸς τοὺς . . . προφητεύοντας ψευδῇ ἐνύπνια . . . καὶ διηγοῦντο αὐτά. The same construction both in the Hebrew and the LXX will be found in Amos v. 7; Gen. xlix. 17; Ps. xcii. 8, cv. 12 sq. (ἐν τῷ εἶναι . . . καὶ διήλθον), etc. The Hebraism, therefore, which appears in our text (οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ἐρχόμενοι καὶ ἐπλυναν) = וַיִּשְׁכַּח . . . וְנִבְּאֵה נַפְשׁוֹ. We have already had the same Hebraism in i. 5, 6, where see note.

² The question in vii. 13, πόθεν ἤλθον, might imply that the number is complete. In that case οἱ ἐρχόμενοι would strictly = οἱ ἐλθόντες, and we should expect ἐκ θλίψεως μεγάλης as in A (a mere correction). The text would then refer to all the blessed, whether martyred or not. So the text may have stood in the original vision.

bore a very different meaning. One such is the clause *ὁ ἀριθμῆσαι αὐτὸν οὐδεὶς ἐδύνατο*.

§ 11. Whereas vii. 4-8 refers to the living faithful, vii. 9-17 and xiv. 1-5 are proleptic and refer to the martyrs. They embrace both men and women.

The martyrs are represented in vii. 9-17 as arriving in heaven straight from the scene of martyrdom. In xiv. 1-5 the martyrs are represented as following the Lamb on the earthly Mount Zion during the reign of 1000 years. This latter vision thus anticipates the scene described in xx. 4.

Since the martyrs are alike men and women, *παρθένοι* in xiv. 4 must be taken metaphorically. This passage, therefore, deals with spiritual fornication. This is independent of the fact that our writer could not have spoken of Christians as having defiled themselves (*ἐμολύνθησαν*: cf. iii. 4) by holy matrimony.

VII. 1-8.—A pause in the succession of the plagues. The destroying winds are to be held in check in order that during the pause the 144,000 of the spiritual Israel may be sealed. The plagues introduced by the four winds seem to be of a demonic character, since the faithful must be sealed before they are let loose.

1. *μετὰ τοῦτο εἶδον τέσσαρας ἀγγέλους ἐστῶτας ἐπὶ τὰς τέσσαρας γωνίας τῆς γῆς κρατοῦντας τοὺς τέσσαρας ἀνέμους τῆς γῆς, ἵνα μὴ πνέῃ ἀνεμος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς μήτε ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης μήτε ἐπὶ τι δένδρον*. The words *μετὰ τοῦτο εἶδον* introduce a new and important division of the sixth Seal (see note on iv. 1). The angels of the winds, like those of fire, xiv. 18, and of water, xvi. 5 (cf. John v. 7), belong to the lower orders of angelic beings. They are set over the works of nature, and, as such, they could not keep the Sabbath as the highest orders do according to Jub. ii. 18 sqq. They were called the angels of service (*מלאכי השרת*) in the Talmud, and were said to be inferior in rank to righteous Israelites (Sanh. 93^a). For other angels of this nature see 1 Enoch lx. 11-21, lxv. 8, lxix. 22; Jub. ii. 2. An angel of this class might be described as *στοιχεῖον*—a "spirit," "demon," or "genius." See Deissmann, *Encyc. Bib.* ii. 1261; Bousset, *Religion des Judenthums*, 317. On the destructive winds and the plagues introduced by them see the introduction to this chapter, p. 192. *ἐστῶτας ἐπὶ τὰς τέσσαρας γωνίας*. On *ἵστημι* with *ἐπὶ* and acc. see p. 191 sq. Our author regarded the earth as *τετράγωνος*, as Isa. xi. 12, Ezek. vii. 2 (*כְּנֶפֶת הָאָרֶץ*), which the LXX render *οἱ πτέρυγες τῆς γῆς*. The idea recurs in xx. 8 and in xxi. 16, where the heavenly Jerusalem is described as a cubiform city, whose length and breadth and height are equal. Ultimately this view may go back to a Babylonian cosmogony. On this question see Warren, *The Earliest Cosmologies*, 38 sq., 46 sq.

κρατοῦντας. There is here the idea that at the end of the world (the) four destructive winds would be let loose to injure the earth and the sea and the trees. No reference is made to this expectation in the rest of the Apocalypse in this form, but vii. 1-3 serves in part to introduce the plague of demonic locusts. See note on ix. 4. For this use of κρατεῖν as "holding in check," cf. Luke xxiv. 16, where it is followed by τοῦ μή. Its meaning in Acts ii. 24; John xx. 23 is related but not the same, while still another holds in Rev. ii. 13, 14, 15, 25, iii. 11, and yet another in ii. 1.

τοὺς τέσσαρας ἀνέμους. These four winds came from the four angles or corners of the earth, which was regarded as an actual square, if not a cube. They came from the four angles and not from the four sides; for according to Jewish conceptions the winds that blew from the four quarters, *i.e.* due north, south, east, and west, were favourable winds, whereas those that came from the angles or corners, as N.E.N. and E.N.E., N.W.N. and W.N.W., etc., were hurtful. The subject is dealt with at length in 1 Enoch lxxvi. and xxxiv. 3. There are two differences between the conceptions in our text and that in Enoch. The first is on the surface and not essential. Enoch represents *two* hurtful winds as issuing from each corner, whereas our text reduces each pair to a single wind. This difference may be accounted for by the fact that whereas 1 Enoch lxxvi. represents an attempt at being full and scientific from the standpoint of the time, our text exhibits the same views in a popular and less precise form. The more important difference is that the winds which were characteristically injurious are here in our text assigned a special rôle of destruction at the world's close. But the way for this development was already prepared in the O.T., and Christian literature attests its further developments. See above, p. 191 sq.

πνέη . . . ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς . . . μήτε ἐπὶ τι δένδρον. On the cases with *ἐπὶ* here see above, p. 191, § 4

2. καὶ εἶδον ἄλλον ἄγγελον ἀναβαίνοντα ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς ἡλίου, ἔχοντα σφραγίδα θεοῦ ζῶντος. Why the angel ascends from the east cannot be determined. Corn. a Lap., Hengstenberg, Ebrard, De Wette, Volkmar, Düsterdieck think that it is because the life-bringing sun comes from the east; Völter, iv. 24, because the revelation of divine salvation and glory were expected from the east (Ezek. xliii. 2): so also Swete; similarly Holtzmann, quoting Isa. xli. 2. Erbes (p. 51, note) refers to the last passage and Sib. Or. iii. 652, and implies that it is because the Messiah comes from the east.

θεοῦ ζῶντος. This is a very familiar expression in the N.T. Thus it is found once in Acts, six times in the Pauline Epistles,

four times in Hebrews, and twice in Matthew in the form τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζώντος. In the Apocalypse θεοῦ ζώντος does not recur, but we have the related forms, τῷ ζῶντι εἰς τ. αἰῶνας τ. αἰώνων, iv. 9, v. 10, x. 6, and a combination of the two in xv. 7, τοῦ θεοῦ τ. ζώντος εἰς τ. αἰῶνας τ. αἰώνων (see note on iv. 9 *ad finem*). The Hebrew is יְיָ חַי. Cf. Josh. iii. 10; Ps. xlii. 3; Hos. i. 10 (ii. 2); 2 Kings xix. 4, 16; Dan. iv. 19 (LXX), v. 23 (*his*), vi. 26; Jub. i. 25, xxi. 4; 3 Macc. vi. 28. In 2 Macc. vii. 33, xv. 4 we have the form ὁ ζῶν κύριος, and in Sibyl. Or. iii. 763 simply τῷ ζῶντι. The expression in all its forms brings out the contrast between the one eternal God and the numberless ephemeral gods of the heathen.

καὶ ἔκραξεν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ τοῖς τέσσαρσιν ἀγγέλοις οἷς ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς ἀδικῆσαι τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν.

οἷς . . . αὐτοῖς. On this Hebraism in our text see p. 87. On the construction, ἐδόθη . . . ἀδικῆσαι see p. 54. The angels injured the earth by letting loose the winds under their charge. The idea that the angels cause injury to the earth by withholding the winds, as Bengel, Herder, and Wellhausen maintain, is contrary not only to the text, but to the tradition regarding these winds which blow from the *corners* of the earth; see p. 204.

3. λέγων Μὴ ἀδικήσητε τὴν γῆν μήτε τὴν θάλασσαν μήτε τὰ δένδρα, ἀχρι σφραγίσωμεν τοὺς δούλους τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τῶν μετώπων αὐτῶν. On the meaning of ἀδικεῖν in our text see xxii. 11, note.

σφραγίσωμεν. The sealing is to secure the servants of God against the attacks of demonic powers coming into open manifestation (see ix. 4, note). The Satanic host is about to make its final struggle for the mastery of the world. In the past their efforts had in the main been restricted to attacks on man's spiritual being, and had therefore been hidden, invisible, and mysterious, but now at the end of time they are to come forth from their mysterious background and make open war with God and His hosts for the possession of the earth and of mankind. The hidden mystery of wickedness, the secret source of all the haunting horrors, and crimes, and failures, and sins of the past was about to reveal itself—the Antichrist was to become incarnate and appear armed, as it were, with all but almighty power. With such foes the faithful felt wholly unfit to do battle. With the rage and hostility of man they could cope, but with their ghostly enemy and his myrmidons about to manifest themselves with soul- and body-compelling powers they dared not engage. And so just on the eve of this epiphany of Satan, God seals His servants on their foreheads to show that they are His own possession, and that no embodied (or disembodied) spirit of the wicked one can do them hurt. In its deepest sense this

sealing means the outward manifestation of character. The hidden goodness of God's servants is at last blazoned outwardly, and the divine name that was written in secret by God's Spirit on their hearts is now engraved openly on their brows by the very signet ring of the living God (*σφραγίδα θεοῦ ζώντος*). In the reign of the Antichrist goodness and evil, righteousness and sin, come into their fullest manifestation and antagonism. Character ultimately enters on the stage of finality.¹

τοὺς δούλους τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν. On the phrase *τ. δ. τ. θεοῦ* cf. i. 1, ii. 20, xix. 2, 5, xxii. 3, 6; and on *τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν* cf. vii. 10, 12, xii. 10, xix. 1, 5 (*θεός μου*, iii. 2, 12, ii. 7). By the addition *ἡμῶν* the angel acknowledges that angels and men are fellow-servants in the service of God; cf. xix. 10, xxii. 9.

ἐπὶ τῶν μετώπων αὐτῶν. Our author always uses *ἐπὶ τῶν μετώπων* when he uses the plural: cf. ix. 4, xiv. 1, xxii. 4, and *ἐπὶ τὸ μέτωπον*; cf. xiii. 16, xvii. 5, xx. 4, when he uses the singular (except in xiv. 9, *ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου*). The idea in *σφραγίσωμεν* . . . *ἐπὶ τῶν μετώπων αὐτῶν* goes back ultimately to Ezek. ix. 4. See note on xiii. 16 with regard to the mark on the foreheads and right hand of the followers of the Beast.

4. καὶ ἤκουσα τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἐσφραγισμένων, ἑκατὸν τσσεράκοντα τέσσαρες χιλιάδες ἐσφραγισμένοι ἐκ πάσης φυλῆς υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ. The Seer does not witness the sealing which is completed during the pause in the plagues, but he hears the number of the sealed and their description. The number of the sealed is purely symbolical. The number connotes perfectness and completion, being 12 x 12 taken a thousandfold (Alford). But it is not an infinite number; for it gives the number of the faithful *in the present generation only* (see p. 199, 209 sq.).

πάσης φυλῆς υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ. It is not believers descended from the literal Israel (1 Cor. x. 18) (though this was the original meaning of the tradition), but from the spiritual Israel that are here referred to (see p. 200). This transformation of meaning is found also in our text in xviii. 4. Cf. Rom. ii. 29, *ὁ ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ Ἰουδαῖος*; Gal. iii. 29, *εἰ δὲ ὑμεῖς Χριστοῦ, ἄρα τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ*

¹ Logically, or perhaps historically, we may connect the thought in Rom. viii. 19 with that in our text. The sealing, which shows outwardly that the faithful are God's sons, marks the first stage of their manifestation as such (*τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ θεοῦ*, Rom. viii. 19). They, too, shall be manifested as their Divine Master (Luke xvii. 30, *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀποκαλύπτει*; 2 Thess. ii. 8, *τῇ ἐπιφανείᾳ τῆς παρουσίας*). Opposed to this we have the manifestation of the Antichrist (2 Thess. ii. 3, *ἀποκαλυφθῇ*; ii. 6, *ἀποκαλυφθῆναι*; ii. 8, *ἀποκαλυφθήσεται*). There is also the manifestation of his followers—at all events the first stage of it—in the sealing of the followers of the Beast (Apoc. xiii. 16 sq., xiv. 9, xvi. 2, xix. 20, xx. 4).

The manifestation of the Messiah was a familiar expectation in Jewish Apocalyptic about this time and earlier: cf. 4 Ezra vii. 28, xiii. 32; 2 Bar. xxxix. 7.

σπέρμα ἰστέ: vi. 16, τὸν Ἰσραὴλ τοῦ θεοῦ; Phil. iii. 3, ἡμεῖς γὰρ ἔσμεν ἡ περιτομή, οἱ πνεύματι θεοῦ λατρεύοντες καὶ καυχώμενοι ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ; 1 Pet. 1; Jas. i. 1; Hermas, *Sim.* ix. 17.

5. ἐκ φυλῆς Ἰούδα δώδεκα χιλιάδες ἐσφραγισμένοι,
ἐκ φυλῆς Ῥουβὴν δώδεκα χιλιάδες,
ἐκ φυλῆς Γὰδ δώδεκα χιλιάδες,
6. ἐκ φυλῆς Ἀσὴρ δώδεκα χιλιάδες,
ἐκ φυλῆς Νεφθαλὶμ δώδεκα χιλιάδες,
ἐκ φυλῆς Μανασσὴ δώδεκα χιλιάδες,
7. ἐκ φυλῆς Συμεὼν δώδεκα χιλιάδες,
ἐκ φυλῆς Λευὶ δώδεκα χιλιάδες,
ἐκ φυλῆς Ἰσσαχὰρ δώδεκα χιλιάδες,
8. ἐκ φυλῆς Ζαβουλὼν δώδεκα χιλιάδες,
ἐκ φυλῆς Ἰωσήφ δώδεκα χιλιάδες,
ἐκ φυλῆς Βενιαμὴν δώδεκα χιλιάδες ἐσφραγισμένοι.

5-8. In the above list there are several irregularities. (a) Judah is placed first. (b) Dan is omitted. (c) Manasseh is given, though Manasseh is included in Joseph. (d) The rest of the tribes are enumerated in a wholly unintelligible order.

(a) Judah is mentioned first, because from him is sprung the Messiah (see p. 193 sq.).

(d) Before we discuss the difficulties in (b) and (c) we must examine that under (d), since if this can be solved the rest come easier. Now the present unintelligible order of the tribes cannot be explained by any such irrelevancy as that of Grotius: "Nullus servatur ordo, quia omnes in Christo pares." The text *is* unintelligible as it stands, and it is unintelligible because it is dislocated. This dislocation Buchanan Gray has recognized (*Encyc. Bib.* iv. 5208 sq.; *Expositor*, 1902, p. 225 sqq.) and set right by transposing vii. 5^c-6 after vii. 8. By this transposition, sanity is restored to the text. The order then becomes intelligible and illuminating: first the sons of the first wife Leah—Judah, Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Issachar, Zebulun; next, the sons of Rachel the second wife—Joseph and Benjamin; next, the sons of Leah's handmaid—Gad and Assher; and, finally, we should have the sons of Rachel's handmaid—Naphtali and Dan; but we have on certain grounds Naphtali and Manasseh instead.

Thus we have first Leah's sons, then Rachel's, then the sons of Leah's handmaid, and finally, those of Rachel's handmaid. Let us now proceed to deal with the remaining difficulties, and

to make these the more obvious we shall transcribe the list arrived at through Buchanan Gray's suggestion.¹

Judah	Joseph
Reuben	Benjamin
Simeon	Gad
Levi	Assher
Issachar	Naphtali
Zebulun	Manasseh.

The first difficulty (*a*) in this list arises from Judah being placed at the head of the list. But the reason for this order is obvious, as we have already seen (see p. 193 sq.). Christ is descended from Judah, therefore Judah comes first. The next difficulty (*b*) arises from the omission of Dan and the insertion of Manasseh (*c*) in his place. Here again the answer is, I think, of no questionable character. Manasseh is obviously *de trop* here, since Manasseh is already included in Joseph; and Joseph is original, since the list obviously aims at giving the sons of Rachel, as it has given the sons of Leah, and not two of her sons and one grandson as it does in its present form. Manasseh then has been substituted for Dan, the missing son of Rachel's handmaid. The substitution has, as we have remarked, made the list illogical. We have now to ask, Why was Dan omitted? and by whom? Various explanations of the displacement of Dan by Manasseh have been offered. Gomarus, Hartwig, Bleek, Züllig, and Spitta propose that Δάν stood originally in the text, but was early corruptly written Μάν, and that hence Manasseh arose. But such abbreviations are highly improbable, and very seldom occur in Uncial MSS. and the corruption of Δάν into Μάν is unlikely in the case of such a well-known list as that of the twelve tribes. Others, as Grotius, Ewald, De Wette, and Düsterdieck are of opinion that Dan was omitted because the tribe had long ago died out. But the same statement might be made of many of the tribes. Others think the omission due to the fact that Dan early fell into idolatry; but this in itself would not distinguish Dan from the rest of the tribes.

There is, however, another explanation, and that at once the most ancient and most satisfactory of all, which was first propounded by Irenaeus. According to this explanation Dan was omitted because the Antichrist was to spring from his tribe. Irenaeus writes, v. 30. 2: "Hieremias . . . tribum ex qua veniet

¹ Another possible restoration of the text could be effected by transposing 5^c-6 after 8^a. We should then have Leah's sons, the sons of Leah's handmaids, the sons of Rachel's handmaid, Rachel's sons. But the other restoration is better.

manifestavit dicens . . . et propter hoc non annumeratur tribus haec in Apocalypsi cum his quae salvantur." Hippolytus, *De Antichristo*, 14, ὡς περ γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδα φυλῆς ὁ Χριστὸς γενένηται, οὕτως καὶ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Δάν φυλῆς ὁ ἀντίχριστος γεννηθήσεται. Andreas, ἡ φυλὴ τοῦ Δάν, ὡς ἐκ αὐτῆς τικτομένου τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου, ταῖς λοιπαῖς οὐ συντέτακται. That this tradition of the origin of Antichrist is pre-Christian and Jewish I have shown in the notes on Test. Dan v. 6-7, in my edition of the Test. XII Patriarchs; and Bousset (*The Antichrist Legend*, 171 sq.) has proved at length that this interpretation of our text was that which was generally accepted in the early Christian Church, i.e. by Eucharis, Augustine, Jacob of Edessa, Theodoret, Arethas, Bede, etc. This interpretation is maintained by Erbes (77-79), Bousset, Holtzmann⁸, J. Weiss, Swete, Anderson Scott, etc.

9-17. *Proleptic vision of the martyrs from the last great tribulation, blessed and triumphant in heaven.*

In the preceding chapters, iv.-vii. 8, the order of time has been observed in the visions recounted. There has been no breach of unity in this respect; no anticipation of the far distant future followed by a return to the more immediate. But to such a proleptic vision we have now come. The visionary gaze of the Seer leaves for the moment the steady, progressive unveiling of the events of the future, and beholds the more distant destinies of the faithful, triumphant and secure before the throne of God in heaven. These are they who had been sealed in the vision just recounted, and had already by martyrdom won the martyr's privilege of the immediate blessedness and perfection of being clothed in their spiritual bodies before the throne. They do not represent the entire Church of the redeemed, but only those who had come forth as martyrs from "the great tribulation." Their number is still incomplete: their host is still growing with fresh accessions of the martyred saints. The time to which the vision points is still prior to the final judgment. (On all these questions see pp. 200-202, and notes below.) When the last martyr joins the throng of the blessed, the roll of the martyrs (vi. 11) will be complete, and the hour of the final judgment have struck.

The vision is recounted to encourage and inspire the present generation, and confines itself to the destinies of the martyrs belonging to it; for the great multitude is composed of those who come from the last great tribulation (vii. 14) which, according to the belief of the Seer, is about to come upon the earth. The phrase τῆς θλίψεως τῆς μεγάλης (vii. 14) cannot be taken loosely as meaning any or every tribulation that befalls the faithful in this life, but only as the final and greatest tribulation that was to come on mankind (see pp. 44, 212). Since there is

no legitimate means of evading this conclusion, the clause *ὃν ἀριθμῆσαι αὐτὸν οὐδεὶς ἐδύνατο* seems unjustifiable in its present context. And so indeed it is; but the explanation, as we have already seen (p. 201 sq., note), is that this clause belonged to the vision in its original form, in which its subject was the whole Church of the redeemed, triumphant in heaven *after the final judgment*.

We might perhaps recover the original form of the vision, with its reference to all the redeemed after the final judgment, by reading in 14,

οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ἐλθόντες ἐκ θλίψεως μεγάλης
καὶ ἔπλυναν κτλ.,

instead of οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ἐρχόμενοι ἐκ τῆς θλίψεως τῆς μεγάλης κτλ., and omitting ἐν τῇ ναῷ αὐτοῦ in 15.

9. Μετὰ ταῦτα εἶδον

καὶ ἰδοὺ ὄχλος πολὺς, ὃν ἀριθμῆσαι αὐτὸν οὐδεὶς ἐδύνατο,
ἐκ παντὸς ἔθνους καὶ φυλῶν καὶ λαῶν καὶ γλωσσῶν,
ἑστῶτες ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου καὶ ἐνώπιον τοῦ ἀρνίου,
περιβεβλημένους στολὰς λευκάς, καὶ φοίνικες ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν
αὐτῶν.

ὃν . . . ἐδύνατο. On this clause see the close of the preceding note, and p. 202, note.

The Seer is not looking here to the final blessedness of the faithful of all times, peoples, and countries, but, before the horrors of the last tribulation burst upon the faithful of his own generation, he shows them by way of encouragement the blessedness that awaits those who fall as martyrs in the great and closely impending catastrophe.

No contrast with the 144,000 is intended; for our author there is making use of traditional material, and is only concerned with the main thought of vii. 4-8, *i.e.* the sealing, and here he is adapting to a new context an earlier vision of his own which had originally a different meaning.

ἐκ παντὸς ἔθνους κτλ. See note on v. 9. ἑστῶτες. The plural refers to ὄχλος. The construction is κατὰ σύνεσιν. Cf. xix. 1.

περιβεβλημένους στολὰς λευκάς. Since this vision relates to the faithful before the final judgment (see p. 209), and since they are nevertheless clothed in white raiment, they are to be regarded not as the faithful generally, but as the martyrs who immediately received their white robes (cf. vi. 11) and entered on perfect blessedness. The faithful who died a peaceful death were not to receive these robes till after the final judgment. See note on iii. 5. The acc. περιβεβλημένους is best explained as a slip on the part of our author for περιβεβλημένοι. There are similar slips, which would have been removed if he had had the

opportunity of revising his MS. φοίνικες ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτῶν. The palm branches are a symbol of victory and joy after war. Cf. 2 Macc. x. 7, φοίνικας ἔχοντες νύχαρίστουν: 1 Macc. xiii. 51, εἰσῆλθεν εἰς αὐτὴν (i.e. Ἱερουσαλήμ) . . . μετὰ αἰνέσεως καὶ βατῶν . . . ὅτι συνεντρίβη ἐχθρὸς μέγας ἐξ Ἰσραήλ: also John xii. 13. Tertullian, *Scorp.* 12, "palmis victoriae insignes revelantur scilicet de Antichristo triumphantes" (Swete). There is no ground for seeing in the text a reference to a heavenly Feast of Tabernacles—a season of eternal harvest joy—with Vitringa, Eichhorn, Hengstenberg, and others; nor for discovering, with Deissmann (*Bible Studies*, 368-369), traces of the influence of the Greek cultus in the neighbouring Ephesus, a suggestion which betrays a complete misconception of our text.

10. καὶ κρᾶζουσιν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ λέγοντες

Ἡ σωτηρία τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ καὶ τῷ ἀρνίῳ.

κρᾶζουσιν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ λέγοντες: cf. vi. 10, xviii. 2, xix. 17 (vii. 2, x. 3, xiv. 15). ἡ σωτηρία τῷ θεῷ: cf. πνεῦμα ἡγιᾶς, Ps. iii. 9, where the LXX has τοῦ κυρίου ἡ σωτηρία. The phrase recurs in xii. 10, xix. 1. Elsewhere (v. 13, xii. 10, xix. 1, etc.) there are many themes of praise; but here one theme only is dwelt on—victory, deliverance, salvation—by those who have just emerged in triumph from the strife; for though in one sense they have through martyrdom wrought out their own salvation, and now appear as victors before the throne, in another and deeper they know and proclaim that the victory, the deliverance (ἡ σωτηρία), is not their own achievement, but that of God and of the Lamb.

On τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν: cf. note on vii. 3; on τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ, note on p. 113; and on τῷ ἀρνίῳ, note on v. 6.

11. καὶ πάντες οἱ ἄγγελοι ἱστῆκισαν κύκλῳ τοῦ θρόνου καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ τῶν τεσσάρων ζώων καὶ ἔπεσαν ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου ἐπὶ τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῶν καὶ προσεκύνησαν τῷ θεῷ. In this verse the Seer enumerates the various concentric ranks of spiritual beings, beginning from without: first the angels, then the Elders, then the four Living Creatures (see note on iv. 4). We are possibly to infer that the great multitude of Martyrs (vii. 9) forms the outermost circle. ἔπεσαν ἐνώπιον: cf. iv. 10, v. 8. ἔπεσαν . . . ἐπὶ τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῶν: cf. xi. 16. ἔπεσαν . . . καὶ προσεκύνησαν: cf. iv. 10, v. 14, xi. 16, xix. 4, 10, xxii. 8. προσεκύνησαν τῷ θεῷ. προσκυνεῖν takes the dative when it means "to worship." Thus it is followed by τῷ θεῷ in iv. 10, vii. 11, xi. 16, xix. 4, 10, xxii. 9; by τῷ δρακόντι, xiii. 4. In xix. 10 (an interpolation) when the Seer falls down to worship the angel (προσκυνῆσαι αὐτῷ) the angel forbids him. On the other hand,

προσκυνεῖν takes the acc. when it means "to do homage to": cf. xiii. 4, τὸ θηρίον (A 79), xiii. 12 (ACQ min plq 30). In xiv. 9, 11, xx. 4, it is followed by τὸ θηρίον καὶ τ. εἰκόνα. We should, therefore, read τὴν εἰκόνα in xiii. 15 (with A and some cursives), and in xix. 20. In xvi. 2, where it is followed by the dative, the clause is an interpolation. *προσκυνεῖν* with the acc. is the older and more classical usage, but it takes the dative as the regular construction in the LXX. In his use of this verb our author differs from that in the Fourth Gospel: see Abbott, *Johannine Vocabulary*, 138-142. In the Fourth Gospel the two constructions with the acc. and dat. appear, but in exactly the opposite meanings to those which they have in our author.

12. λέγοντες Ἀμήν ἡ εὐλογία καὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ σοφία καὶ ἡ εὐχαριστία καὶ ἡ τιμὴ καὶ ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ ἰσχὺς τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων Ἀμήν. By the first Ἀμήν the angels adopt as their own and solemnly confirm the thanksgiving of the martyrs. On this doxology see note on v. 12.

13-17. Interpretation of the foregoing vision.

13. καὶ ἀπεκρίθη εἰς ἐκ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων λέγων μοι Οὗτοι οἱ περιβεβλημένοι τὰς στολὰς τὰς λευκάς τίνας εἰσὶν καὶ πόθεν ἦλθον; καὶ ἀπεκρίθη . . . λέγων = ἦλθον . . . ἦν. This form of

diction, which is very frequent in the Fourth Gospel, is found only here in the Apocalypse. Ἀποκρίνεσθαι has been regarded as answering to the unexpressed question on the part of the Seer, but it is better to take it as a response to a certain fresh occasion or circumstance, as in Judg. xviii. 14; 2 Kings i. 11; Cant. ii. 10. On the dialogue form which the text assumes cf. Jer. i. 11; Zech. iv. 2, 5, καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς μέ· τί σὺ βλέπεις; . . . καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς μέ λέγων Οὐ γινώσκεις τί ἐστὶν ταῦτα; καὶ εἶπα Οὐχὶ κύριε: 4 Ezra ii. 44, "Tunc interrogavi angelum et dixi: Qui sunt hi, domine?" This form of dialogue is very frequent in the Shepherd of Hermas.

τίνας . . . ἦλθον: cf. Josh. ix. 8, "Who are ye, and whence do ye come?" (LXX, πόθεν ἐστέ, καὶ πόθεν παραγεγόνατε); Jonah i. 8. In classical literature see Virg. *Aen.* viii. 114, "qui genus? unde domo?" See other parallels in Wetstein. The ἦλθον does not necessarily imply that the number is yet complete. Hence the οἱ ἐρχόμενοι in the next verse may be taken in its natural sense, "who are coming."

14. καὶ εἶρηκα αὐτῷ Κύριέ μου, σὺ οἶδας. εἶρηκα seems to be used as an aorist here. Cf. v. 7, viii. 5, xix. 3. See Moulton, *Gram.* 145. In iii. 3, xi. 17, the perfects retain their proper force. This aoristic use of the perfect is not found in the Fourth Gospel. κύριος is used in addressing an angel in Gen. xix. 2; Dan. x. 16 sq.; Zech. i. 9, iv. 4, 13; and in addressing a man, Gen. xxiii. 6, xxxi. 35; John xii. 21. σὺ οἶδας (cf.

Ezek. xxxvii. 3, καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς μέ . . . Εἰ ζήσεται τὰ ὀστᾶ ταῦτα; καὶ εἶπα Κύριε, σὺ ἐπίστη ταῦτα) expresses the speaker's ignorance and his desire for information (Bengel, De Wette, Swete, etc.), and herein it differs from σὺ οἶδας in John xxi. 15 sqq. The response of the elders is in verse:

καὶ εἶπέν μοι
οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ἐρχόμενοι ἐκ τῆς θλίψεως τῆς μεγάλης
καὶ ἔπλυναν τὰς στολὰς αὐτῶν
καὶ ἐλεύκαναν αὐτὰς ἐν τῷ αἵματι τοῦ ἀρνίου.

We have already seen that ἐρχόμενοι is to be taken here as an imperfect participle. The martyrs are *still* arriving from the scene of the great tribulation. ἡ θλίψις ἡ μεγάλη is the last and final tribulation which the present generation is to experience. Cf. Dan. xii. 1; Mark xiii. 19, θλίψις οἷα οὐ γέγονεν ποιαύτη ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κτίσεως = Matt. xxiv. 21. It is quite wrong to take it as meaning generally the tribulation that the faithful must encounter in the world. This great tribulation is still in the future. It consists first and chiefly in the actual manifestation of the Satanic powers on earth, and only in a secondary degree in social and cosmic evils. Against the first the faithful are secured, being sealed as God's own. The latter they had, like the rest of mankind, to endure.

These blessed ones are martyrs who are coming from the great tribulation: martyrs—not the ordinary faithful—for the tribulation is still in progress and yet they have already received their white garments (see next verse and vi. 11), their spiritual bodies—a grace vouchsafed only to the martyrs. The rest of the faithful do not receive their white robes till or after the final judgment.

That this verse read originally οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ἐλθόντες ἐκ θλίψεως μεγάλης we have seen reason to believe (see p. 202, n. 2), though it would be possible to take ἐρχόμενοι as = ἐλθόντες by a Hebraism.

οἱ ἐρχόμενοι καὶ ἔπλυναν. On the Hebraism here and in i. 5, 6, ii. 20, see note on ii. 20.

The στολαί (cf. vi. 11, and Add. Note on vi. 11 at the close of that chapter) are the heavenly bodies which the martyrs receive immediately after death. On the one hand, it can be said that Christ or God gives the faithful ἱμάτια λευκά (iii. 5) or στολαὶ λευκαί (vi. 11); for a man's reception of the spiritual body is due not to works but to grace; yet, on the other hand, the faithful have their share in the acquisition or creation of this spiritual body; for they co-operate with God: to their faithfulness is it owing that they have spiritual bodies at all. They "wash their garments and make them white through the blood of the Lamb."

The two ideas of God's grace and man's work are combined in the Pauline words: Phil. ii. 12 sq., *τὴν ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίαν καταργήσθε, θεὸς γάρ ἐστιν ὁ ἐνεργῶν ἐν ὑμῖν καὶ τὸ θέλει καὶ τὸ ἐνεργεῖν*. *ἐλεύκαναν* is taken by some interpreters as an explanation of *ἐπλυναν*: by others *ἐπλυναν* is referred to man's justification, and *ἐλεύκαναν* to his sanctification. "The aorists," as Swete observes, "look back to the life on earth when the cleansing was effected."

ἐν τῷ αἵματι τοῦ ἀρνίου. This phrase has been taken as (a) "in the blood of the Lamb." In this case the text refers to the forgiveness of sins through faith in the sacrifice of Christ. Cf. 1 John i. 7; Rom. iii. 25, v. 9; Heb. ix. 14; 1 Pet. i. 2. The expression *ἐλεύκαναν* . . . *ἐν τῷ αἵματι* is then strongly paradoxical. "The O.T. is familiar with the idea of soiled garments (Isa. lxiv. 6; Zech. iii. 3) as well as of the symbolism of the washing of the garments (Ex. xix. 10, 14), and the *λευκαίνειν* recalls especially Isa. i. 18. As here also for the judgment of the saving worth of Christ's death the Pauline category of sacrifice is adopted, so it lies specially at the foundation of 1 Cor. vi. 11, *ἀπελούσασθε*, as well as of 1 Cor. vi. 20" (Holtzmann). By such interpreters the great multitude is taken to include all the faithful and not merely martyrs, after the final judgment and before. (b) *ἐν τῷ αἵματι* is to be rendered "through the blood." So Bousset, who holds that the parallel expression, xii. 11, *καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐνίκησαν αὐτὸν διὰ τὸ αἷμα τοῦ ἀρνίου*, demands this rendering. The great multitude is composed only of martyrs, who through the sacrifice of Christ have become endowed with power to become martyrs. Ewald and J. Weiss from different standpoints uphold the reference of the text (in its present form) to the martyrs. But, even if "through the blood" is the only right rendering of *ἐν τῷ αἵματι*, I do not see that this expression necessarily implies that the faithful here referred to are martyrs. The grounds for such a conclusion have been already given (see pp. 186 sqq., 213).

15. διὰ τοῦτό εἰσιν ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου τοῦ θεοῦ
καὶ λατρεύουσιν αὐτῷ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ἐν τῷ ναφ αὐτοῦ
καὶ ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου σκηνώσει ἐπ' αὐτούς.

διὰ τοῦτα. The preceding verse explains their fitness for God's service.

With *λατρεύουσιν αὐτῷ* cf. xxii. 3. This *λατρεύειν* (= *לָבַד*) almost universally in the LXX denotes the service rendered to Yahweh by Israel as His peculiar people: cf. Phil. iii. 3, *οἱ πνεύματι θεοῦ λατρεύοντες*: Acts xxvi. 7, *εἰς ἣν τὸ δωδεκάφυλον ἡμῶν ἐν ἐκτενείᾳ νύκτα κ. ἡμέραν λατρεύον*: Rom. ix. 4; Heb. ix. 1, 6. "It is," as Lightfoot (on Phil. iii. 3) observes, "the

service not of external rites, but of spiritual worship": see also Rom. xii. 1, *τὴν λογικὴν λατρείαν*. As such it belongs to the whole people, and is distinct from the priestly service. For the latter the appropriate word is *λαειτουργεῖν* (= *לשר*). This priestly service was rendered not only in the earthly temple, Ex. xxviii. 31, xxix. 30 and *passim*, but also in the temple in heaven, according to Jewish conceptions: cf. Test. Levi iii. 5 (on which see my notes), where the priestly office is discharged by the archangels. But in the Christian heaven no such exclusive priestly functions are discharged, and there is no room for any exclusive priestly caste. All the blessed are priests unto God, and it is their part *λατρεύειν* not *λαειτουργεῖν*.¹

ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός. Cf. iv. 8 on the never-ceasing praise of the angels. This time division exists only for earth dwellers: cf. xxii. 5. *ἐν τῷ ναῷ αὐτοῦ*. On the combination of the ideas of the throne of God and the Temple in heaven, see note on iv. 2. This heavenly Temple stands in the existing heaven (xi. 19), but there will be no temple in the heavenly Jerusalem, xxi. 22, *καὶ ναὸν οὐκ εἶδον ἐν αὐτῇ*. In the *original* form of the vision, vii. 9-17, which dealt with the whole body of the blessed after the final judgment, the phrase *ἐν τῷ ναῷ αὐτοῦ* was probably absent. Cf. xxi. 22, iii. 12. God was their real temple.

ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ. See note on iv. 2. *σκηνώσει ἐπ' αὐτούς* = "His Shekinah shall abide upon them," or "He shall cause His Shekinah to abide upon them." This construction appears unexampled. Cf. Num. rab. sect. 13, 218, *שכינתו השכינה* *בארץ*; also Shabb. 22^b 30^b, etc., where the Shekinah is said to rest on the faithful Israelites. In xxi. 3 we have *σκηνώσει μετ' αὐτῶν*. In using the future *σκηνώσει* and those that follow, the Seer passes from the sphere of the visionary to the actual. *σκηνοῦν* is confined to Johannine writings in the N.T. Cf. John i. 14; Rev. vii. 15, xii. 12, xiii. 6, xxi. 3, and is always used of God or of heavenly beings. The Shekinah, or the immediate presence of God, is here promised. The Shekinah primarily means the manifestation of God amongst men either in the Tabernacle or Temple, or in Jerusalem, or amongst His people Israel. But the word is also used where God is spoken of as dwelling in heaven, Targ. Jon. on Isa. xxxiii. 5; Deut. iii. 24, iv. 39. Indeed the Shekinah only exceptionally came down to the earth. (See *Jewish Encyc.* xi. 258 sq.)

¹ J. Weiss (*Offenbarung des Johannes*, 68 sq.), while maintaining that vii. 9-17 in its present form refers only to the martyrs, asserts that the phrase *διὰ τοῦτο* proves that this cannot have been its original meaning. It would, he writes, contradict the teaching of i. 6 to hold that only the martyrs could become priest- of God. But as we have seen, it is not for any exclusive priestly function, but for God's worship and service that their redemption from sin had fitted them.

16. οὐ πεινάσουσιν ἔτι οὐδὲ διψήσουσιν ἔτι,
οὐδὲ μὴ παῖσῃ ἔτι αὐτοὺς ὁ ἥλιος οὐδὲ πᾶν καῦμα,
17. ἔτι τὸ ἄρνιον τὸ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ θρόνου ποιμαίνει αὐτούς,
καὶ ὁδηγήσει αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ ζωῆς πηγᾶς ὕδατων
καὶ ἐξαλείψει ὁ θεὸς πᾶν δάκρυον ἐκ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν.

The first four lines are for the most part derived from Isa. xlix. 10, but hardly from the LXX, which runs :

οὐ πεινάσουσιν οὐδὲ διψήσουσιν,
οὐδὲ πατάξει αὐτοὺς καύσων οὐδὲ ὁ ἥλιος,
ἀλλ' ὁ ἐλεῶν αὐτοὺς παρακαλέσει,
καὶ διὰ πηγῶν ὕδατων ἄξει αὐτούς.

16 is a translation of Isa. xlix. 10, and a translation independent of the LXX. *παῖσῃ* is an equally good rendering with *πατάξει* of *𐤓𐤐*, and *καῦμα* is probably a better one than *καύσων*. Our author has inverted the order of *καῦμα* and *ἥλιος* and inserted *ἔτι* three times. These slight changes have greatly enhanced the wonderful beauty of the original. It will be observed that I read *παῖσῃ ἔτι*—a suggestion of Swete, who thereby improves on the earlier suggestion of Gwynn (*Apoc. of St. John in Syriac*, p. 17) that we should read *παῖσῃ*. *πέσῃ ἐπὶ* is here quite impossible. The same conception is found in ix. 5, where the Uncials and many of the Cursives read *πέσῃ* (for *παῖσῃ*) *ἄνθρωπον*, which *s*¹ corrects into *πέσῃ ἐπὶ ἄνθρ.* With *παῖσῃ* . . . ὁ ἥλιος cf. Ps. cxxi. 6.

The thirst here spoken of means the pain of unsatisfied desire, just as in John iv. 14. It is satisfied at the springs of living water to which the Lamb leads the blessed (17). He that drinketh of this water shall never suffer the torments of thirst : God Himself is the fountain of life. Cf. Ps. xxxv. (xxxvi.) 10 ; 1 Enoch xlviii. 1. The blessed thereby win a satisfaction which is independent of all that is less than the divine. And yet in another sense their hunger and thirst will never cease ; for they will never know satiety, but be ever reaching forward ; for their object is nothing less than God Himself and His perfections. On the distinction carefully observed by our author between "the water of life" and "the tree of life," see note on ii. 7, xxii. 14.

But 17 has very little connection with Isa. xlix. 10. First of all the line *ἔτι τὸ ἄρνιον . . . αὐτούς* is altogether different from Isa. xlix. 10°. The diction of this line is wholly that of our author with the seeming exception of *ποιμαίνειν*, which elsewhere in the Apocalypse has an unfavourable meaning and is used with reference to the heathen nations, ii. 27, xii. 5, xix. 15. Its use here, however, recalls John x. 11, *ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ καλός*,

x. 14; Heb. xiii. 20; 1 Pet. ii. 25; and in the O.T. Isa. xl. 11, ὡς ποιμὴν ποιμαίνει τὸ ποίμνιον αὐτοῦ, Ezek. xxxiv. 23, where it is said of the Messiah, ποιμαίνει αὐτοὺς . . . καὶ ἔσται αὐτῶν ποιμὴν (cf. xxxvii. 24). If we take this line along with the next we have an excellent parallel in Ps. xxiii. 1, 3, Κύριος ποιμαίνει με . . . ὁδηγήσέν με. Since the rest of 17^a is wholly in the diction of our author, and as the idea was a familiar O.T. and N.T. one, we may regard ποιμαίνειν in the favourable sense as undoubtedly belonging to his vocabulary here. ἀνὰ μέσον = ἐν μέσῳ, v. 6: cf. Ex. xxvi. 28; Josh. xix. 1 (= בֵּתוֹן). For its use = "between," cf. Josh. xxii. 25; 1 Cor. vi. 5.

Next as regards 17^b we see that it differs in several respects from Isa. xlix. 10^d. ὁδηγήσει is not a rendering of יְהַגִּיד but of יְהַנִּיחַ or יְהַנִּיחַ, while the LXX ἄξει implies יְהַנִּיחַ. Moreover, our author transposes the verb to the beginning of the verse. The phrase ἐπὶ ζωῆς πηγᾶς ὑδάτων is in part explicable from Isa. xlix. 10^d מִמֶּנּוּ יִצְמַח, but still more from Jer. ii. 13, מִמֶּנּוּ יִצְמַח, LXX, πηγὴν ὕδατος ζῶντος. Cf. Ps. xxxv. (xxxvi.) 10, παρὰ σοί πηγὴ ζωῆς. We have a remarkable parallel to our text in 1 Enoch xlviii. 1, where in the new heaven and earth (xlv. 4, 5) Enoch sees "a fountain of righteousness which was inexhaustible: around it were many fountains of wisdom, and all the thirsty drank of them, and were filled with wisdom." The plural πηγᾶς may refer to some such conception; for men's hunger and thirst seek satisfaction in the life of God, in His wisdom, righteousness, and other perfections. But the most immediate parallels are in John iv. 14, τὸ ὕδωρ ὃ δώσω αὐτῷ γενήσεται ἐν αὐτῷ πηγὴ ὕδατος ἀλλομένου εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον: vii. 38, ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμέ . . . ποταμοὶ ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας αὐτοῦ ρεύσουσιν ὕδατος ζῶντος. The emphasis, as Swete observes, is given to the idea of life by the unusual order ζωῆς πηγᾶς ὑδάτων (with which 1 Pet. iii. 21, σαρκὸς ἀπόθεσις ῥύπου, may be compared; but the parallel is imperfect). The phrase recurs in its more natural order in xxi. 6, τῆς πηγῆς τοῦ ὕδατος τῆς ζωῆς. With the expression cf. also xxii. 1, ποταμὸν ὕδατος ζωῆς, and xxii. 17, ὕδωρ ζωῆς.

17^b then is not a translation of Isa. xlix. 10^d, but merely based upon it. So far as it is a translation it differs in order and largely in diction from the LXX.

καὶ ἐξαλείψει . . . ἐκ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν. This line is a translation of Isa. xxv. 8^b, where the LXX reads καὶ πάλιν ἀφεῖλεν κύριος ὁ θεὸς πᾶν δάκρυον ἀπὸ παντὸς προσώπου. Since the Peshitto and Vulgate agree with the LXX in this rendering of נָחַם we must here again maintain our author's independence of the LXX. The rendering ἐξαλείψει is found in Symmachus, but the version of Symmachus was at the earliest seventy years later than our Book. The πᾶν before δάκρυον may point to some

dependence on the LXX, or there may be here simply a transposition of the לך in the Hebrew. Here and in xxi. 4, where the line recurs, our author writes *ὀφθαλμῶν* and not *προσώπου* or *προσώπου*.

CHAPTER VIII.-IX.

§ 1. *The first six Trumpets—but originally the first two Woes or Demonic Plagues—Original order and thought of viii.-ix.*

These two chapters present as they stand insuperable difficulties. These will be duly discussed in turn, but for the sake of clearness I will at once lay before the reader the results of this criticism.

Results of present criticism.—(a) The first four Trumpets, viii. 7-12, are not original, but a subsequent addition, and deal only with cosmic phenomena; whereas the sealing in vii. 4-8 prepares the reader to expect not cosmic but demonic Woes.

(b) The last three Trumpets are the three Woes announced by the Eagle in viii. 13, and deal with the demonic and Satanic plagues, against which the faithful are sealed in vii. 4-8.

(c) viii. 2 is an intrusion in its present context and not original in its present form. If it is original it probably stood immediately after viii. 5, and read *καὶ εἶδον ἀγγέλους τρεῖς, καὶ ἐδόθησαν αὐτοῖς σάλπιγγες τρεῖς*.

(d) viii. 6 should then follow in the form *καὶ οἱ τρεῖς ἄγγελοι οἱ ἔχοντες τὰς τρεῖς σάλπιγγας ἠτοίμασαν αὐτοὺς ἵνα σαλπίσωσι*, and then viii. 13 as it stands, save that *λοιπῶν* should be omitted (see note *in loc.*).

(e) In ix. 1 *πέμπτος* should be *πρῶτος*, and in ix. 13 *ἕκτος* should be *δεύτερος*, and in x. 7 *ἐβδόμου* should be *τρίτου*, and in xi. 15 *ἐβδομος* should be *τρίτος*.

(f) In ix. 16-19 there are certain redactional additions.

Original order of text and thought.—Thus we shall have viii. 1, 3-5, 2 (restored), 6 restored, 13, ix. By the excision of viii. 7-12 and the restoration of viii. 2, 6 to their original form and context, the chief difficulties of the text are overcome, the natural order in the development recovered, and the meaning of the hitherto dark sayings in viii. 1 brought to light. There was silence in heaven for half an hour, viii. 1, even the praises and thanksgivings of all the orders of angels were hushed, until the prayers of the saints should be presented before God, viii. 3-5. Thus assurance is given that God is mindful of His own. The prayers of the faithful on earth take precedence of the praises of the blessed hosts in heaven. Thereupon the Seer beholds three

angels being given three Trumpets (viii. 2), wherewith they prepared to sound, viii. 6; and, as they were doing so, he beheld another vision, even an angel flying in the midst of heaven and proclaiming woe, woe, woe to the inhabitants of the earth because of the voices of the trumpets which the three angels were about to sound, viii. 13. Thereupon the first angel sounded and there followed the first Woe—the plague of demonic locusts, ix. 1-11; and these tormented for five months all those who had not received the seal of God in their foreheads, ix. 4. And when the first Woe was over, the second angel sounded, ix. 12, and the 200,000,000 demonic horsemen, which were bound in the river Euphrates, were let loose, and by them one-third of the heathen and idolatrous world was destroyed, ix. 18, 20 sqq.

§ 2. *Grounds for preceding Conclusions.*

viii. 7-12—a later addition. I. They conflict with the expectation created by vii. 4-8. From vii. 4-8 we learn that after the six social and cosmic evils that followed on the opening of the six Seals, the faithful were sealed in order to secure them from the coming demonic and Satanic attacks. After the sealing—the right understanding of which is the key to what follows—the expectation is natural and inevitable that the next plagues to befall the inhabitants of the earth should be demonic. But so far is this from being the case that we find a fresh series of colourless cosmic visitations following on the first four Trumpets, viii. 7-12, whereas the demonic plagues do not begin till the fifth Trumpet. Thus the former not only arrest the natural development of the Book, but they also introduce an element that is alien at this stage. Something must be wrong here, and we are thus *a priori* disposed to doubt the originality of the first four Trumpets.

II. And when we come to examine these four Trumpets, our doubts are transformed into convictions,¹ and we discover that whereas the heptadic structure of the Seals and of the Bowls is fundamental and original, the heptadic structure of the Trumpets is secondary and superinduced.

i. The first four Trumpets are conventional and monotonous. One-third of the chief things mentioned is destroyed in each except in viii. 11,² where instead of τὸ τρίτον τῶν ἀνθρώπων—

¹ I am glad to find myself at one with J. Weiss (74 sqq.) in the view that viii. 7-12 is secondary, though this writer has not recognized the fact that vii. 4-8 imply the immediate sequel of demonic plagues.

² In viii. 7 we have πᾶς χρότος instead of τὸ τρίτον τοῦ χρότου. Certainly τὸ τρίτον τῶν δένδρων καὶ τοῦ χρότου τοῦ χλωροῦ would be more natural than the present text. Besides, the stanza in viii. 7 would then have four lines as the next two stanzas.

clearly the original phrase,—even in viii. 9 τὸ τρίτον τῶν πλοίων is destroyed—we have the strange phrase, πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων (see note *in loc.*). But the reason for this redactional change is manifest. Since the invasion of the earth by the 200,000,000 demonic horsemen results in the destruction of the third of mankind, ix. 18 (sixth Trumpet = second Woe), the same result cannot here fittingly be ascribed to the third Trumpet.

ii. The first Trumpet conflicts with the fifth, for πᾶς χόρτος χλωρός is burned up (κατεκάη) in viii. 7, and yet it is presupposed to be unhurt (μὴ ἀδικήσουσιν τὸν χόρτον τῆς γῆς) in the fifth Trumpet in ix. 4.

iii. The first four Trumpets are, as J. Weiss has observed, described as objective events, but the visionary nature of the fifth and sixth is clearly marked: ix. 1, εἶδον: ix. 13, ἤκουσα.

iv. When compared with the Seals that precede, and the Bowls that follow, the four Trumpets are colourless and weak repetitions. Thus contrast the darkening of the third part of the stars and the falling of two, viii. 12, 8, 10, with the falling to the earth of all the stars as unripe figs when shaken of the wind, vi. 13; the darkening of the third of the sun, viii. 12, with intensification of its fires, xvi. 8 sq.; the change of one-third of the sea into blood, and the embittering of one-third of the rivers, viii. 8-11, with the turning of the entire sea and rivers and springs into blood, xvi. 3-4.

v. But a comparison of the first four Trumpets and the first four Bowls shows that the former are clearly modelled on the latter. Thus, while the visitations in the first four Bowls are directed respectively against the land (xvi. 2), the sea (xvi. 3), the rivers and fountains of waters (xvi. 4), and the sun (xvi. 8-9), so likewise are the visitations introduced by the first four Trumpets. The correspondence in this respect is exact in each case, save the fourth, where, instead of only the sun being affected by the pouring forth of the fourth Bowl (xvi. 8-9), both the sun and moon and stars are to some extent darkened after the fourth Trumpet. But this difference is trifling. Hence this close correspondence can hardly be accidental.

vi. The first four Trumpets exhibit a somewhat different diction and style.¹ In viii. 8 we have πυρὶ καυόμενον, but else-

¹ In viii. 9, however, we have one syntactical irregularity found elsewhere in the Apocalypse; *i.e.* τῶν κτισμάτων . . . τὰ ἔχοντα. See note on ii. 13. Also in viii. 8 we have ὡς ὅρος μέγα, "the likeness of a great mountain," but this is a common use of ὡς in Apocalyptic. See notes on i. 10, iv. 6. The phrases βάλλειν εἰς, viii. 7, and πίπτειν ἐκ, viii. 10, are used elsewhere in the Apoc., but they are not distinctive. Of course it is possible that viii. 7-12 may be a fragment of an independent vision of our author added subsequently by a scribe who did not understand the Book as a whole. But this is most improbable.

where *καίω* is followed by *πυρί*, or a like substantive : cf. xix. 20, xxi. 8. In viii. 7 *μεμυγμένα ἐν*, but the *ἐν* is omitted in xv. 2. In vii. 12 *σκοτίζεν*, but *σκοτοῦν* in ix. 2, xvi. 10.

vi. While in viii. 1, 3-5, 13 the order is purely Semitic, the verb in all cases beginning the sentence except in viii. 3, where the subject once precedes the verb for emphasis, in viii. 7-12 the subject precedes the verb three times¹ in viii. 7, once in viii. 8, once in viii. 9, twice in viii. 11, and once in viii. 12. This fact points at all events to a different style.

viii. 2, 6, 13 redacted and transposed.—Having shown the secondary character of viii. 7-12, we have now to deal with the changes made in the text with a view to introducing viii. 7-12.

viii. 2 is an intrusion in its present position.—1. For, as J. Weiss (p. 7 n.) has observed, the mention in viii. of the seven angels to whom the seven trumpets were given comes as an interruption between the opening of the seventh Seal and the offering of the prayers of the saints, and yet the angels do not take any part in the action till viii. 6. This, it is true, would not in itself constitute a valid objection against the originality of viii. 2 and its present position, but there are other and stronger objections not hitherto observed.

2. viii. 2 in its present position is against the structure of the book in analogous situations elsewhere. Thus it is to be noted that the *introduction* to the events following on the seventh Trumpet (which embraces the third Woe), xi. 15, is closed by salvoes of thunderings and lightnings, xi. 19, and the *introduction* to the events following on the seventh Bowl, xvi. 17, by a series of like phenomena, xvi. 18; and that between the sounding of the seventh Trumpet and the thunderings, etc., and the pouring forth of the seventh Bowl and the like phenomena, there is no intrusive reference to any *further fresh visitation*.

In like manner we infer that between the opening of the seventh Seal and the salvoes of heaven which followed in viii. 5, there was originally no intrusive reference to any fresh visitation such as those of the Trumpets or Woes.

3. But viii. 2 not only comes as an interruption and conflicts with the structure of the book in analogous passages elsewhere, but it has also by its intrusion here debarred the recognition of the meaning of the solemn silence for half an hour in heaven, viii. 1. The prayers and thanksgivings of all the mighty hierarchies of heaven are hushed in order that the prayers of the suffering saints on earth may be heard before the throne of God.

4. *Immediately* after the seventh (*i.e.* the third) Trumpet and the seventh Bowl we hear what is done, not on earth, but in

¹ Account is not here taken where the ordinals precede the verbs as their subjects in viii. 7, 8, 10, 12.

heaven: in the former instance a song of thanksgiving; in the latter a voice from the temple and throne saying, "It is done." In like manner *immediately* after the opening of the seventh Seal should be recorded what took place in heaven—*i.e.* the silence enjoined on all the heavenly hosts that the prayers of the suffering saints on earth might be heard before the throne.

5. Finally, the pouring out of the seven Bowls is prepared for by an announcement made in heaven: thus in xvi. 1 we read, "And I heard a great voice from the temple saying to the seven angels: Go and pour forth the seven bowls of the wrath of God upon the earth." Similarly, the opening of the seven Seals is heralded in heaven by the song of the four and twenty Elders; v. 9, "Worthy art Thou to open the book, and to open its seals." Now, on the ground of analogy we should expect some like announcement preparing for the blowing of the Trumpets; and there is such an announcement, but it is found not before the first four Trumpets, where it should appear if these were original, but before the last three. Thus in viii. 13 we find: "And I saw and heard an eagle flying in the midst of heaven, saying with a loud voice, Woe, woe, woe to the inhabitants of the earth because of the voices of the trumpets of the angels which are about to sound."

viii. 2, then, is an intrusion in its present position and in its present form. It probably stood after viii. 5, and together with viii. 6 read as follows: καὶ εἶδον ἀγγέλους τρεῖς καὶ ἐδόθησαν αὐτοῖς σάλπιγγες τρεῖς. καὶ οἱ τρεῖς ἄγγελοι οἱ ἔχοντες τὰς τρεῖς σάλπιγγας ἠτοίμασαν αὐτοὺς ἵνα σαλπίσωσι.

Thereupon follows viii. 13, wherein an eagle proclaims to the inhabitants of the earth the three coming Woes. No change further than the omission of λοιπῶν is needed here.

ix. In ix. 1 for πέμπτος we should read πρῶτος, and in ix. 13 δεύτερος for ἕκτος. There are numerous glosses in this chapter. First we have the prosaic gloss ὁ βασανισμὸς . . . ἀνθρωπιν in ix. 5, where also it is to be observed that βασανισμός has an active meaning though elsewhere in the Apocalypse it has a passive one; see xiv. 11 n.: probably καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἑλληνικῇ . . . Ἀπολλύων in ix. 11: almost certainly ἤκουσα τὸν ἀριθμὸν . . . ὁράσει in ix. 16-17, and καὶ ἐν ταῖς οὐραῖς . . . κεφαλὰς in ix. 19, since this directly conflicts with ix. 17^e-18.

It is more than probable that in ix. 13-20 we have a mutilated recast of an older vision of our author.¹ Wellhausen has already remarked that καὶ ἤκουσα . . . τοὺς τέσσαρας ἀγγέλους, ix. 13-14,

¹ On the other hand, ἀπό (ix. 18) is not elsewhere used in the Apocalypse after ἀποκτείνειν, but ἐν. Cf. ii. 23, vi. 8, ix. 20, xi. 13, xiii. 10, xix. 21. But this fact in itself would not militate against the vision in its original form being from the hand of the Seer.

is a redactional addition; but, as frequently, he gives no grounds for the assertion. If it is a redactional addition, the addition is wholly in the style of the Apocalypse. Thus we have *φωνήν . . . λέγοντα* and *ἀγγέλω, ὁ ἔχων* in ix. 13, 14, constructions which are characteristic of our author.

καθήμενους †ἐπ' αὐτῶν in ix. 17 is against the use of our author (see iv. 2, note) but may be due to the scribe who introduced 17^{ab}. On the other hand the four angels (*τοὺς τέσσαρας ἀγγέλους*) in ix. 14 are not to be identified with those in vii. 1-3, since they are distinct from them in every particular save that there are four in each case. Yet the article presumes them to be known. Again in ix. 16 we have hosts of horsemen introduced and presupposed to be known through the use of the article. If both elements are original, the original vision spoke of four angels in command of the hosts of horsemen on the Euphrates. Our author only partially reproduces his written vision. Part of this vision may possibly be recovered in its original form. It seems to have been written in tristichs. Thus

17. καὶ οἱ καθήμενοι ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔχοντες θώρακας . . . θειώδεις
καὶ αἱ κεφαλαὶ τῶν ἵππων . . . λεόντων
καὶ ἐκ τῶν στομάτων αὐτῶν . . . θεῖον

18. ἀπὸ τῶν τριῶν πληγῶν . . . ἀνθρώπων
ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ . . . ἐκ τῶν στομάτων αὐτῶν
ἡ γὰρ ἐξουσία τῶν ἵππων ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτῶν
ἀδικῆσαι.

VIII. 1, 3-5. *The seventh Seal.*—When the seventh Seal was opened there was an arrest of the praises and thanksgivings in heaven, viii. 1, in order that the prayers of all the suffering saints on earth might be heard before the throne of God, viii. 3-5. In vii. 1-3 there was an arrest of the judgments on earth until the faithful had been sealed against the coming demonic plagues: here is a further and fresh pledge that the cause of the faithful is one with that of God and the heavenly hosts.

Ver. 2 is an intrusion here, and belongs to the three Trumpets or Woes, if it is original. Its form here is secondary. See Introduction to this Chapter, p. 221 sq., and also *in loc.*

1. καὶ ὅταν ἤνοιξεν τὴν σφραγίδα τὴν ἐβδόμην, ἐγένετο σιγὴ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ὡς ἡμίωρον. On ὅταν with the indicative see Robertson, *Gram.* 973. On the meaning of the *σιγὴ* see preceding paragraph. An analogous idea is found in Judaism: cf. Chag. 12^b, מען שבו כיתות של מלאכי השרת שאוסרות שירה בלילה חשוח ביום, מפני כבודן של ישראל. That is, "in the ma'ōn (or fifth heaven) are companies of angels of service who sing praises by night, but are silent by day because of the glory of Israel," i.e. that the praises of Israel may be heard in heaven. But the idea in our

text is infinitely nobler. The praises of the highest orders of angels in heaven are hushed: that the prayers of *all* the suffering saints on earth may be heard before the throne. Their needs are of more concern to God than all the psalmody of heaven.

ἡμίωρον is a ἀπ. λεγ. ἡμίωριον is the ordinary form.

2. καὶ εἶδον τοὺς ἑπτὰ ἀγγέλους οἱ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ ἐσθήκασιν, καὶ ἐδόθησαν αὐτοῖς ἑπτὰ σάλπιγγες. That this verse stood originally after viii. 5 and referred to three angels who received three Trumpets to announce the three Woes, I have sought to prove in the Introduction to this Chapter, see p. 221 sq. The position of ἑπτὰ before σάλπιγγες and without the article is suspicious. For ἑπτὰ when not preceded by the article stands after the noun in i. 16, v. 1 (*bis*), 6 (*bis*), xii. 3 (*bis*), xiii. 1 (*bis*), xv. 1a, xviii. 3 (*bis*). It can stand before the noun when the noun is followed by another noun in the genitive, iv. 5, or an adjective that is the equivalent to a noun in the Hebrew, i. 12, ἑπτὰ λυχνίας χρυσᾶς = שִׁבְעַת מְנוֹרֹת זָהָב, xv. 7. Only in four cases does ἑπτὰ stand without the article before a noun that is otherwise undefined, *i.e.* in i. 20, viii. 2, xii. 3b, xvii. 9. Now the two last passages are suspicious on other grounds—possibly also i. 20—and we have found that viii. 2 is likewise.¹ This verse, therefore, may have read as follows: καὶ εἶδον ἀγγέλους τρεῖς καὶ ἐδόθησαν αὐτοῖς σάλπιγγες τρεῖς.

But when the three Woes heralded by three Trumpets were transformed into the seven Trumpets, the nameless three angels

¹ The same rule holds good of δέκα. When anarthrous it is placed after the noun, ii. 10, xii. 3, xiii. 1^a, xvii. 3, except in xiii. 1^b where the clause in which it occurs is probably a gloss. δώδεκα is also postpositive when anarthrous, xii. 1, xxi. 12, 14^b, xxii. 2, except in xxi. 21, but can precede its noun when this noun is followed by another noun in the genitive, xxi. 14^b. In vii. 5 sqq., xxi. 16, where it precedes numerals, it is necessarily prepositive. In John δώδεκα is prepositive when anarthrous. εἰς is always prepositive unless in ix. 13. δύο is twice anarthrous—once prepositive in ix. 12 and once postpositive, xiii. 11. τρεῖς when anarthrous is postpositive, xi. 9, xvi. 13, xxi. 13 (*quater*), but prepositive in vi. 6 where its noun is followed by another noun in the genitive: exception, xvi. 19. τέσσαρες, on the other hand, is prepositive even when anarthrous, iv. 6, vii. 1, because of the participles that follow the noun. πέντε when anarthrous is postpositive in ix. 5, 10; ἕξ postpositive in iv. 8. In Biblical Aramaic numbers over 10 are always postpositive: between 1 and 10 the postpositive order is much more frequent than the prepositive, 1, 2, and 6 are always postpositive, 7 always prepositive (five times), 3 nine times postpositive and twice prepositive, 4 three times postpositive and four prepositive, 10 three times postpositive and once prepositive: the numbers 5, 8, and 9 are not found in Biblical Aramaic. This is practically what we find in the Apocalypse except in regard to εἰς. One other usage of our author is to be noticed. In the case of ἑπτὰ (i. 20, viii. 2^b, xii. 3^b, xvii. 9), δέκα (xiii. 1, xvii. 12), δώδεκα (xxi. 21), when a phrase or clause which contains any of these numerals preceded by the article is followed by a noun and the same numeral, the latter numeral precedes the noun, as in the above passages. But several of these passages are interpolated.

were transformed into the well-known seven archangels, οἱ ἐπὶ τὰ ἄγγελοι.

This conception is already found in Tob. xii. 15, ἐγώ εἰμι 'Ραφαήλ εἰς ἐκ τῶν ἁγίων ἐπὶ τὰ ἀγγέλων οἱ παρεστήκασιν καὶ εἰσπορεύονται ἐνώπιον τῆς δόξης τοῦ Ἁγίου (M).

They are designated "archangels" in 1 Enoch xx. 7 (Greek), and their names are, xx. 2-8, Οὐριήλ, 'Ραφαήλ, 'Ραγονήλ, Μιχαήλ, Σαριήλ, Γαβριήλ, 'Ρεμειήλ. These seven are referred to in 1 Enoch xc. 21, 22, Pirke R. El. iv. and Hekalot iv., and most probably in Ezek. ix. 2, Test. Levi viii. 2. There are good grounds for assuming the original identity of the seven angels and the seven spirits, i. 4 note. But in our Apocalypse they are distinct and independent conceptions.

οἱ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστήκασιν. These angels are "Angels of the Presence": cf. Isa. lxiii. 9, יְהוָה יִשְׁמָר. ἐστάναι ἐνώπιον means "to attend upon," "to be the servant of." Cf. Luke i. 19, ἐγώ εἰμι Γαβριήλ ὁ παρεστηκώς ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ. It is the translation of the Hebrew יָבֹד לַיהוָה, 1 Kings xvii. 1, xviii. 15; 2 Kings iii. 14, v. 16; Jer. xv. 19, where it is used of the servants of God. The phrase is used in the same sense of service or worship in vii. 9, but has merely a local signification in xi. 4, xx. 12.

ἐδόθησαν . . . σάλπιγγες. The trumpet is used already in an eschatological sense in the O.T. Cf. Isa. xxvii. 13; Joel ii. 1, σαλπίζετε σάλπιγγι ἐν Σειῶν . . . διότι πάρεστιν ἡμέρα Κυρίου: Zeph. i. 16; in Zech. ix. 14, Pss. Sol. xi. 1 it heralds the glorious return from the Dispersion; in 1 Cor. xv. 52, 1 Thess. iv. 16, Mt. xxiv. 31, 4 Ezra vi. 23 ("et tuba canet cum sono, quam cum omnes audierint subito expavescent"), Ps. Apoc. Johannis ix. (ἐξέλθωσιν ἐξω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ σαλπίσουσιν Μιχαήλ καὶ Γαβριήλ μετὰ τῶν κεράτων ἐκείνων . . . καὶ . . . ἀναστήσεται, πᾶσα φύσις ἀνθρωπίνη), it announces the final judgment. See Bousset, *The Antichrist Legend*, 247 sq.

8. καὶ ἄλλος ἄγγελος ἦλθεν καὶ ἐστάθη ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον ἔχων λιβαντὸν χρυσοῦν, καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ θυμιάματα πολλὰ, ἵνα δώσει ταῖς προσευχαῖς τῶν ἁγίων πάντων ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον τὸ χρυσοῦν τὸ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου. As we have already shown, viii. 3-5 should follow immediately on viii. 1.

ἄλλος ἄγγελος. Before the recasting of the text and the interpolation of the first four trumpets, the angel here referred to may have been Michael or possibly the angel of peace (see next paragraph). According to 1 Enoch lxxix. 76, Michael prays for Israel; and he may possibly be the angel who mediates between God and man, Test. Dan vi. 2. These mediatorial functions are presupposed in 1 Enoch lxviii. 3, 4. In 1 Enoch xl. 9, he is called "the merciful and long-suffering." According to Rabbinic tradition he offered sacrifices in heaven, even the

souls of the righteous : see my note on Test. Levi iii. 5 ; Lueken, *Michael*, 30-32, 91-100. For like views in later Christian speculation see note on v. 8 of this text.

But as the text stands at present, Michael is one of the seven angels mentioned in 2, and he cannot therefore be the ἄλλος ἄγγελος in 3. If the present text could on any grounds be held to be original, we should have to inquire into the identity of the ἄλλος. Is he to be identified with one of the four and twenty Elders whose functions were of a priestly nature (see note on p. 128 sqq.)? This is unlikely ; for when an Elder is mentioned singly elsewhere we have the phrase v. 5, vii. 13, εἰς ἐκ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων. Since this nameless angel is neither one of the seven archangels, if viii. 2 is original, nor yet one of the Elders, it is possible that we have here "the angel of peace" referred to in Test. Dan vi. 5, whose office is to "strengthen Israel that it fall not into the extremity of evil." In my notes on Test. Levi v. 6-7, I have shown that these verses give probably a further description of this angel who "intercedeth for the nation of Israel and for all the righteous." Again in Test. Dan vi. 2 it is probably he and not Michael that is described as "the mediator between God and man," and one who "for the peace of Israel shall stand up against the kingdom of the enemy." The angel of peace and Michael are referred to as distinct angels in 1 Enoch xl. 8, 9. The nameless angel in Dan. x. 5-6, 11^a, 12-14, 19-21 may then be this "angel of peace" (though he is generally identified with Gabriel).

The office of the angel of peace was pre-eminently that of an intercessor and mediator in Judaism. He could therefore in a Christian Apocalypse be naturally assigned the duty of presenting the prayers of the faithful to God. This great angel is nameless in 1 Enoch and the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs, and if I am right also in Daniel. Here, too, he is nameless : he is simply ἄλλος ἄγγελος in the present form of the text and was probably εἰς ἄγγελος originally. But whether this nameless angel is Michael or the angel of peace, the final clause in v. 8 is with Spitta and Völter to be rejected as a gloss. Michael or the great nameless angel—and not the Elders—presents the prayers of the faithful, censuring them as he presents them. The Elders offer incense in the natural course of their priestly functions in heaven.

With ἐστάθῃ ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον (= נצב על-המזבח) cf. Amos ix. 1, εἶδον τὸν Κύριον ἐφεστῶτα ἐπὶ (= ἐπὶ) τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου. The angel stands by or upon the altar. In favour of the former meaning cf. Gen. xxiv. 13, 43. What this altar is we have now to investigate.

An altar¹ in heaven is mentioned seven times in the Apocalypse,

¹ Outside Apocalyptic the term "the altar," ἄλτῃς, generally means the altar of burnt-offering, but not in Apocalyptic.

vi. 9, viii. 3 (*bis*), 5, ix. 13, xiv. 18, xvi. 7. Most interpreters¹ agree that the two altars—the altar of burnt-offering and the altar of incense—are referred to in our text. But if we assume a complete heavenly Temple with a holy place, a holy of holies, two altars, etc., we are forced to conclude (1) with Züllig and Hengstenberg, that the curtain of the holy of holies is closed in iv. and viii. 3 sqq. and not opened till xi. 19; or (2) with Hofmann, that the roof of the Temple was removed in order to make possible the vision of God on His throne of Cherubim and yet not that of the ark; or (3) with Ebrard, that in the vision in iv. the whole scene was disclosed without the Temple, and that later in vi. 9 and viii. 3 sqq. a heavenly Temple appeared on a terrace below the height on which the throne stood; or (4) with Bousset and Porter, that the conceptions in iv., vi. 7, viii. 3 sqq. referring to the throne scenery and the temple scenery—are wholly irreconcilable.

Now all these attempts at explanation or confessions of incapacity to explain proceed, in our opinion, on a wrong hypothesis. We have here to do with the conceptions of the heavenly Temple in *Apocalyptic*, and it is wholly unjustifiable to conclude that every characteristic part of the earthly Temple has its prototype in the heavenly Temple as conceived in *Apocalyptic*. What we have now to do is to try and discover what views were entertained in Jewish and Christian *Apocalypses* as to the altar or altars in heaven.

As a result of my research I would at once answer: *there is no definite evidence in Jewish or Christian Apocalyptic of two altars in heaven.*

Thus in Isa. vi. 6 a seraph takes a live coal from off *the* altar (המזבח). The altar is within the Temple, and therefore presumably the altar of incense. There is only one altar presupposed in the vision.²

In the second cent. B.C. only one altar is implied in Test. Levi iii. 6, where the archangels are described as προσφέροντες τῷ Κυρίῳ ὁσμὴν εὐωδίας λογικὴν καὶ ἀναίμακτον θυσίαν.

Now, passing to Christian and Gnostic writings we find mention of only one altar. Cf. *Hermas, Mand. x. 3. 2*, λυπηροῦ ἀνδρὸς ἡ ἄντευξις οὐκ ἔχει δύναμιν τοῦ ἀναβῆναι ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ. Cf. also 3. *Sim. viii. 2. 5*, ἐὰν δέ τις σε παρέλθῃ, ἐγὼ αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον δοκιμάσω. We might perhaps cite here Irenaeus, iv. 18. 6, "Est ergo altare in caelis, illuc enim preces

¹ Ebrard and Bousset are of opinion that the altar of burnt-offering is referred to in vi. 9, viii. 3^a, 5, xvi. 7, and the altar of incense in viii. 3^b, ix. 13. Swete, that the former is referred to in vi. 9, and the latter in viii. 3, 5, ix. 13, and that there is no determining which is referred to in xiv. 18, xvi. 7. The altar in xi. 1 was in its original context the altar in the earthly Temple.

² Some scholars regard the Temple here as the earthly one.

nostrae et oblationes nostrae diriguntur"; Apoc. Pauli, 44 (ed. Tischendorf), καὶ ἴδον τὸ θυσιαστήριον καὶ τὸν θρόνον καὶ τὸ καταπέτασμα. In the Gnostic work preserved in the Excerpts from Theodotus in Clement of Alexandria (Dindorf, iii. 437), the soul is said to lay down its body παρὰ τὸ θυσιαστήριον τοῦ θυμιάματος, παρὰ τοὺς λειτουργοὺς τῶν ἀναφερομένων εὐχῶν ἀγγέλους (quoted from Lueken, *Michael*, p. 97).

In later Judaism the same view prevails. According to *Aboth R.N.*, A 26 (12) (2nd cent. A.D.), the souls of the righteous rest under the heavenly altar. There is only one altar presupposed here, and if we may take with this statement another of the 2nd cent. (R. Eleazar's), found in Shabbath, 152^b, to the effect that "the souls of the righteous are preserved under the throne of glory" (כסא הכבוד), we may reasonably conclude that the altar in question is close to the throne of God, and therefore within the heavenly temple. In any case there is only one altar in question. Finally, in Chag. 12^b we find: "In Zebul (*i.e.* the fourth heaven) are Jerusalem and the Temple and a built altar (מזבח בנוי), and Michael the great prince standing and offering an offering thereon." The same statement is made in Zebach. 62^a relative to a built altar and Michael, and also in Menachoth, 110^a.

According to Jewish Apocalyptic, therefore, and kindred literature, there is only one altar in heaven. This altar has all but universally the characteristics of the altar of incense. Such sacrifices as are offered thereon (Test. Levi iii. 6) are λογικαὶ καὶ ἀναιμάκτοι. In the last three passages cited from the Talmud, however, we have an epithet that seems to recall the altar of burnt-offering, *i.e.* "built."

However this may be, there was, according to Jewish Apocalyptic, only one altar in heaven; and since there could be no animal sacrifices in heaven, only bloodless sacrifices and incense could be offered thereon.

Let us now examine the passages in our text where an altar is mentioned, and see if the Apocalypse herein diverges from other apocalyptic literature.

First of all we remark, that as in other Apocalypses so here the phrase used is always "the altar" (τὸ θυσιαστήριον). Sometimes it is more nearly defined as τὸ θυσιαστήριον τὸ χρυσοῦν τὸ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου, viii. 3^b, or as ἤκουσα φωνὴν μίαν ἐκ τῶν κεράτων τοῦ θυσιαστ. τοῦ χρυσοῦ τοῦ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ λέγοντα, ix. 13.¹ That these two references are to the altar conceived as an altar of incense (already presupposed in v. 8), there can be no question.

¹ These expressions belong to the O.T. as applied to the altar of incense: cf. Lev. iv. 18, τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου . . . ὃ ἐστὶν ἐνώπιον Κυρίου: xvi. 12, τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου τοῦ ἀπέναντι Κυρίου (מִן־יָמֶיךָ מִלְּפָנֶיךָ): Ex. xl. 5, τὸ θυσιαστήριον τὸ χρυσοῦν . . . ἐναντίον τῆς κιβώτου.

Next as regards viii. 5, our author has two O.T. passages before him, Isa. vi. 6 and Ezek. x. 2, and, since the former explicitly states that the coal was taken from the altar (*i.e.* the altar within the *ναός*) and the latter states that the coals were taken from between the Cherubim (*i.e.* in closest proximity to the throne of God), we infer that viii. 5, *ἐγέμισεν αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου*, refers also to the altar conceived as an altar of incense. From this we conclude that the altar mentioned in viii. 3^a is also the altar of incense. Both are simply designated "the altar," though it is more fully described as "the altar of gold before the throne" in viii. 3^b. The altar is referred to in only three other passages, vi. 9, xiv. 18, xvi. 7. In xiv. 18 (*ἄλλος ἄγγελος ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου*) the evidence is indecisive unless taken in connection with the rôle that the altar plays throughout the rest of the Apocalypse. There can be no doubt that the interpolator of xiv. 15-17 conceived the altar to be the altar of incense, since the two angels in xiv. 15, 17 come forth from the Temple. There remain now only vi. 9, xvi. 7. xvi. 7 (*ἤκουσα τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου λέγοντος . . . ἀληθινὰ καὶ δίκαιαι αἱ κρίσεις σου*) might refer to the altar conceived as in vi. 9, under which had reposed the souls of the martyrs; but it can just as well, and indeed more reasonably, be conceived as referring to the altar on which the prayers of the saints were censured and offered, and which is described in ix. 13 as ordering the infliction of judgment, just as in xvi. 7 it is represented as vindicating the righteousness of God's judgment. Only one passage now remains that seems to presuppose the existence of an altar of burnt-offering as well as an altar of incense. But there is not the slightest necessity for this presupposition. According to Shabbath, 152^b, the souls of the righteous are (said by R. Eliezar, 2nd cent.) to be preserved underneath the throne of God;¹ and according to *Aboth R.N.* (2nd cent.), they rest beneath the heavenly altar. In *Debarim rabba*, 11, the soul of Moses is bidden to dwell under the throne of Glory. The conception therefore in vi. 9 is Jewish, save that our author represents *the martyrs*, and *not the righteous generally*, as resting beneath the altar; and herein it is possible that our text represents the older form of the conception, just as under vi. 11 we have shown that our text again represents the older and not the later Jewish view.

The souls of the righteous, then, according to Judaism, rest under the altar that is beneath or near the throne of God, *i.e.* the one altar that is within the heavenly Temple. This altar has the characteristics of the earthly altar of incense, and in part those of the earthly altar of burnt-offering; for the souls of the martyrs,

¹ In the same context Rabbi Abbahu (3rd cent.) is represented as defending this view.

as later the souls of the righteous generally, were conceived as being offered thereon—but as a living sacrifice. See note on vi. 11.

This idea of the offering of the souls of the martyrs on the heavenly altar is implied in our text (vi. 9 sqq.) for the first time in literature. The genesis of this idea can hardly be earlier than the 1st cent. B.C.; for before that period the souls of the faithful were conceived as going to Hades at death; but towards the close of the 1st cent. B.C. the belief that the soul ascends forthwith to heaven is found in Philo, 4 Macc., and probably in Wisdom (see my *Eschatology*², 310, 314, 322).

λίβανωτόν. This word elsewhere means “frankincense,” as in 1 Chron. ix. 29; 3 Macc. v. 2. The scholiast on Aristoph. *Nubes*, writes: *λίβανος . . . αὐτὸ τὸ δένδρον, λίβανωτὸς δὲ ὁ καρπὸς τοῦ δένδρου*, and Ammonius, *λίβανος μὲν γὰρ κοινῶς τὸ δένδρον καὶ τὸ θυμώμενον, λίβανωτὸς δὲ μόνον τὸ θυμώμενον* (quoted from Grotius). The word appears to mean “censer” in our text = *מִזְבֵּחַ*: cf. Lev. x. 1, xvi. 12. But this Hebrew word means not only *τὸ θυματήριον*, but also *τὸ πυρεῖον*, “fire-pan”: cf. Ex. xxvii. 3, xxxviii. 3, Num. iv. 14. The fire-pan was used for conveying coals from the altar of burnt-offering to the altar of incense. In Ex. xxxviii. 3 it is composed of copper, but of gold in 1 Kings vii. 50; 2 Chron. iv. 22; 2 Kings xxv. 15. Spitta (321, 323) and Bousset interpret *λίβανωτός* in the latter meaning here; but this interpretation rests on the view that the two altars are referred to in this passage,—a view which appears to be controverted by all existing Apocalyptic. In viii. 3 it is first used for the reception of incense; the coals are already in it before the incense is placed in it.

ἐδόθη αὐτῷ θυμιάματα. Spitta (325) remarks that the ritual here is analogous to that of the Great Day of Atonement, where the person who brought the coals also offered the incense, though not analogous to the usual O.T. ritual. But the analogy is only partial, since the priest on the Day of Atonement offered the incense, not on the altar of incense but before the Ark: cf. Lev. xvi. 12; Num. xvi. 46.

ἵνα δώσει ταῖς προσευχαῖς τῶν ἁγίων πάντων. On the intercession of angels in the O.T. see note on v. 8; Test. Levi iii. 5 (my edition); Lueken, *Michael*, 67 sq.

After *δώσει* we should understand *θυμιάματα*. Thus the clause practically means “that he might cense the prayers, and so make them acceptable before God.” (See note on 4.) The prayers are those of *all* the faithful, vii. 4–8, and not of the martyrs only (vi. 9 sqq.).

τὸ θυσιαστήριον τὸ χρυσοῦν τὸ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου. This phrase recurs in ix. 13, save that for *θρόνον* we find *θεοῦ*. The expres-

sion belongs to the O.T. See Lev. iv. 18, מזבח אשן לפני יחזק (cf. Lev. iv. 7, xvi. 12; 1 Kings ix. 25), but our author has not used the LXX. The earthly altar of incense was of gold, Nu. iv. 11. The single heavenly altar is naturally conceived as being of gold also.

Porter thinks that this was the first mention of an altar in heaven, and Bousset appears to be of the same opinion, and both agree in holding that the author has introduced irreconcilable contradictions by combining the temple scenery and the throne scenery. That contradictions exist to some extent it is true, but not at all to the extent these scholars maintain, when once the right interpretation of the altar is recognized. Besides, the combination of these two sceneries did not originate with our author, but are as old as the 2nd cent. B.C. and most probably Isa. vi.—see note on iv. 2, p. 111 sq.

4. καὶ ἀνέβη ὁ καπνὸς τῶν θυμιαμάτων ταῖς προσευχαῖς τῶν ἁγίων ἐκ χειρὸς τοῦ ἀγγέλου ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ. With the diction Swete compares Ezek. viii. 11, ἕκαστος θυμιατήριον αὐτοῦ εἶχεν ἐν τῇ χειρί, καὶ ἡ ἀτμὶς τοῦ θυμιάματος ἀνέβαινε.

ταῖς προσευχαῖς is here the *dativus commodi*.

The incense went up for the benefit of the prayers (Blass, *Gramm.* p. 111). The prayers are made acceptable by being offered with incense on the altar. All access to heaven lies through the avenue of sacrifice. Whether it be the prayers of the faithful or the martyrs themselves, both alike must be presented or offered on the heavenly altar that they may be cleansed thereby from the last taint of self, and be made acceptable to God. On the former idea cf. *Hermas, Mand. x. 3. 2*: πάντοτε γὰρ λυπηροῦ ἀνδρὸς ἡ ἐντεῦξ οὐκ ἔχει δύναμιν τοῦ ἀναβῆναι ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ. 3. . . . μεμιγμένη οὖν ἡ λυπὴ μετὰ τῆς ἐντεύξεως οὐκ ἀφήσιν τὴν ἐντεῦξιν ἀναβῆναι καθαρὰν ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον.

5. καὶ εἰληφεν ὁ ἄγγελος τὸν λιβανωτόν, καὶ ἐγέμισεν αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου καὶ ἔβαλεν εἰς τὴν γῆν, καὶ ἐγένοντο † βρονταὶ καὶ ἀστραπαὶ καὶ φωναὶ † καὶ σεισμός.

On εἰληφεν see note on v. 7. After censing the prayers the angel had laid down the censer, while the smoke of the incense was ascending, 4; now he takes it up again for a different purpose. It is not now to be used for the office of intercession but for judgment—a function that does not rightly belong to this sacrificial vessel. We might here compare Ezek. x. 2, πλησον τὰς δράκας σου ἀνθράκων πυρὸς ἐκ μέσου τῶν χερουβείν καὶ διασκορπισον ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν. The Seer in Ezekiel is in the earthly Temple, but the Seer in the vision before us is in heaven. This is clear from ἔβαλεν εἰς τὴν γῆν: cf. viii. 7, xii. 4, 9, 13, xiv. 19. The casting of the fire on the earth is followed by βρονταὶ καὶ φωναὶ

7. καὶ ὁ πρῶτος ἐσάλπισεν,
καὶ ἐγένετο χάλαζα καὶ πῦρ μεμιγμένα ἐν αἵματι,
καὶ ἐβλήθη εἰς τὴν γῆν·
καὶ τὸ τρίτον τῆς γῆς κατεκάη,
καὶ τὸ τρίτον τῶν δένδρων κατεκάη,
καὶ πᾶς χόρτος χλωρὸς κατεκάη.

χάλαζα καὶ πῦρ . . . ἐν αἵματι. These words recall Ex. ix. 24, ἦν δὲ ἡ χάλαζα καὶ τὸ πῦρ φλογίζον ἐν τῇ χαλάζῃ, save that there is a heightening of the terrors of the plagues by the substitution of ἐν αἵματι for ἐν τῇ χαλάζῃ. But this new feature is probably due to an actual experience of the Seer. Blood red rain is a phenomenon well known to science. Swete draws attention to a similar occurrence in Italy and the South of Europe in 1901—"the result, it is said, of the air being full of particles of fine red sand from the Sahara." Volcanic eruptions could account for the same phenomenon. In Or. Sibyll. v. 377 there is a reference to some such phenomenon, πῦρ γὰρ ἀπ' οὐρανίων δαπέδων βρέξει μεροπέσσιν.

πῦρ . . . ἐν αἵματι. The combination of fire and blood as an eschatological feature is found already in Joel ii. 30, δώσω τέρατα . . . ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς αἷμα καὶ πῦρ καὶ ἀτμίδα καπνοῦ: and that this passage was familiar to the early Christians appears from Acts ii. 19. μεμιγμένα ἐν αἵματι. In xv. 2, where μέγνυμι recurs, it is not followed by the ἐν.

χάλαζα καὶ πῦρ μεμιγμένα. This phrase is almost certainly based upon Ex. ix. 24 (quoted above), but instead of μεμιγμένα the LXX has φλογίζον as a rendering of ηἰχλὺν; and the Targums and Peshitto support this rendering. The Vulgate, on the other hand, reads *mista*, and so supports the independent rendering of the Hebrew word given by our text.

τὸ τρίτον τῆς γῆς κατεκάη. Since in xviii. 8 we have κατακαυθήσεται, we might expect κατακαήσεται (as in 1 Cor. iii. 15; 2 Pet. iii. 10) there, or κατεκαύθη here, if both passages were from the same author. τὸ τρίτον (μέρος) with a genitive following is found twelve times in viii. 7-12: elsewhere in this book three times, ix. 15, 18, xii. 4. Cf. Babba Mezia, f. 59^b: "Then was the world smitten—a third of its olives, and a third of its wheat, and a third of its barley . . . there was great war on that day; for wherever Rabbi Eliezer looked the fire burned."

The use of fractions to express relative proportions is already found in Zech. xiii. 8, 9, τὰ δύο μέρη αὐτῆς ἐξολεθρευθήσεται καὶ ἐκλείψει τὸ δὲ τρίτον ὑπολειφθήσεται ἐν αὐτῇ. Cf. Ezek. v. 2.

τῶν δένδρων. Cf. vii. 1, 3. πᾶς χόρτος . . . κατεκάη. This is absolutely at variance with ix. 4, where the locusts are bidden not to destroy the grass. See preceding note on viii. 7-12.

8. καὶ ὁ δεύτερος ἄγγελος ἐσάλπισεν·
καὶ ὡς ὄρος μέγα πυρὶ καίόμενον ἐβλήθη εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν,
καὶ ἐγένετο τὸ τρίτον τῆς θαλάσσης αἷμα.

At the second blast a fiery mass like a mountain was hurled into the sea. The figure of a burning mountain is probably derived from 1 Enoch xviii. 13, ἴδον ἑπτὰ ἀστέρας ὡς ὄρη μεγάλα καίόμενα. But the parallel is clearer in xxi. 3, ἐκεῖ τεθέσται ἑπτὰ τῶν ἀστέρων . . . ἐρριμένους ἐν αὐτῷ ὁμοίους ὄρεσιν μεγάλοις καὶ ἐν πυρὶ καιομένοις. Cf. also cviii. 4.

ἐγένετο αἷμα. There is obviously here an allusion to the first Egyptian plague. Ex. vii. 20, μετέβαλεν πᾶν τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ εἰς αἷμα: Ps. lxxviii. 44. As there the Nile was turned into blood, so here is the sea—at least a third part of it. Cf. xvi. 3.

9. καὶ ἀπέθανε τὸ τρίτον τῶν κτισμάτων τῶν ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ τὰ ἔχοντα ψυχὰς καὶ τὸ τρίτον τῶν πλοίων διεφθάρησαν. Cf. Ex. vii. 21. On the destruction of the fish of the sea as an act in the eschatological drama, cf. Zeph. i. 3. With κτισμάτων τῶν ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ cf. v. 13, πᾶν κτίσμα ὃ . . . ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς πάντα. The phrase τὰ ἔχοντα ψυχὰς stands as a nominative in apposition to τῶν κτισμάτων, as in i. 5, iii. 12, ix. 14, but against Greek syntax. For similar syntactical incongruities cf. ii. 13; Ezek. xxiii. 7, 12 (LXX).

διεφθάρησαν. Understand τὰ πλοῖα from τὸ τρίτον τῶν πλοίων. The diction ὡς ὄρος . . . πυρὶ καίόμενον . . . διεφθάρησαν, though not the thought, recalls Jer. xxviii. (li.) 25, τὸ ὄρος . . . τὸ διαφθεῖρον (חִנְיָהּ) . . . δώσω σε ὡς ὄρος ἐμπεπυρισμένον (הַר עֵשֶׂה).

10. καὶ ὁ τρίτος ἄγγελος ἐσάλπισεν·
καὶ ἔπεσεν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀστὴρ μέγας καίόμενος ὡς
λαμπάς,
καὶ ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τὸ τρίτον τῶν ποταμῶν καὶ † ἐπὶ τὰς
πηγὰς † τῶν ὕδατων.

A omits the entire clause καὶ ἐπὶ . . . ὕδατων, but I think wrongly. Instead of ἐπὶ τὰς πηγὰς we should expect τῶν πηγῶν. The accusative may be due to a mistranslation of לַמַּיִם הַחַיִּים וְעַל הַנְּהַרִּים וְעַל הַמַּיִם הַחַיִּים. As the sea was smitten in the second plague, the fresh waters are smitten in the third. The two clauses recur in xvi. 4. We have no real parallel in Jewish Apocalyptic to the fall of a star of this nature. That all the stars of heaven were to fall before the end we have already seen in vi. 13, and this expectation goes back to the O.T.

But in none of the many references to this expectation is there any intention of an accompanying evil like that in our text.

Hence there is no real parallel in the fall of the star Gôkshar in Zend eschatology (Bundahish, *S.B.E.* xxx. 18, 31) except in so far as it is a sign of the end. The fall of individual stars in viii. 8, 10 is very weak over against the vivid overwhelming vision of the stars falling from heaven as unripe figs fall from the fig-tree when shaken by the wind, vi. 13.

πηγάς τῶν ὕδατων is a frequent expression in the LXX = מַעְיָן הַמַּיִם.

11. [καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἀστέρος λέγεται ὁ Ἄψινθος]
καὶ ἐγένετο τὸ τρίτον τῶν ὑδάτων † εἰς † ἄψινθον,
καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπέθανον ἐκ τῶν ὑδάτων [ὅτι
ἐπικράνθησαν].

In this verse I have bracketed two clauses as glosses. The first interrupts the steady development of thought in the stanza. The expression τὸ ὄνομα . . . λέγεται is unique in the Apocalypse. See note on ix. 11. The latter gloss is explanatory. By the omission of the first gloss we recover in 10-11 a stanza of four lines as that in 8-9 and also in 12.

That such an expectation as that in our text was current in Palestine as to the waters becoming bitter or salt, is clear from 4 Ezra v. 9, "in dulcibus aquis salsae invenientur." This expectation may have arisen from such statements as we find in Jer. ix. 15, xxiii. 15, that Jahweh would chastise his people for their idolatry by feeding them with wormwood and giving them water of gall (רִאֵז, a poisonous herb) to drink. Though not itself poisonous, yet wormwood (לְעֵנָה) is found as a parallel of שָׂרָף, which is poisonous, in Deut. xxix. 17; Lam. iii. 19; Amos v. 7, vi. 12, as well as in the two passages already referred to in Jeremiah. It was, therefore, conceived as having poisonous effects. Its bitter taste, which is referred to in our text, ἐπικράνθησαν, is mentioned in Prov. v. 4 and implied in Lam. iii. 15 where its parallel is כִּרְוִיחַ, "bitterness." From these passages we can partly understand the genesis of the above expectation and the name given to the star. We shall observe also that in 4 Ezra v. 9 only a part of the waters is affected as in our text.

The word לענה, "wormwood," is rendered by ἄψινθον in Prov. v. 4; Jer. ix. 15, xxiii. 15, but in the LXX by a variety of words—ἀνάκη, ὀδύνη, πικρία, χολή. ἄψινθος is regularly feminine, but it is made masculine here probably because δστῆρ is so.

The reading ἐγένετο . . . εἰς ἄψινθον (though in itself good enough Greek: cf. xvi. 19; Acts v. 36; John xvi. 20; Theognis, 164) is most probably corrupt. The waters do not become wormwood, but, *remaining waters*, are made bitter (ἐπικράνθησαν). Hence we should read ὥς with his¹ Prim., and render "and the

third of the waters became like wormwood," *i.e.* "bitter." If, indeed, the writer of viii. 7-12 had wished to express the idea that the waters became wormwood he would probably have used the same idiom as he has in 8, ἐγένετο τὸ τρίτον τῆς θαλάσσης αἷμα. In xvi. 19 ἐγένετο . . . εἰς is found. If εἰς is original and ὡς a correction, then we have an additional ground for assuming a Hebrew original. εἰς ἀψυθον = חַלָּל, corrupt in that case for חַלָּל. The expression πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων has no parallel in the Apocalypse. It is used here for πολλοὶ ἄνθρωποι. When πολλοί is followed by a genitive, the genitive is either a proper noun, John xii. 11, xix. 20, Acts xviii. 8, or a definite collective expression, Acts viii. 7, xix. 18. Here τῶν ἀνθρώπων stands for mankind as a whole. The use of πολλοί in this connection is therefore peculiar, and it is probable that instead of πολλοί the original form of the vision had τὸ τρίτον. This would be analogous to what followed on the second Trumpet: a third of the sea became blood, and accordingly a third of the creatures in it perished, and even a third of the ships with their crews. So here one-third of the fresh water of the world became of a poisonous nature, and a third of mankind died. But not only is the analogy of the second Trumpet in favour of τὸ τρίτον having stood in the original vision, but also every statement in 7-12 where the proportion affected in every (?) case is one-third. Besides, if already a third of the earth is burnt up, viii. 7, it is strange that it is not till after the second Woe, ix. 18, that the third of mankind is destroyed. Furthermore, the change of τὸ τρίτον into πολλοί was apparently due to the fact that in ix. 18 after the sixth Trumpet it is stated that one-third of mankind was destroyed by the three plagues of fire, smoke, and brimstone.

ἀπέθανον ἐκ. Cf. ix. 18, and M.-W.'s *Gram.* 460. ὅτι ἐπικράνθησαν : cf. Ex. xv. 23. This clause I have bracketed as a gloss.

12. καὶ ὁ τέταρτος ἄγγελος ἐσάλπισεν
καὶ ἐπλήγη τὸ τρίτον τοῦ ἡλίου
καὶ τὸ τρίτον τῆς σελήνης καὶ τὸ τρίτον τῶν ἀστέρων,
ἵνα σκοπισθῇ τὸ τρίτον αὐτῶν
καὶ τὸ τρίτον αὐτῶν μὴ φάνη† ἡ ἡμέρα καὶ ἡ νύξ† ὁμοίως.

The last verse is prose, and apparently corrupt, at all events it is unintelligible. For literary parallels see notes on vi. 12, 13. It is to be observed how weak the phenomena here are in comparison with those already described in vi. 12, where the entire sun is darkened and the moon ensanguined. The stars in vi. 13 have already fallen from heaven. Here only a third of them are darkened.

The limitation of the τὸ τρίτον αὐτῶν is obviously to the time of shining (cf. Amos viii. 9, one-half), not to the intensity

of brightness. There is no intelligible connection between the obscuration of the third part of the sun, moon, and stars and this limitation of their time of giving light.

The text is corrupt. The original is either preserved by the Bohairic Version only, or to be recovered by a happy conjecture. The text clearly meant originally that, since the third part of the sun, moon, and stars was smitten, this third part was darkened and did not shine either by day or night. But somehow instead of *ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός* the oldest Greek form of the text read *ἡ ἡμέρα καὶ ἡ νύξ*—the first stage in the corruption of the text. This rendered the text ungrammatical and unintelligible, and yet a considerable body of cursives (see crit. note) held fast to it. But the ancestor of Q and a larger body of cursives changed *τὸ τρίτον αὐτῶν* into *τὸ τρίτον αὐτῆς*, and yet still retained the primitive order of the words. This made the text grammatical but unmeaning. This constitutes the second stage of the corruption of the text. Finally, *καὶ* *αὐτῶν* *μὴ* *φάνη* *ἡ ἡμέρα καὶ ἡ νύξ* *ὁμοίως* = *כַּן לַיּוֹם וְכַן לַלַּיְלָה* *וְכַן לַיּוֹם וְכַן לַלַּיְלָה*. Here *כַּן* is a corruption of *כַּמֶּנֶם* = "by day." Hence read with the Bohairic as in note.¹

This partial obscuration of the luminaries corresponds in a modified degree to the ninth Egyptian plague of darkness; Ex. x. 21-23, *σκοτισθή*. Elsewhere in this Book *σκοτοῦν* is used (ix. 2, *ἐσκοτώθη ὁ ἥλιος*, xvi. 10), and not *σκοτίζειν*. The latter, however, is used in the Little Apocalypse: cf. Mark xiii. 24; Matt. xxiv. 29; Luke xxiii. 45.

13. This verse, which should follow immediately on viii. 2, 6, proclaims the immediate coming of the Woes.

καὶ εἶδον καὶ ἤκουσα ἑνὸς ἀετοῦ πετομένου ἐν μεσουρανήματι λέγοντος φωνῇ μεγάλῃ *Ὁδοὶ οὐαὶ οὐαὶ τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς* *ἐκ τῶν [λοιπῶν] φωνῶν τῆς σάλπιγγος τῶν τριῶν ἀγγέλων τῶν μελλόντων σαλπίζειν.*

For *καὶ εἶδον καὶ ἤκουσα* cf. v. 11, vi. 1. *ἑνός* is here equivalent to the indefinite article, as in ix. 13 (note), xviii. 21; cf. Blass, *Gram.* 144. The eagle appears (as a messenger also in 2 Bar. lxxvii. 19 sqq.) in the zenith, where the sun stands at midday: cf. xiv. 6, xix. 17. The threefold "Woe" should introduce three visitations after the fifth, sixth, and seventh (*i.e.* first, second, and third) Trumpets. In ix. 12 it is declared that the first Woe is past, and that two are yet to come. Then at the close of the interlude (x. 1-xi. 13) that separates the sixth and seventh

¹ Here Boh. either recovers the original by a happy conjecture or preserves it: it = *καὶ το τρ. αὐτῶν μὴ φάνη ἡμέρας καὶ ὁμοίως νυκτός*.

Trumpets, it is stated that the second Woe is over and that the third is yet to come. This Woe, however, is not recounted, unless with Erbes, p. 60, and Bousset we recognize it as the descent of Satan to the earth in xii. 12.

οἱ αὖ τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. The dative generally follows οἱ αὖ: the acc. occurs in xii. 12. On the exceptional construction with the nom. see note on xviii. 10. The Woes are directed against the heathens or pagans. See note on xi. 10 for this meaning of the phrase, and § 4 of the Introd. to xiii. on the Hebrew underlying it. These Woes, which are of a demonic character, cannot affect those who have received the seal of God on their brows (see note on vii. 3). Thus viii. 13–ix. should follow immediately on viii. 6, without the intervention of viii. 7–12. See p. 218 for original order of viii.–ix. We have seen that the first four Trumpets are weak and otiose.

τῶν [λοιπῶν] φωνῶν τ. σάλπιγξος τ. τριῶν ἀγγέλων. In the original vision these words stood as they are here save for the addition of λοιπῶν. λοιπός is not used elsewhere in the Apocalypse as a mere epithet. Together with the art. it forms a noun, as in ii. 24, iii. 2, ix. 20, xi. 13, xii. 17, xix. 21, xx. 5. Moreover, its position before the noun is against the usage of the writer with regard to epithets in viii. 1, 3–5, 13, ix. With the exception of ἄλλος, viii. 3, and εἰς, viii. 13, which always precede the noun in the Apocalypse save in ix. 13 (μὴν), epithets always follow after the noun, as in viii. 3 (*ter*), 13, ix. 2, 5, 9, 10, 13 (*bis*), 20 (*quinquies*).

IX. 1–12. THE FIFTH TRUMPET, or rather *the first Trumpet, introducing the first demonic plague designed to torment those who were not sealed with the seal of God.*

1. καὶ ὁ πέμπτος ἄγγελος ἐσάλπισεν
καὶ εἶδον ἄστέρᾳ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πεπτωκότα εἰς τὴν γῆν,
καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ἡ κλεῖς τοῦ φρέατος τῆς ἀβύσσου.

For πέμπτος we should read πρῶτος. See Introduction, p. 218.

The star is conceived as a personal being here, *i.e.* as an angel. See note on i. 20. The participle πεπτωκότα does not convey when connected with ἄστέρᾳ the idea of a fallen or lost angel, as very many expositors have taken it. Its use here is due to the fact that ἀστὴρ is used, and the text means essentially no more than that the Seer saw an angel descend (*i.e.* a star fall). Cf. 1 Enoch lxxxvi. 1, lxxxviii. 1. Possibly πεπτωκότα should be taken strictly as describing a completed action, as πίπτοντα would describe an incomplete action; in other words, the Seer saw the angel just alighting: cf. viii. 13, x. 1, xiii. 1, xiv. 6, etc. As we see from 1 Enoch lxxxvi. 3, stars can also be said to

"descend." Thus "to fall" (1 Enoch lxxxvi. 1 and lxxxviii. 1) and "to descend" (1 Enoch lxxxvi. 3) are synonymous expressions when applied to stars symbolizing angels. It is different, however, when the subject of πίπτειν is not a star but an angel. Good or bad angels "descend" (1 Enoch vi. 6), but only bad angels "fall" (Luke x. 18) or are "cast down" (Apoc. xii. 9).

When angels descended they were conceived of as assuming human forms in the O. and N.T.

In 1 Enoch lxxxvi. the fallen angels are described as assuming the forms of bulls; but this is only due to the symbolical imagery of the Dream Vision, where the descendants of Seth are symbolized by various kinds of oxen. Hence there is no actual transformation in question.

While in apocalyptic language the Seer saw δστέρα . . . πεπτωκότα, in language free from symbol he would say as in xx. 1, εἶδον ἄγγελον καταβαίνοντα . . . ἔχοντα τὴν κλεῖν τῆς ἀβύσσου. Hence the star here represents an angel. This angel is sent down by God to execute one of the last judgments on the faithless. The key of the Abyss is here committed to him. This he retains in xx. 1.

Who is this angel who descends? He may be Uriel, if it is legitimate to compare 1 Enoch xx. 2, according to which he was the angel set over the world and Tartarus (ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τοῦ Ταρτάρου). In 1 Enoch, Tartarus is the nether world generally, cf. xxi.-xxii.; but in the N.T. Tartarus is, as we shall see presently, the intermediate abode of fallen spirits, just as the abyss is so conceived in our text.

ἔδωθῃ αὐτῷ. There is no angel who keeps the key of the abyss in the Apocalypse as in 2 Enoch xlii. 1. This key is committed to one angel for a special purpose for the time being: cf. xx. 1.

ἡ κλεῖς τοῦ φρέατος τῆς ἀβύσσου. In the Apocalypse the abyss is conceived of as the *preliminary* place of punishment of the fallen angels, of demons, of the Beast, and the false Prophet, and the prison for 1000 years of Satan. It is referred to in ix. 1, 2, 11, xi. 7, xvii. 8, xx. 1, 3. As the abode of demons it is mentioned in Luke viii. 31, and possibly in Rom. x. 7, though in this last passage it has been universally taken as meaning Sheol. In our text, ix. 1, 2, it is a place of fire. It is referred to in 2 Pet. ii. 4 (ταρταρώσας).¹

The *final* place of punishment, alike for Satan, the Beast, the false Prophet, and all not written in the Book of Life, is the λίμνη

¹ Tartarus was originally the place of punishment for Titans in the *Iliad* and in Hesiod. Hence there is a certain fitness in the use of the words in 2 Peter. Later it designated the nether world generally (1 Enoch xx. 2, Greek), or the abode of the damned.

τοῦ πυρός καὶ θείου, xx. 10, 14, 15. Gehenna,¹ which was essentially a place of punishment for man, is not referred to in the Apocalypse, save possibly in xiv. 10. Its place is taken by the λίμνη τοῦ πυρός. This "lake of fire," as we shall see presently, was conceived originally as a place of punishment, *not for men*, but for Satan and the fallen angels. Thus the λίμνη τοῦ πυρός agrees exactly with the idea in Matt. xxv. 41, where the wicked are sent into τὸ πῦρ τὸ αἰώνιον τὸ ἡτοιμασμένον τῷ διαβόλῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ.

Now, turning to the earlier history of the word we find that ἄβυσσος is used about thirty times as a rendering of ὠθη in the LXX. 1. The *tehom* in the O.T. is the ocean that once enfolded the earth but is now shut up in a subterranean abyss (Ps. xxxiii. 7), which was closed and sealed, and to which there was no access save through a shaft (Prayer of Manasses, 3), ὁ πεδήσας τὴν θάλασσαν τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ προστάγματός σου, ὁ κλείσας τὴν ἄβυσσον καὶ σφραγισάμενος αὐτὴν τῷ φοβερῷ καὶ ἐνδόξῳ ὀνόματί σου. So far as the ἄβυσσος is conceived as a surging, imprisoned flood, it has no connection with our text. 2. But there is another sense in which the ancient myth has influenced the thought of our author. The deep was conceived as the abode of Yahweh's enemy, Amos ix. 3 (Job xli. 24 (LXX), τὸν τάρταρον τῆς ἄβυσσου). Yahweh had cut Rahab in pieces and pierced the dragon, Isa. li. 9, yea He had broken the head of the dragon in the waters, Ps. lxxiv. 13. (See, further, Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, 91-98.) Henceforth he can do nothing without God's permission (see Cheyne on "Dragon," in *Ency. Bib.* i. 1131-34). The abyss, then, is the abode of God's enemy. So much of the ancient idea has survived in the O.T. 3. But it is not the abyss conceived as a subterranean flood, but as a great chasm in the earth, that the idea has made its way into later literature. Possibly the transformation may be in part due to Isa. xxiv. 21-22, where it is said that God will punish the heavenly powers as well as the kings of the earth, and imprison them in the pit (בֹּר) as a place of *intermediate* punishment. We observe that as yet there is no idea of a fiery place of punishment.

We now proceed to the consideration of the conception of the ἄβυσσος in 1 Enoch. Here we find a great development on the ideas of the O.T. The term ἄβυσσος is used of the abyss of waters in 1 Enoch xvii. 7, 8; but, so conceived, it has no con-

¹ Gehenna was originally regarded as a fiery and final place of punishment for men; and this meaning it retained in Judaism, so far as the Gentiles were concerned. Sheol, which was originally a dark, cheerless, non-fiery abode of the departed, began as early as 100 B.C. to acquire the fiery character of Gehenna, and in Luke xvi. 23 it acquires another characteristic of Gehenna, *i.e.* the departed in Hades are punished in the presence of the righteous.

nction of any kind with the prison of the fallen angels or Satan. Turning aside then from *ἄβυσσος* in this sense, we find that in other passages it is conceived as an intermediate and a final place of punishment for the fallen angels and demons.

1. *Intermediate place of punishment for the fallen angels.*—This abyss is referred to or described in 1 Enoch xviii. 12–16, xix. 1–2, xxi. 1–6. It is waterless, birdless, chaotic, horrible, fiery, and is situated beyond the confines of earth and heaven, xxi. 2, xviii. 12, 15, xxi. 3. It is the temporary place of punishment for the fallen angels, the stars and hosts of heaven, xviii. 12–16, and for the women who sinned with the angels, xix. 1–2.¹ This place is somewhat differently described in the Noah sections of 1 Enoch. Thus the fallen angels are cast into valleys of utter darkness *in the earth*, x. 12, lxvii. 7, and covered by rocks, x. 5. These valleys, however, are traversed by streams of fire, according to lxvii. 7.³

2. *Final place of punishment for fallen angels and demons.*—This inferno is referred to or described in 1 Enoch xxi. 7–10, x. 6, 13, xviii. 11, liv. 6, lvi. 4, xc. 24, 25. It is beyond the bounds of earth and heaven, xviii. 11, xxi. 7. It is called τὸ χάος τοῦ πυρός, x. 13; the ἄβυσσος, xxi. 7 (xc. 24?), and communicated with the world of space above by a great shaft—διακοπήν εἶχεν ὁ τόπος ἕως τῆς ἀβύσσου, xxi. 7 (cf. φρέαρ in our text, ix. 2); the χάσμα μέγα, xviii. 11, which was πλήρης στύλων πυρὸς μεγάλων καταφερομένων, xxi. 7, xc. 24; “the chasm of the abyss of the valley,”² lvi. 3; “the burning furnace,” liv. 6.

3. *Final place of punishment for Satan, angels, demons, and wicked men.*—In 1 Enoch cviii. 3–6 a chaotic fiery wilderness is described as the final abode alike of fallen spirits and wicked men. This place is not Gehenna; for it is beyond the bounds of earth, cviii. 3. To this conception is very nearly related the λίμνη τοῦ πυρός in our text. This λίμνη τοῦ πυρός appears, like all the places of punishment just described in Enoch, to be outside the bounds of heaven and earth. If we could accept the present order of the text in xx.–xxii. we should have to conclude that it persists (xxi. 8), though a new heaven and a new earth have taken the place of the old, xxi. 1.

¹ The demons, who according to 1 Enoch are the spirits that went forth from the slain children of the angels and the daughters of men, xv. 8, are not punished till the final judgment, xvi. 1, lvi. 4. Such appears to be the view behind Matt. viii. 29. But in the N.T. Apocalypse the demons are confined in a fiery abyss unless set free by the special permission of God, ix. 1 sqq.

² A special place of punishment is assigned to Azazel, i.e. Beth Chaduda, the wilderness of jagged rocks, twelve miles from Jerusalem, where the scape-goat was cast down from a rough mountain cliff and destroyed, Yoma, 67^b; Targ. Jer. on Lev. xiv. 10.

³ This looks like a conflation of two distinct conceptions.

From the last paragraph it appears to follow that the conception of Gehenna as a place of punishment *for mankind exclusively*, is absent from the Apocalypse,¹ and that its place is taken by the *λίμνη τοῦ πυρός* (cf. xx. 14-15), which, though originally quite different from Gehenna, has become fused with it in xiv. 10 (cf. also Matt. xxv. 41). The final place of punishment prepared for the fallen angels has thus become also the final abode of wicked men. Cf. Matt. xxv. 41, also 4 Ezra vii. 36 ("the furnace of Gehenna . . . and over against it the Paradise of delight"). This is all the more remarkable since the conception of Gehenna is current in the Gospels and in 1 Enoch.

2. καὶ ἤνοιξεν τὸ φρέαρ τῆς ἀβύσσου,
καὶ ἀνέβη καπνὸς ἐκ τοῦ φρέατος ὡς καπνὸς καμίνου
μεγάλης,
καὶ ἐσκοτώθη ὁ ἥλιος καὶ ὁ ἄρῃς ἐκ τοῦ καπνοῦ τοῦ
φρέατος.

ἀνέβη καπνὸς ἐκ τοῦ φρέατος κτλ. Cf. Ex. xix. 18, ἀνέβαιναν ὁ καπνὸς ὡς καπνὸς καμίνου: Gen. xix. 28, ἀνέβαιναν φλόξ τῆς γῆς ὡσεὶ ἀτμὶς καμίνου. The sun is not eclipsed here, but darkened by the volume of smoke rising from the abyss. Cf. Joel ii. 10, where, owing to the plague of locusts, "the sun and the moon were darkened."

3. καὶ ἐκ τοῦ καπνοῦ ἐξῆλθον ἀκρίδες εἰς τὴν γῆν,
καὶ ἐδόθη αὐταῖς ἐξουσία ὡς ἔχουσιν ἐξουσίαν οἱ σκορπιοὶ
τῆς γῆς.

The locusts do not form the cloud, but come forth from it. Locusts were the eighth of the Egyptian plagues. But these locusts are unlike the ordinary earthly locust; for they had stings like scorpions in their tails. It was with these that they did hurt, and not as did the locusts with their mouths, for, indeed, they are forbidden to touch the trees or any green thing.

οἱ σκορπιοὶ τῆς γῆς. Bochart (*Hieroz.* iii. 540) points out that according to ancient writers (Lucian, *De Dipsadibus*, iii. p. 236, ed. Reiz) there were two kinds of scorpions, τὸ μὲν ἕτερον ἐπίγειόν τε καὶ πεζόν . . . θάτερον δὲ ἐναέριον καὶ πτηνόν.

4. καὶ ἐρρέθη αὐτοῖς ἵνα μὴ ἀδικήσουσιν τὸν χόρτον τῆς γῆς
οὐδὲ πᾶν χλωρὸν οὐδὲ πᾶν δένδρον, εἰ μὴ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους
οἵτινες οὐκ ἔχουσιν τὴν σφραγίδα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν
μετώπων.

¹ In xiv. 10 one characteristic of Gehenna seems to be given—the punishment of sinners in the presence of the angels and of the Lamb. Gehenna is referred to 1 Enoch xxvii. 1, xlviii. 9, liii. 3-5, liv. 1, lxii. 12, lxxxi. 6, xc. 26, 27.

If the first four Trumpets belonged to the original, the present verse would stand in contradiction with viii. 7, as we have already pointed out.

οἷτινες οὐκ ἔχουσιν τὴν σφραγίδα κτλ. The relative οἷτινες defines the special class of men. See Blass, *Gram.* 173. The statement here made is full of significance. It explains the meaning of the sealing of the 144,000 in vii. 4-8, where see notes. The sealing of the faithful secures them—not against physical evil, but—against the demonic world which is now coming into actual manifestation. The manifestation of the Antichrist and his demonic followers is the counterpart of the manifestation of Christ and His Church. God marks the faithful with His own seal to show that they are His. Thus the true sons of God are revealed. Character must ultimately attain to manifestation and finality.

vii. 4-8 is referred to in ix. 4. As regards vii. 1-3, it not only serves to provide a pause for the sealing of the faithful in vii. 4-8, but forms a sort of prelude to ix. 1-12, though the connection is one of the slightest. See note on ix. 14.

5. καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς, ἵνα μὴ ἀποκτείνωσιν αὐτούς,
ἀλλ' ἵνα βασανισθῶσονται μήνας πέντε· [καὶ ὁ βασανισμὸς
αὐτῶν ὡς βασανισμὸς σκορπίου, ὅταν παίσῃ ἀνθρώπου].

For ἵνα followed by fut. ind., cf. iii. 9, vi. 4, viii. 3, xiii. 12. The locusts are commissioned not to slay men, but to torment them. The wound inflicted by scorpions is rarely fatal. The period of the visitation of these demonic locusts is limited to five months. This limitation is due to the fact noticed by Bochart (*Hieroz.* iii. 339), that the natural locust is born in the spring and dies at the end of the summer, and thus lives about five months in all. On the various types and natures of locusts see the "Excursus" in Driver's *Joel and Amos*, p. 82 sqq.

παίσῃ. This word and πλήσσω are used occasionally as translations of נָחַח in the O.T., though it is commonly rendered by πατάσσω.

6. καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις λητήσουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι τὸν
θάνατον
καὶ οὐ μὴ εὕρωσιν αὐτόν,
καὶ ἐπιθυμήσουσιν ἀποθανεῖν
καὶ φεύγει ὁ θάνατος ἀπ' αὐτῶν.

The writer has here passed from the rôle of the Seer to that of the prophet. As regards the thought we might compare Job iii. 21, ὁμείρονται τοῦ θανάτου καὶ οὐ τυγχάνουσιν, and Jer. viii. 3, εἰλοντο τὸν θάνατον ἢ τὴν ζωὴν. Wetstein compares Ovid, *Ibis* 123, "Desit tibi copia lethi: Optatam fugiat vita coacta necem"; Seneca, *Troad.* 954, "mors miseris fugit";

Cornelius Gallus, *Eleg.* i. "mors optata recedit. Est omni pejus vulnere velle mori, Et non posse tamen"; Soph. *Electr.* 1014, etc. A worse degree of despair is attested in Eccles. iv. 2-3, 2 Bar. x. 6, Soph. *Oed. Col.* 1220, Theognis, 425, where not to be born at all is deemed a superlative blessing. Düsterdieck aptly contrasts the Pauline words, *Phil.* i. 23, τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἔχων εἰς τὸ ἀναλῦσαι καὶ σὺν Χριστῷ εἶναι.

φεύγει is the present of habitual avoidance, as Alford observes. It not merely predicts; it affirms a certainty (Robertson, *Gram.* 870).

7. καὶ τὰ ὁμοιώματα τῶν ἀκριδῶν ὅμοια ἵπποις ἡτοιμασμένοις εἰς πόλεμον,
καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν ὡς στέφανοι ὅμοιοι χρυσοῖ,
καὶ τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῶν ὡς πρόσωπα ἀνθρώπων.

The first clause is a free rendering of Joel ii. 4 (where the prophet describes a plague of locusts), כְּמִרְאָה סוּסִים מִרְאֵהוּ, where the LXX has ὡς ὄρασις ἵππων ἢ ὄψις αὐτῶν. Though ὁμοίωμα is a bad rendering of מִרְאֵה, we cannot suppose that it represents any other word. Hence we should perhaps translate, "And the forms of the locusts were like the forms of horses" = מִרְאֵה וּמִרְאֵה סוּסִים כְּמִרְאֵה סוּסִים. ὁμοίωμα is the general rendering of דְּמוּת in Ezekiel. On the other hand, our author may have deliberately abandoned the original in Ezekiel here and chosen the word ὁμοιώματα to express a much less definite idea than מִרְאֵה = ὄρασις does. Then the text would mean: "the semblances" or "the likenesses" (in the vision) of the locusts were, etc. This resemblance between the head of the locust and that of the horse was early observed, as the text of Joel proves. This resemblance, as it has been pointed out, has given birth to the names Heupferd in German and Cavalletta in Italian. An Arabian poet (Muhammiaddin Assarhuriensis) writes: "Habent femur camelorum, crura struthionis, alas aquilae, pectus leonis. Cauda iis ut viperarum terrae: et decorans eas equorum species in capite et ore" (quoted by Bochart, *Hieroz.* iii. 308, ed. Rosenmüller). Bochart also quotes Theodoret's commentary on Joel: εἰ γὰρ τις ἀκριβῶς κατῖδοι τὴν κεφαλὴν τῆς ἀκριδος σφόδρα τῇ τοῦ ἵππου ἐψκυνίαν εὐρήσει· ἔστι δὲ ἰδεῖν καὶ πετομένην αὐτὴν κατ' οὐδὲν τῆς τοῦ ἵππου ταχύτητος ἐλαττουμένην.

ἡτοιμασμένοις is also an independent rendering of Joel ii. 5, מְכֻנָּח עָרֶךְ; LXX, παρατασσόμενος εἰς πόλεμον.

ὡς στέφανοι . . . ὡς πρόσωπα ἀνθρώπων. Our author does not say that these demonic locusts had crowns on their heads, as in iv. 4, vi. 2, xii. 1, xiv. 14, but the semblance of crowns. It has been suggested that the phrase refers to the yellow greenish colour of their breasts. But their faces resembling those of man

and the semblance of crowns on their heads appear to belong to them not as natural, but as demonic locusts, *i.e.* demons.

8. καὶ εἶχαν τρίχας ὡς τρίχας γυναικῶν,
καὶ οἱ ὀδόντες αὐτῶν ὡς λέοντων ἦσαν,
9. καὶ εἶχαν θώρακας ὡς θώρακας σιδηροῦς,
καὶ ἡ φωνὴ τῶν πτερύγων αὐτῶν ὡς φωνὴ ἁρμάτων
ἵππων πολλῶν τρεχόντων εἰς πόλεμον.

The antennae of the locusts are said to be like a maiden's hair in an Arabic proverb given by Niebuhr, *Beschrieb vom Arab.* iii. 172. καὶ οἱ ὀδόντες . . . λέοντων, from Joel i. 6, οἱ ὀδόντες αὐτοῦ ὀδόντες λέοντος. Observe the insertion of the ὡς by our author. In the next clause the breast of the locust is compared to an iron cuirass. φωνὴ ἁρμάτων ἵππων . . . τρεχόντων εἰς πόλεμον. We have a combination of two distinct statements in Joel. The first is Joel ii. 4, ὡς ἵπποις οὕτως καταδιώξονται (נִשְׁרָפִי כַּעֲרֵבִי). Here καταδιώκω is a bad rendering of נִשְׁרָפִי, but τρέχω is a good one). The writer here is quite independent of the LXX. The second, Joel ii. 5, is ὡς φωνὴ ἁρμάτων.

10. καὶ ἔχουσιν οὐράς ὁμοίας σκορπίοις καὶ κέντρα
καὶ ἐν ταῖς οὐραῖς αὐτῶν καὶ ἡ ἐξουσία αὐτῶν
ἀδικῆσαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους μῆνας πέντε.

ὁμοίας (PQ and nearly all cursives) σκορπίοις = ὁμ. ταῖς οὐραῖς τῶν σκορπίων. This may be a condensation like that in xiii. 11, κέρατα ὁμοία ἀρνίῳ (for ἀρνίου κέρασι: cf. Matt. v. 20). De Wette, Winer, and others reject this explanation, and hold that the tails of the locusts are compared to scorpions, just as the tails of the horses in ix. 19 are compared to snakes (see W.-M., 307, 778).

11. ἔχουσιν ἐπ' αὐτῶν βασιλέα τὸν ἄγγελον τῆς ἀβύσσου.
ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἑβραϊστὶ Ἀβαδδὼν, [καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἑλληνικῇ ὄνομα
ἔχει Ἀπολλύων].

Ἑβραϊστὶ is found also in John v. 2, xix. 13, 17, 20, xx. 16; Apoc. xvi. 16. For ἐν τῇ Ἑλληνικῇ (*sc.* γλώσσῃ), Ἑλληνιστί is used in John xix. 20; Acts xxi. 37.

We have no means of identifying the angel of the abyss beyond the statement here. In fact, as a person he does not exist outside this verse.¹ The Hebrew word אֲבַדִּיָּה is found almost exclusively in the Wisdom literature, Job xxvi. 6, xxviii. 22, xxxi. 12; Prov. xv. 11, xxvii. 20; Ps. lxxxviii. 11. Etymologi-

¹ It is true that in Shabbath, 89^a, we find the words מַשְׁמַחַת הַמָּוֶת. These words are surely a quotation from Job xxviii. 22, and there is no real personification here; since the words Abaddon and Death are parallel with the earth, the sea, and the abyss (as in Job), from all of which Satan makes inquiry as to the abode of the Law.

cally it means "destruction," and is always rendered by ἀπώλεια in the LXX except in Job xxxi. 12. It is parallel to Sheol in Job xxvi. 6, xxviii. 22; Prov. xv. 11, xxvii. 20. In the Emek hammelech, f. 15. 3, it is the lowest part of Gehenna.

ὄνομα ἔχει Ἀπολλύων. This construction, where the proper name stands in apposition to ὄνομα, is found only here in our author (= יִשְׁרָאֵל). That in xiii. 17, ἔχειν . . . τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θηρίου, is different, and likewise that in xiv. 1, ἔχουσαι τὸ ὄνομα . . . γεγραμμένον, xvii. 5, xix. 12, 16. On the other hand, the construction ὄνομα αὐτῷ . . . Ἀβαδδὼν is already found in vi. 8 (John i. 6, xviii. 10). Here we might call attention to another construction only found once in the Apoc. viii. 11, τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἀστέρος λέγεται ὁ Ἀψινθος. But more important still is the exceptional order ὄνομα ἔχει. We should expect ἔχει ὄνομα as in xiii. 17, xiv. 1, xix. 12, 16, xxi. 14. The latter part of the verse looks like a gloss. First, there is the unusual phrase ὄνομα ἔχει Ἀπ., to which we have already called attention.¹ Next, the form Ἑβραϊστί here and in xvi. 16 would lead us to expect Ἑλληνιστί, as in John xix. 20, instead of ἐν τῇ Ἑλληνικῇ. Finally, the excision of this clause leaves a vigorous distich. Thus we should have ἔχουσιν ἐπ' αὐτῶν βασιλεία [τὸν] ἄγγελον τῆς ἀβύσσου ὄνομα αὐτῷ Ἑβραϊστί Ἀβαδδὼν. It is possible that the original was Hebrew: observe φ . . . αὐτῷ in K s¹.² vg., and the omission of τὸν before ἄγγελον in Q min³⁰. In that case Ἑβραϊστί would be due to an addition: and βασιλεία² possibly due to a dittograph in the Hebrew, דִּיהִלָּה בְּרִיחַ דְּבִרְיָה.

Thus we should have

ἔχουσιν ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἄγγελον τῆς Ἀβύσσου
ὄνομα αὐτῷ Ἀβαδδὼν.

Ἀπολλύων. Grotius writes here: "Poterat dixisse . . . ἐξολοθρεῦων: sed maluit alludere ad nomen Apollinis, quod velut proprium numen Caesaribus." The name Ἀπόλλων was derived by the Greeks (Aesch. Ag. 1082; Archil. 23) from ἀπόλλυμι. Erbes (p. 60, note) has supported this allusion by showing that the locust together with the mouse and the lizard was a symbol of the cult of Apollo: Preller, *Griechische Mythologie*², i. 183, 195, 225. This is possible but not probable. ἀπολλύων is a natural rendering of הַרְחֵק. Völter, iv. 31, on the

¹ On the other hand, it has been urged that the idea of the king of the locusts is already found in the LXX of Amos vii. 1, ἰδοὺ ἐπιγονὴ ἀκρίδων ἐρχομένη . . . καὶ ἰδοὺ βροῦχος εἰς, Γῶγ ὁ βασιλεὺς. But there is no thought of Gog here, and where our author draws upon Joel we have seen that he uses the Hebrew directly and not the LXX.

² Possibly φ is an addition. ὄνομα αὐτῷ Ἀβαδδὼν would then = יִשְׁרָאֵל הַרְחֵק. Cf. vi. 8.

other hand, identifies Apollyon here with the Persian Ahriman, who, when, according to Bundehesh iii. 26, he sought to storm the heavens, was cast down to the earth, and had then (*op. cit.* xi. 17) bored for himself a hole in the earth and leapt into it (Spiegel, *Eranische Alterthumskunde*, ii. 121). There in the abyss he dwelt as lord of all the evil spirits and hurtful beasts, scorpions, and snakes (Saussaye, *Lehrb. der Religionsgeschichte*², ii. 183-192). See xiii. 11, where ἐλάλει ὡς δράκων appears to represent an original corruption in the Hebrew, which probably = *הן ἀπολλύων ὡς ὁ δράκων*.

12. ἡ οὐαὶ ἡ μία ἀπῆλθεν· ἰδοὺ ἔρχεται ἐπὶ δύο οὐαὶ μετὰ ταῦτα.¹

See note on viii. 13. On ἀπῆλθεν see note on xi. 14. The feminine ἡ οὐαὶ is generally explained by its similarity to ἡ θλίψις or ἡ τλαιπωρία (Thayer *in loc.*).

ἡ μία is a Hebraism. ἡ οὐαὶ ἡ μία (see note on vi. 1) = *היה היה*. Cf. Ezek. vii. 26, where οὐαὶ is a rendering of *היה*. Only twice is οὐαὶ used in the LXX as a noun: in Ezek. vii. 26 and in Prov. xxiii. 29, where it renders *יין* (only here used as a noun). Perhaps the gender of οὐαὶ may be influenced by *היה*.

13-21. *The sixth Trumpet*, or rather *the second Trumpet*, introduces the second demonic plague which destroyed one-third of the unfaithful.

13. καὶ ὁ ἕκτος ἄγγελος ἐσάλπισεν·
καὶ ἤκουσα φωνὴν μίαν ἐκ τῶν κεράτων τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου
τοῦ χρυσοῦ τοῦ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ,

24. λέγοντα τῷ ἕκτῳ ἀγγέλῳ, ὁ ἔχων τὴν σάλπιγγα,
αὐσον τοὺς τέσσαρας ἀγγέλους τοὺς δεδεμένους ἐπὶ τῷ
ποταμῷ τῷ μεγάλῳ Εὐφράτῃ.

For ἕκτος we should read δεύτερος. See Introduction, p. 218. μίαν is here the indefinite article (cf. viii. 13, xviii. 21), as occasionally in Hebrew (Dan. viii. 3, etc.) and frequently in Aramaic. It is true that this use of the article is found in the Papyri (Moulton, *Gram.* 97), but in a book like the Apocalypse the usage is best accounted for by the Semitic style of the writer. θυσιαστηρίου. See note on viii. 3. See crit. note. λέγοντα.

¹ The text of *℣ s¹ me* may be original. Archetype of AP etc. trans. *μετα ταῦτα* to 12 and added *καὶ* at the beginning of 13. But the feeling that *μετα ταῦτα* belonged to 13 led 110, 385, 2016, etc., to begin 13 with *μετα ταῦτα καὶ*. This reading Q 69 emended into *καὶ μετα ταῦτα* and Eth Prim. into *καὶ*. The fact that *ἐπὶ . . . μετα ταῦτα* (AP etc.) is tautological is in favour of the reading of *℣ s¹ me*. Though *ἐπὶ* occurs elsewhere twenty times in the Apoc. it is never used tautologically. Further, *μετα ταῦτα* is never used tautologically and never appears at the close of a sentence in the Apoc. except in i. 19, iv. 1, and there in a quotation from Dan. ii. 29. On the other hand, none of the other Trumpets, and none of the Seals or Bowls, is so introduced.

See note on λέγων in iv. 1. ὁ ἔχων. We have here the same anomalous construction as in ii. 20 (see note), iii. 12, xiv. 12, where, however, the irregularity could be explained as a translation of the Hebrew article and participle.

We have already observed that in vii. 4-8 measures were taken to secure the faithful against the two demonic plagues which were about to ensue, *i.e.* the fifth and sixth Trumpets. The interlude, therefore, of the four Trumpets, viii. 7-12, which refer wholly to natural phenomena, seems wholly unmotivated. These show, moreover, signs of redaction, elements in contradiction with adjoining statements in the Seals and Bowls, and a general weakness and ineffectiveness as compared with the parallel plagues in the Seals and Bowls.

But to return. The saints have already been secured against the first demonic plague, which was to inflict not death but torment on the unfaithful, and against the second demonic plague, which was to destroy one-third of the unfaithful. This second demonic plague seems in some way to be connected with or to result from the prayers of the faithful; for the voice which commands its infliction arises from the altar, whereon the prayers of the faithful were offered, viii. 3-4.

These prayers, therefore, are of the same character as those offered by the martyrs beneath the altar, vi. 10. Thus chapters vi. 10, viii. 3-5, ix. 13 are linked together by this underlying fundamental idea.

The irregularity of ix. 13, where the sixth (*i.e.* the second) angel not only sounds the trumpet but also is bidden to take an active part, is due to the need of connecting viii. 3 sqq., *i.e.* the prayers of the faithful with the divine answer to them in ix. 13 sqq.

Λύσου τοὺς τέσσαρας ἀγγέλους κτλ. The presence of the definite article here is noteworthy. It points to a current tradition, not elsewhere referred to in the Apocalypse. They are not to be identified with the four angels in vii. 1; for the angels there are at the four corners of the earth, whereas here they are in the river Euphrates: there they are actively restraining the destructive winds of heaven, here they are themselves in restraint, till the hour of their action arrives. In one point both classes of angels are alike. They are both angels of divine wrath.

Now we might perhaps have expected that these two quaternions of angels would have introduced the two demonic plagues, that the first quaternion, vii. 1, would have brought in the plague of demonic locusts; and that the second quaternion would introduce, as in point of fact it does, the plague of demonic horsemen, ix. 15 sqq. The ground for the former expectation is found in vii. 1, where the first quaternion is represented as

holding in restraint the destructive winds. Now, according to 1 Enoch lxxvi., the destructive winds from *three* corners of the earth (see note on vii. 1 of our text) bring with them, amongst such inorganic evils as rain, frost, snow, *only one organic evil*—plagues of locusts. Since the destructive winds *from the four corners of the earth* are really the same in vii. 1–3 (see note *in loc.*) and 1 Enoch lxxvi., it is not unreasonable to suppose that these winds were conceived in both passages as exerting on the whole the same powers of destruction and in introducing plagues of locusts.¹

The words, vii. 3, *μὴ ἀδικήσητε τὴν γῆν . . . μήτε τὰ δένδρα* may point to the latter, which devour every blade of grass and every leaf on the trees. Now is it a pure coincidence that, when the demonic plagues are introduced in ix., the first plague should be that of locusts? It is true, indeed, that the locusts are no longer natural locusts—for they are monsters, having as it were the heads of men, the hair of women, the teeth of lions, and the tails of scorpions; and their mission is not to destroy the vegetation of the earth and the trees, but to torment those who had not the mark of God on their foreheads. Even in Joel i.–ii. the description of the plague of natural locusts, on which our author has drawn, shows elements which appear to spring from a mythological tradition.² For there the locusts are said to come from the north, ii. 20. Now, though such might possibly be the case (see Driver on Joel ii. 20), the recorded locust plagues appear always to have invaded Palestine from the S. and S.E. Here the Gog-Magog expectation seems to have influenced the prophet. In 1 Enoch lxxvi. 1 sqq. we have signs of this influence, seeing that the locusts are said to come from the N.E.N., the N.W.N. and the S.W.S. And finally, in the LXX of Amos vii. 1, where the locust plague is explicitly identified with the host of Gog, though there is not a hint of this in the Massoretic: *καὶ ἰδοὺ βροῦχος εἰς τὴν γῆν ὁ βασιλεύς*. Now it is not improbable that the same combination of natural and mythological elements was reproduced in the original lying behind vii. 1–3 of our text. But in ix. 1–12 a further development of the tradition is attested, where it appears enriched and transformed under the influence of supernatural conceptions, and thus the plague of natural and semi-mythological locusts coming from the N.E. and N.W. quarters becomes *a plague of demonic locusts coming from the pit*, and thereby the four angels from the corners of the earth, which had control of the destructive winds that carried the locusts, had of necessity to give place to Abaddon, *the angel of the abyss*, who was set over this demonic tribe. The fact that we find the same

¹ Locusts have but little power of flight, and are in the main dependent on the wind.

² See Gressmann, *Ursprung d. Israel.-Jüd. Eschat.* 187 sq.

transformation of a natural visitation into a supernatural in the sixth Trumpet is in favour of our exegesis of the plague under the fifth.

τοὺς τέσσαρας ἀγγέλους τοὺς δεδεμένους ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ μεγάλῳ Εὐφράτῃ. The last phrase is familiar from Gen. xv. 18; Deut. i. 7; Jos. i. 4. On the Euphrates lay the border province that was the subject of continual strife between the Romans and Parthians.

Who are these four angels? We have seen that the descriptive epithets applied to them in our text manifestly discriminate them from the four angels in vii. 1-3. We have shown grounds also for associating the four angels at the four corners of the earth with natural and semi-mythological plagues of locusts, and have therefore naturally treated vii. 1-3 as a sort of prelude to the demonic locusts in ix. 1-12. We shall see that it is possible to explain in like manner, though partially, the genesis of the description in ix. 13-21. These verses describe four angels at the head of 200,000,000 demonic horsemen coming from the Euphrates to attack the pagan world. Now there can hardly be a doubt that the older form of this tradition is found in 1 Enoch lvi. 5, "And in those days the angels shall return and hurl themselves to the East upon the Parthians and Medes. They shall stir up the kings so that a spirit of unrest shall come upon them. . . . 6. And they shall go up, and tread under foot the land of His elect ones." Here we have a recast of the Gog prophecy of Ezekiel. The Parthians and the Medes are for the time the historic representatives of the hosts of Gog, and their objective, as in Ezekiel, is Palestine; and they set out against it at the instigation of certain angels. In our text we have a further development of this tradition. The Euphrates is still the storm centre, but the hosts stationed there are no longer Parthians or even men, but demons¹ under four angels, whose objective is not Palestine, but the pagan, unbelieving, idolatrous world. These four angels, therefore, are angels of punishment. They are "bound" until the hour for their services arrives. Now the idea of angels of punishment is a very familiar one in preceding Apocalyptic: cf. 1 Enoch xl. 7, liii. 3, lvi. 1, lxii. 11, lxiii. 1; Test. Lev. iii. 3; 2 Enoch x. 3. Even the very diction in our text is already found 1 Enoch lxvi. 1, where, in reference to the first world judgment or the Deluge, the writer speaks of "*the angels of punishment who are prepared to come and let loose all the powers of the waters which are beneath in the earth.*" Cf. ix. 15, ἀγγελοι οἱ ἡτοιμασμένοι.

¹ According to Mazdeism, *Bahman—Yasht* ii. 24, Persia was to be assailed by hordes of demons and idolators from the East. See Böhlen, *Verwandschaft d. jüd.-Christl. mit der Persischen Eschatologie*, p. 88.

We thus know some of the traditions from which the Seer drew his materials. The necessity for the transformation of a natural visitation into a supernatural is likewise manifest, even if the expectation of an invasion from the East by demonic hordes were not already current (see note, p. 249). For the Seer is concerned with the punishment not of nations as such, but of individuals as unbelieving and idolatrous. The agents, therefore, must be supernatural.

There is one element in the description for which no explanation or even parallel can be offered. We cannot discover "the four angels" in other apocalyptic writings, nor can we even conjecture why the number is "four." Yet the presence of the article points either to the previous mention of the tetrad in our text or the existence of a current tradition.¹

15. καὶ ἐλύθησαν οἱ τέσσαρες ἄγγελοι
οἱ ἡτοιμασμένοι εἰς τὴν ὥραν καὶ ἡμέραν καὶ μῆνα καὶ
ἐνιαυτόν,
ἵνα ἀποκτείνωσιν τὸ τρίτον τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

¹ Iselin (*Theol. Zeitschr. aus der Schweiz*, 1887, i. 64) quotes a passage from a late Christian Apocalypse of Ezra, chap. vi., published by Baethgen in the *Z. A. T. W.*, 1886, 193 sqq., from the Syriac MS Sachau 131 in the Royal Library in Berlin: "And I saw an adder which came from the East, and it . . . went up into the land of promise, and there was a quaking upon the earth, and a voice was heard: Let these four kings which are chained in the great river Euphrates be loosed, which shall destroy one-third of mankind. And they were loosed." From this passage Iselin thinks that the original sense of our text is to be recovered, and that the presence of "Kings" in the Ezra Apocalypse over against ἄγγελοι in our text points to the fact that the author of the former found מלכים in the Hebrew original of the N.T. Apoc., but that the Christian redactor of the latter found מלאכים. But that the author of a very late Christian Apocalypse, which dealt with the duration of the sovereignty of Islam, and which is derived from our text notwithstanding the objections of Schoen (p. 70), should have had such a Hebrew original before him is wholly wanting in probability as Spitta, p. 98, has shown. Spitta's own proposal (p. 99) to read ἀγγέλαις is just as improbable, and is of no service in the interpretation of the text.

Another explanation is offered by Bousset. He holds that at the base of ix. 13 sqq. lies the older tradition of the four destructive winds, which is actually preserved in its original form in vii. 1 sqq., and that the transformation of the four angels in command of the four winds at the four corners of the earth into the four angels chained in Euphrates, is due to the fears of the Parthian invasion that prevailed at the time throughout the Roman world. This transformation, he states, is already effected in 1 Enoch lvi. 5, which he cites as follows: "In jenen Tagen werden 'die' (sic) Engel sich versammeln," etc. But in the original there is no article before Engel. Certain angels are here, in keeping with the transcendent views of later times, assigned the task of stirring up the Eastern hordes—a task which in Ezek. xxxviii. 3-7 is ascribed to God Himself. Thus there is no ground of any kind for the statement that "the four angels" are set at the head of the Parthian hosts in Enoch. Who these angels are, or how many, there is no means of determining: no more can we as yet explain the origin of "the four angels" in our text.

On *ἡτοιμασμένοι* see note on ix. 14. On *ἡτοιμασμένοι* . . . *ἴνα*, cf. viii. 6. To the peculiar order of the divisions of time here we find parallels in Num. i. 1; Zech. i. 7; Hag. i. 15; and in 2 Enoch xxxiii. 2, "A time when there is no computation . . . neither years, nor months, nor weeks, nor days, nor hours." Cf. also lxxv. 7.

The clause defines the actual fixing of the time in a definite hour of a definite day, in a definite month of a definite year. On *εἰς* = "with a view to," cf. ix. 7.

τὸ τρίτον τῶν ἀνθρώπων. The servants of God are exempt from this Woe, ix. 4, 20. Only the *κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*, viii. 13, were to be destroyed. The presence of the phrase *τὸ τρίτον τ. ἀνθρ.* here probably led to the change of *τὸ τρίτον τῶν ἀνθρώπων* into *πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων* in viii. 11. The fifth and sixth Trumpets, *i.e.* the first and second Woes, are original, but we have seen many grounds for regarding the first four Trumpets as a subsequent addition. In vi. 8 it is implied that one-fourth of mankind was destroyed.

16. καὶ ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν στρατευμάτων τοῦ ἱππικοῦ δις μυριάδες μυριάδων,

[ἤκουσα τὸν ἀριθμὸν αὐτῶν. 17. καὶ οὕτως εἶδον τοὺς ἵππους ἐν τῇ ὁράσει]

καὶ τοὺς (οἱ) καθημένους (-οι) ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἔχοντας (-ες) θώρακας πυρίνους καὶ ὑακινθίνους καὶ θειώδεις, καὶ αἱ κεφαλαὶ τῶν ἵππων ὡς κεφαλαὶ λεόντων, καὶ ἐκ τῶν στομάτων αὐτῶν ἐκπορεύεται πῦρ καὶ καπνὸς καὶ θεῖον.

I have bracketed the second line as a confused gloss. With *ἤκουσα τ. ἀριθμον*, vii. 4 has been compared. But there is no true parallel. The *ἤκουσα* in vii. 4 belongs as essentially to the description of the vision as the *εἶδον* in vii. 1, while the *ἤκουσα τὸν ἀριθμὸν αὐτῶν* here is a parenthetic aside. Such another aside is to be found in *καὶ οὕτως εἶδον . . . ἐν τῇ ὁράσει*. It is wanting in s¹. Nowhere else in the Apocalypse does the Seer speak of his own vision.¹

When the second line is removed we should read *οἱ καθημένοι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους*, and change the *αὐτῶν* into *αὐτοῖς* and take it as referring to *ἵππους* contained implicitly in *τοῦ ἱππικοῦ*. The gen. *αὐτῶν* seems to be due to the scribe who interpolated 16^b, 17^a, for the gen. is against our author's usage (see iv. 2 n.). If the second line is retained against the sense of the context and the universal practice of our author, the thought and syntax are very confused. The *οὕτως* leads us to expect an immediate description of the horses, and therefore the description of the

¹ Not so in Daniel: cf. vii. 2, viii. 2, 15, ix. 21.

riders in the next line comes in as an unlooked for and disturbing element. But since both riders and horses are presupposed in the first line, the line καὶ τοὺς (οἱ) καθημένους (-οι) κτλ. is original. With the *dis μυριάδες μυριάδων* we might compare Ps. lxxviii. 18, רכבים אלפי שנים; but this expression is admittedly corrupt. Dan. vii. 10, רבו רבן, is nearer to our text, which = רבוא רבנות.

The third line refers to the riders who are armed with breastplates which are fiery red (*πυρίνους*), smoky blue (*ὑακινθίνους*), and sulphurous yellow (*θειώδεις*), corresponding manifestly to the *πῦρ* and *καπνός* and *θεῖον* which proceeded out of the horses' mouths. All the breastplates have these colours apparently, since analogously the fire, smoke and brimstone go forth together (*ἐκπορεύεται*—sing.) from the mouths of the horses. The brimstone characterizes the host as demonic: cf. xiv. 10, xix. 20, xxi. 8. *ὑακίνθινος* is used frequently in the LXX as a rendering of תְּכֵלֶת = "violet." The hyacinthine colour of the breastplates corresponds to that of the smoke which issues from the jaws of the horses. For fire breathing monsters, cf. Ovid, *Met.* vii. 104 f.; Virg. *Georg.* ii. 140, "tauri spirantes naribus ignem"; Lucret. v. 29; Job xli. 10-11, ἐκ στόματος αὐτοῦ ἐκπορεύονται λαμπάδες καίόμεναι, καὶ διαριπτοῦνται ἐσχάροι πυρός· ἐκ μυκτήρων αὐτοῦ ἐκπορεύεται καπνός.

In the riders and the demonic steeds there is a combination of two quite different ideas. Gunkel (*Zum . . . Verständnis des NT.* 52 sq.) well observes: "In the representation of the second host (*i.e.* ix. 17 sqq.) two different traditions stand side by side: according to the one, the creatures spit forth fire, smoke, and brimstone, and have therefore a strong mythological character; according to the other, they are squadrons of cavalry clothed in corresponding colours, fiery red, smoky blue, and sulphurous yellow."

This second tradition has therefore conceived the creatures in a more human fashion. Even this doubleness is a clear sign that we have here to do with old traditions and not with the inventions of a dreamer. Such an example makes it manifest that apocalyptic Judaism and Christianity is partly dependent on an eschatology strongly coloured by mythology.

18. ἀπὸ τῶν τριῶν πληγῶν τούτων ἀπεκτάνθησαν τὸ τρίτον τῶν ἀνθρώπων

ἐκ τοῦ πυρός καὶ τοῦ καπνοῦ καὶ τοῦ θεῖου τοῦ ἐκπορευομένου ἐκ τῶν στομάτων αὐτῶν

19. ἡ γὰρ ἐξουσία τῶν ἵππων ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτῶν ἐστὶν [καὶ ἐν ταῖς οὐραῖς αὐτῶν.

αἱ γὰρ οὐραὶ αὐτῶν ὅμοιαι ὄφεσιν, ἔχουσαι κεφαλὰς], καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς (-οῖς) ἀδικοῦσιν.

ἀπό (= ὑπό) used with a passive verb: cf. xii. 6.

I have with some hesitation bracketed καὶ ἐν ταῖς . . . κεφαλῇς as an addition. From ix 17^d, 18 it is manifest that the destructive power lies in the three plagues, the fire, the smoke, and the brimstone, that issue from the mouths of the demonic steeds, and that it is these that kill the one-third of those who have not the mark of God on their forehead. There is no room then for any other destructive activity. All the unfaithful, that are slain, are slain by the above three plagues. The bracketed clause, therefore, is at variance with its present context. When it is removed there remains a tristich, of which the last line probably ran, ἡ γὰρ ἐξουσία τῶν ἵππων ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτῶν ἐστίν, καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀδικοῦσιν (cf. ix. 10) = "for the power of the horses lies in their mouths, and with them they do hurt."

The intruding clause was modelled on ix. 10. There is a fitness in *demonic* locusts having the stings of scorpions in their tails, but the grotesqueness of fire-breathing demonic horses with tails like snakes and running out into heads is too intolerable, even if it were not already excluded by the context itself. The parallel adduced by Holtzmann of the giants with snakes instead of legs on the altar of Zeus at Pergamon is no real help here (Manchot, *Die Heiligen*, 44; Ussing, *Pergamos*, p. 84).

On the Mazdean expectation of demonic hordes from the East, see note on p. 249.

20. καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οἳ οὐκ ἀπεκτάνθησαν ἐν ταῖς πληγαῖς ταύταις,
οὐδὲ μετενόησαν ἐκ τῶν ἔργων τῶν χειρῶν αὐτῶν,
ἵνα μὴ προσκυνήσουσιν τὰ δαιμόνια καὶ τὰ εἰδῶλα
τὰ χρυσᾶ καὶ τὰ ἀργυρᾶ καὶ τὰ χαλκᾶ καὶ τὰ λίθινα καὶ
τὰ ξύλινα,
ἃ οὔτε βλέπειν δύνανται οὔτε ἀκούειν οὔτε περιπατεῖν.

Notwithstanding the demonic plagues the survivors repented not of their idolatries. οὐδέ = "not even": cf. Mark vi. 31; 1 Cor. iv. 3.

On μετενόησαν ἐκ see note on ii. 21. In τῶν ἔργων τῶν χειρῶν αὐτῶν we have the familiar O.T. phrase עֲשֵׂה יְמֵינוּ, Jer. i. 16: cf. Deut. iv. 28.

ἵνα μὴ προσκυνήσουσιν. Here the infinitive of result with ὥστε is replaced as elsewhere in late writers by ἵνα: cf. Blass, *Gram.*, p. 224. Our text carefully distinguishes demons and idols. On the worship of demons cf. Deut. xxxii. 17; Mic. v. 12; Ps. cvii. (cv.) 37, ἔθυσαν δαιμονίοις: 1 Cor. x. 20, ἃ θύουσιν, δαιμονίοις καὶ οὐ θεῷ θύουσιν: 1 Tim. iv. 1. The words τὰ χρυσᾶ καὶ τὰ ἀργυρᾶ . . . καὶ τὰ ξύλινα ἃ οὔτε βλέπειν δύνανται οὔτε ἀκούειν are drawn from Dan. v. 23 (save that our author has

omitted one phrase and added οὔτε περιπατεῖν), τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς χρυσοὺς καὶ ἀργυροὺς καὶ χαλκοὺς καὶ σιδηροὺς καὶ ξυλίνοὺς καὶ λιθίνοὺς, οἱ οὐ βλέπουσιν καὶ οἱ οὐκ ἀκούουσιν (Theod.). The Massoretic here = ἀργυροὺς καὶ χρυσοὺς, but the Peshitto supports the order in Theodotion, and both the text and versions of v. 4 support this order also. Hence this was originally the order of the Hebrew. Our author, however, did not necessarily use the version of Theodotion. He may have used the Hebrew that Theodotion and the Peshitto presuppose. He may also have had 1 Enoch xcix. 7 before him which = οἱ προσκυνήσουσιν λίθους καὶ οἱ γλύψουσιν εἰδωλα χρυσᾶ καὶ ἀργυρᾶ καὶ ξύλινα [+ καὶ λίθινα, Tert. *De Idol.* iv.] . . . καὶ οἱ προσκυνήσουσιν . . . δαιμόνια. Here we have the combination of εἰδωλα and δαιμόνια as in our text. We might also compare 1 Enoch xix. 1, ἐνθάδε οἱ μὲν γέντες ἄγγελοι ταῖς γυναῖξιν στήσονται καὶ τὰ πνεύματα αὐτῶν . . . πλανήσει αὐτοὺς (i.e. ἀνθρώπους) ἐπιθύειν τοῖς δαιμονίοις: Jub. xi. 4, "They worshipped each the idol . . . and malignant spirits assisted them"; Sibyll. v. 80 sqq. See Bousset, *Rel. d. Jud.* 172 sqq. On οὔτε περιπατεῖν cf. Ps. cxiii. 15 (cxv. 7), πόδας ἔχουσιν καὶ περιπατήσουσιν.

21. καὶ οὐ μετενόησάν ἐκ τῶν φόνων αὐτῶν οὔτε ἐκ τῶν
φαρμακίων αὐτῶν
οὔτε ἐκ τῆς πορνείας αὐτῶν οὔτε ἐκ τῶν κλεμμάτων αὐτῶν.

Immorality of every description was the natural sequel of demonic worship and idolatry. The order φόνων . . . πορνείας . . . κλεμμάτων is noteworthy. It recurs, so far as the first two are concerned, in xxi. 8, xxii. 15 (in the reverse order). This is the order of the Massoretic text in Ex. xx. 13. The same order is observed throughout Matthew, i.e. v. 21, 27, xv. 19, xix. 18. But there is another order—that found in the LXX (B) of Ex. xx. 13, οὐ μοιχεύσεις· οὐ κλέψεις· οὐ φονεύσεις: but Deut. v. 17-20 (LXX, B), οὐ μοιχεύσεις· οὐ φονεύσεις· οὐ κλέψεις. With this last agrees the order found in Luke xviii. 20; Rom. xiii. 9; Jas. ii. 11; and Philo, *De Decal.* 24 f. In Mark x. 19, on the other hand, the authorities are divided—the neutral text, according to Westcott and Hort, following the Massoretic order, and the Syrian (Greek, Lat. Syr. Eth.) following that of the LXX (B, in Deut. v. 17-20). With φόνων . . . φαρμακίων . . . πορνείας cf. xxi. 8, xxii. 15, where εἰδωλολάτραις is added. φαρμακίων here means "sorceries," as parallel lists in xxi. 8, xxii. 15 (Gal. v. 20) show, but its insertion here between φόνων and πορνείας is difficult. Cf. also 1 Pet. iv. 15.

CHAPTER X.

This chapter comes from the hand of our author. It is designed in part to assure the faithful that the hour of the final Woe, that must precede the end, has come, x. 7, when the mystery of God will be fulfilled. It is designed further to serve as an introduction to xi. 1-13, which is a proleptic digression dealing with Jerusalem and the Jews during the reign of the Antichrist (see § 5 which follows).

Attempts have been made by some critics to disintegrate this chapter and assign it to different sources. The best means of testing such hypotheses will be a close study of the diction, and to this task we shall at once proceed.

§ 1. *The Diction of this Chapter is decisive in favour of its being from the hand of our Author.*

Thus in 1 with ἄγγελον ἰσχυρόν cf. v. 2. καταβαίνοντα ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ: cf. iii. 12, xiii. 13, xvi. 21, xviii. 1, xx. 1, etc. περιβεβλημένον, a favourite word in the Apoc. ἱρις: cf. iv. 3. τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ὡς ὁ ἥλιος: cf. i. 16. ἔχων . . . βιβλαρίδιον ἠνεωγμένον: for same construction cf. xix. 12, ἐχ. ὄνομα γεγραμμένον, and xix. 16. On the use of ἔχων as a finite verb cf. xii. 2, xix. 12, xxi. 12, 14. 2. ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης, v. 13, vii. 1 (cf. x. 5, 8) . . . ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, v. 3, 10, 13, vi. 10, vii. 1, etc. These uses are characteristic. See p. 191. ἔκραξεν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ. See note xiv. 15. 4. ἡμελλον γράφειν. μέλλω belongs to the diction of our author: cf. i. 19, ii. 10 (bis), iii. 2, 10, etc. See note on 7. 5. ἐστῶτα ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης. See note on 2. 6. ἐν τῷ ζῶντι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων: cf. i. 18, iv. 9, 10, xv. 7. 8. ὅς ἐκτισεν τὸν οὐρανὸν . . . καὶ τ. γῆν . . . καὶ τ. θάλασσαν: cf. xiv. 7, where the same triple enumeration is found, iv. 11. 7. ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς φωνῆς. For same phrase cf. ii. 13. μέλλῃ σαλπίζειν, see note *in loc.* ἐτελέσθη—a favourite word of our author. εὐηγγέλισεν, c. acc., cf. xiv. 6 (cum ἐπὶ). τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ δούλους τ. προφῆτας: cf. xi. 18, i. 1, ii. 20, xv. 3, xix. 2, 5, xxii. 4, 6. 8. φωνὴ ἣν ἤκουσα ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ: cf. (x. 4), xi. 12, xiv. 2, 13, xviii. 4. λαλοῦσαν μετ' ἐμοῦ καὶ λέγουσαν: cf. iv. 1 note, xvii. 1, xxi. 9. ὑπαγε λάβε: cf. xvi. 1, ὑπάγετε καὶ ἐκχέετε: ἐστῶτος ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης. See on 2. 10. ἔλαβον . . . ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς: cf. v. 7, εἰληφεν ἐκ τῆς δεξιᾶς. 11. λαοὶς κ. ἔθνεσιν κ. γλώσσαις κ. βασιλεῦσιν. This phrase is a recast by our author of the characteristic phrase found six times elsewhere in this Book; see note on v. 9.

§ 2. *Hebraisms.*—It is to be observed also that there are frequent Hebraisms, as is the manner of our author. Cf. 1. οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ = "his legs" (see note *in loc.*); 2. καὶ ἔχων. This use

of the participle as a finite verb is Semitic: cf. iv. 7, 8, xii. 2, xix. 12, xxi. 12, 14. 7. καὶ ἐτελέσθη. Best explained as a Hebraism. See note *in loc.* In 8 ὅπως λάβῃ is Hebraistic.

§ 3. From the above study we must recognize that it would be a highly hazardous proceeding to break up this chapter and assign some portions to one writer and some to another. Yet this is what Wellhausen, p. 14, attempts. He first brands x. 8-11 as an intrusion, for which the way has been prepared by the earlier addition, x. 2^a. Next he regards x. 5-7 also as an addition, which explains why Christ or God in x. 1 has been transformed into an angel (see my note on x. 1). This explanation is quite unconvincing in itself, and the fact that the diction is wholly against it removes it from the field of serious speculation. Spitta's analysis of this chapter is open to still more weighty objections. He assigns x. 1^a, 2^b, 3, 5-7 to his first Jewish source; x. 1^b, 2^a, 9^b, 10-11 to his second; and x. 4, 8^b, 9^a to a Redactor.

§ 4. As opposed to the views of chap. x. which we have just considered, we might mention those of Weyland, Völter, and J. Weiss, who, though differing from each other in nearly every other respect, agree in assigning x. and xi. 1-13 to one and the same hand. x. and xi. 1-13 are undoubtedly closely connected; but, as the diction and other characteristics prove, they are not the work of the same author.

§ 5. The third view, which regards x. as written by our author to introduce xi. 1-13, is represented by Weizsäcker, Schoen, Sabatier, Bousset, Pfeiderer², Jülicher, Porter.

Sabatier was of opinion that the author breaks away in x. from the order of development originally designed by him in order to insert a succession of fragments from Jewish sources. Bousset, following in the steps of this scholar, regards x. as the work of our author, which is indeed not a supplement but a digression, and is designed to explain the further course of his revelation, since the fulness of the visions threatens to introduce a certain degree of disorder. Furthermore, he points out that x. is not only an introduction to xi. 1-13, but takes within its purview xvii.-xviii. and thus binds together the composite elements.

With this statement of Bousset I am on the whole agreed, but I should like to put the matter differently and bring out other features which my own study of the problem has suggested to me. xi. 1-13 is, as I shall show later, a *proleptic digression*. It is a digression; for the author is practically concerned with Rome firstly and lastly, and not with Jerusalem. It is proleptic; for the vision belongs essentially to the third Woe (or third Trumpet), when the Antichrist is actually reigning *and in Jerusalem*. Thus the unities of subject, time, and place are

sacrificed for the nonce by the insertion of xi. 1-13 in its present context. How little our author is concerned with Jerusalem is shown by his drastic abbreviation of the vision in Jerusalem, xi. 1-13, which is abridged, indeed, to such a degree as to be well-nigh unintelligible.¹ Now it is for this abbreviated vision that our author writes x. as an introduction. He is not suffered to leave out all mention of Jerusalem. He has had a vision touching Jerusalem. The contents of this vision are not given to him by direct inspiration as in the earlier chapters (cf. also x. 3-4), but through a book which he is bidden to eat. It is probable that in this particular instance our author implies that the vision is already written, and that he has had a vision (see x. 1 sqq.) authorizing him to publish it with the visions directly received. But in the direct vision in x. 11 he is told with regard to the visions that follow xi. 1-13, *δεῖ σε πάλιν προφητεύσαι ἐπὶ λαοῖς . . . καὶ βασιλεύσιν πολλοῖς*—in other words, his inspiration in regard to xii. sqq. is to come directly through the organs of spiritual vision as in the earlier chaps. i.-ix., though the use of tradition, oral or written, is not thereby precluded. The words *λαοῖς . . . βασιλεύσιν* in some measure define the contents of these later chapters, but the reader is already aware that they must deal with the third Woe, viii. 13, x. 7.

But x. serves not only to introduce xi. 1-13. It announces through the solemn oath of an angel that there will be no further delay, but that the time of the third Woe has come, when the mystery of God will be fulfilled—the whole purpose of God which has run through all the ages. The introduction to this Woe begins with xi. 15, but xi. 1-13 is essentially a part of this Woe.

1. καὶ εἶδον ἄλλον ἄγγελον ἰσχυρὸν καταβαίνοντα ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ,
περιβεβλημένον νεφέλῃν, καὶ ἡ ἶρις ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ,
καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ὡς ὁ ἥλιος,
καὶ οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ ὡς στύλοι πυρός.

The Seer has returned to earth. He hears a voice twice from heaven, x. 4, 8, and he receives the book from the angel that stood on the earth and the sea, x. 8, 10.

ἄλλον ἄγγ. ἰσχυρὸν. To be rendered: "another angel, a mighty one": cf. vi. 4, xiv. 9, xv. 1. The diction recalls v. 2, xviii. 21. If Michael is referred to in viii. 3-5, it is possible that Gabriel is referred to here. In that case *ἰσχυρός* (= ἡβᾶ) would

¹ *οἱ δύο μάρτυρες*, xi. 3, are, in spite of the art., not mentioned before; nor yet is *τὸ θῆριον*, xi. 7. We can at the best guess at the relation in which the Beast stands to Jerusalem and to the nations and peoples, xi. 8, and to the witnesses, xi. 3, 7, etc.

imply a play on the name of the angel. Another argument in favour of this identification is that the author of this chapter almost quotes verbally from Dan. xii. 7, and that the angel there, who raises both hands to heaven and "swears by Him that liveth for ever," is by many scholars identified with Gabriel (cf. x. 5, 6—yet see note on viii. 2 of our text).

Wellhausen holds that the strong one is not an angel, but is "according to the description Christ or God Himself," and that the echoes of His voice are the seven peals of thunder of the Ps. xxix. This latter identification is ingenious, but is wholly against not only the present context, but the spirit of later Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic. Nor is the strong angel to be identified with Christ, as Christ is never designated as an angel in the Apoc. The voice in x. 4, 8 is probably that of Christ.

καταβαίνοντα ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. This phrase is found in xviii. 1, xx. 1, and frequently in various forms in the Apoc. Cf. iii. 12, xiii. 13, xvi. 21, xx. 9, etc. περιβεβλημένον νεφέλῃν. Cf. Ps. ciii. (civ.) 3; Dan. vii. 13. With the phrase ἡ ἱρις ἐπὶ τ. κεφ. cf. iv. 3, and with τ. πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ὡς ὁ ἥλιος cf. i. 16. The rainbow is due to the light from the angel's face on the cloud. The expression οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ ὡς στύλοι πυρός is very peculiar. στύλοι as applied to the feet seems unintelligible. If it had been used of the legs, the comparison would have been expressive: cf. Cant. v. 15, "his legs were like pillars of marble." The mistake, if there is a mistake, must lie either in πόδες or in στύλοι. Since our author had the angel described in Dan. x. 6, xii. 7 before his mind, we infer that the error lies in the former; for though Dan. x. 6 has כַּנְלָתָי, this is rendered in Theod. by τὰ σκέλη (though the LXX has οἱ πόδες, as our text here and in i. 15). כַּנְלָה has also the meaning of "leg" in 1 Sam. xvii. 6¹ and Ezek. i. 7.² (See *Oxford Hebrew Lexicon*, 919 sq., and on 595 under כַּנְלָה. Cf. also Deut. xxviii. 57; Isa. vii. 20.) Accordingly we should render here "and his legs were like pillars of fire." This secondary meaning of the Hebrew word כַּנְלָה is attached by the author to the Greek word. He thinks in Hebrew, and as he embodies Hebrew idiom in his Greek, so also he has transferred to a Greek word a meaning which only legitimately belongs to the Hebrew of which it is a rendering.

Furthermore, in Palestinian Aramaic it is used as meaning the thigh of an animal, being a translation of כַּרְעִים: cf. Ex. xxix. 17; Lev. i. 13, viii. 21, ix. 14. In Arabic this word means either "foot" or "leg." From these facts we see that, while our author had in his mind the word כַּנְלָה, he attached to it not its

¹ So rightly LXX, Peshitto, and Vulg. *crura*.

² Here the LXX and Vulg. render כַּנְלָה rightly. But the Massoretic needs to be corrected. See Cornill and Marti.

ordinary meaning "foot," but its less usual one "leg," and that he transferred this secondary meaning of the Hebrew word to its Greek equivalent. It might appear at first sight that he was wholly unjustified in supposing that the primary and secondary meaning of the Hebrew word, *i.e.* "foot" and "leg," belonged also to the Greek word; and yet it is possible that this secondary meaning of *πούς* (when used as a rendering of the Hebrew) was not unexampled at the time. For in the LXX it appears as the equivalent of כרעים, "thigh," as we have already observed above.

This explanation removes the objection advanced by J. Weiss (p. 42), that the position of the clause relating to the βιβλαρίδιον between the representation of the feet and the placing of them on the sea and land, gives it the impression of an interpolation. The πόδες should be rendered "legs," and a full stop put after βιβλαρίδιον ἠνεωγμένον. With these words the description of the angel closes. Wellhausen (p. 14) also regards it as an addition, the aim of which is disclosed by x. 8, 11. These verses, it is true, do disclose the aim, but x. 8-11 come from the hand of the Seer himself, and the contents of "the little book" are not a mere digression, but a *proleptic* vision of the reign of the Antichrist. Such *proleptic* visions occur elsewhere in our author.

ἔχων ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ βιβλαρίδιον. Just as in v. 1 βιβλίον γεγραμμένον καὶ ὅπισθεν is based in Ezek. ii. 9, so is the text here also: καὶ ἰδοὺ χεὶρ ἐκτεταμένη πρὸς με, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ κεφαλὴ βιβλίου. We have here independent visions of the same Seer. βιβλαρίδιον (a *ἀπ. λεγ.*, a diminutive of βιβλᾶριον: cf. παιδάριον, John vi. 9. βιβλιδάριον is the form used in Classical Greek) means a very small book. This fact is of importance when we seek to determine the amount of the sequel that is to be assigned to it. If the seven-sealed Book embraces only chaps. vi.-ix., the small booklet (βιβλαρίδιον) should naturally embrace very much less. Its contents have been reasonably limited to xi. 1-13, which comes in as a *proleptic* digression among the events contained in the Seven-sealed Book. This clause properly belongs to 1.

2. ἔθηκεν τὸν πόδα . . . γῆς. The message concerns the whole earth. Perhaps the idea was remotely suggested by Dan. xii. 5. With the phrase ἔθηκεν . . . πόδα cf. i. 17, ἔθηκεν τὴν δεξιὰν αὐτοῦ.

ἔκραξεν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ. This is the more normal—apparently the only legitimate—form of this phrase in the Apoc.: cf. vi. 10, vii. 2, 10. It is true we find also κράζειν ἐν φ. μεγάλῃ in xiv. 15; but the passage is from an interpolator's hand, and the wholly unusual form κράζειν ἐν ἰσχυρῇ φ. in xviii. 2. After λέγειν the phrase φωνῇ μεγάλῃ may follow without ἐν, as in v. 12, viii. 13; or with it, as in xiv. 7, 9. Cf. λέγοντος ὡς φωνῇ βροντῆς, vi. 1; φωνεῖν

φ. μ., xiv. 18. None of these phrases is found in the Johannine Gospel. The nearest is in xi. 43, φ. μ. ἐκραύγασεν. For kindred phrases in the O.T. cf. Dan. iii. 4; Isa. xl. 9; Ps. xxix. 4; Jonah iii. 8.

ὡσπερ λέων μυκάται. ὡσπερ is found only here in the Apoc. Elsewhere ὡς is used in this sense. It is found twice in John v. 21, 26. The clause itself is an independent rendering of the Hebrew of Hos. xi. 10, אֲשֶׁר יִהְיֶה כְּאֶרְצָה, where the LXX has ὡς λέων ἐρεύξεται. Practically the same words recur in Amos i. 2, iii. 8; Joel iii. (iv.) 16. The LXX gives different renderings of אֲשֶׁר, as ὠρεύσθαι, Hos. xi. 10; φθέγγεσθαι, Amos i. 2; ἐρεύγεσθαι, Hos. xi. 10, Am. iii. 8; ἀνακράζεσθαι, Joel iii. (iv.) 16, but never μυκάσθαι, which is not found in the LXX. μυκάσθαι is properly used of oxen; but since Theocritus, xxvi. 21, has μύκημα λεαίνης, and 4 Ezra xi. 37, xii. 31 has "leo . . . mugiens" (= μυκάσθαι), we may reasonably infer that μυκάσθαι was used of the roar of a lion.

In all these passages the words are used of God. In 4 Ezra xi. 37 (xii. 31) the phrase "leo . . . mugiens" is used of the Messiah. But the context here limits the reference to an angel, *i.e.* Gabriel.

3. The loud voice of the angel seems at the outset to have been inarticulate, but not so the seven thunders that followed. Since the article is present here, the idea is clearly a familiar or current one. Bousset rightly protests against Spitta (followed by Wellhausen) representing the seven peals of thunder (known already from Ps. xxix. 3-9) as echoes of the voice just referred to. Nor can we with Völter, iv. 69, who appeals to Wisd. xix. 13, take them as merely conveying warnings announcing the wrath of God and heralding the final issues. Nor yet again can we accept the explanation offered by Weizsäcker, Schoen, Pfeiderer, J. Weiss (p. 43), and Bousset, who take the aim of this intermezzo to be a purely literary one. On this hypothesis a source which contains the cycle of visions connected with the Seven Thunders is excluded from his work by the Seer, either because it may have been known to his readers and therefore not have needed incorporation here, or because it may have been to a large extent a repetition of the foregoing visions. In that case the Seer has fallen from his rôle and plays the part of an editor, who gives account to his readers of the contents and order of his book. As against these explanations I am inclined to treat the statement as a *bona fide* one, and view it in the same light as that of St. Paul in 2 Cor. xii. 4 in regard to his vision in the third heaven: ἤκουσεν ἄρρητα ῥήματα ἃ οὐκ ἐξὸν ἀνθρώπῳ λαλῆσαι. The Seer witnessed the vision referred to in x. 3-4 in connection with that of the strong angel, and has accordingly recorded the fact that he so witnessed it, although he was forbidden to

disclose it. ἐλάλησαν . . . φωνάς. With this construction we might compare xiii. 5, λαλοῦν μεγάλα, and Mark ii. 2. The voices of the Seven Thunders are intelligible to the Seer, as he forthwith prepares to write down their message.

4. καὶ ὅτε ἐλάλησαν αἱ ἑπτὰ βρονταί, ἡμελλον γράφειν· καὶ ἤκουσα φωνῇ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ λέγουσαν Σφράγισον ἃ ἐλάλησαν αἱ ἑπτὰ βρονταί, καὶ μὴ αὐτὰ γράψῃς.

The Seer is forbidden by a voice, *i.e.* probably that of Christ, to write down the disclosures of the Seven Thunders. The non-writing is equivalent to sealing. σφραγίζειν is a technical apocalyptic term (cf. xxii. 10), and thus σφράγισον and μὴ γράψῃς are practically synonymous. With this passage Swete aptly compares John xii. 28, ἦλθεν οὖν φωνὴ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ . . . ὁ οὖν ὄχλος ὁ ἐστὼς καὶ ἀκούσας ἔλεγεν βροντὴν γεγονέναι· ἄλλοι ἔλεγον Ἄγγελος αὐτῷ λελάληκεν.

The words φωνῇ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ (cf. x. 8) show that the Seer is now on earth. See note on iv. 1, p. 109.

5. After the intermezzo of 3-4 dealing with the Seven Thunders, the Seer resumes the description of the strong angel and his action.

καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος, ὃν εἶδον ἐστῶτα ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς,

ἦρεν τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ τὴν δεξιὰν εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν,

6. καὶ ὤμοσεν ἐν τῷ ζῶντι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

ιστάναί ἐπί takes the acc. with the sense of "to stand at," iii. 20, ἐπὶ τ. θύραν: vii. 1, ἐπὶ τ. γωνίας: also with the sense of "to stand on," viii. 3, ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον (AP): xi. 11, ἐπὶ τ. πόδας: xii. 18, ἐπὶ τ. ἄμμον: xiv. 1, ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος: xv. 2, ἐπὶ τ. θάλασσαν; but takes the gen. with the same sense in x. 5, 8, ἐπὶ τ. θαλάσσης (+ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, x. 8); for it is characteristic of our author to write ἐπὶ τ. γῆς, or εἰς τὴν γῆν and ἐπὶ τ. θαλάσσης. See note on vii. 1, p. 191.

Next we observe that the text is clearly derived from Dan. xii. 7—but the diction is not from the LXX or Theod.; for they render ὑψωσε (D¹Y¹) τὴν δεξιὰν (+ αὐτοῦ, T) καὶ τὴν ἀριστεράν (+ αὐτοῦ, T) εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, καὶ ὤμοσε τὸν ζῶντα εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα θεόν (ἐν τῷ ζῶντι τὸν αἰῶνα, T). For αἶρω never occurs as a rendering of D¹Y¹ when the verb is used technically of raising the hand to swear. Here the Versions give ὑψωσεν. But αἶρω is the usual translation of נָשָׂא Y¹ when it is used technically of raising the hand to swear. In fact Y¹ נָשָׂא (= αἶρειν or ἐξαίρειν or ἐκτείνειν τὴν χεῖρα) is a synonym for δυνύναι, and so it is actually rendered (D¹Y¹) in the three Targums on Ex. vi. 8, Num. xiv. 30, and in the Jer. and Jon. Targums on Deut. xxxii. 40, and in the Jon. Targ. on Ezek. xx. 5, 6, 15, 23, 28, 42, xxxvi. 7, etc.

From the above we conclude that our author did not use the Versions but the Hebrew of Daniel, which he rendered freely to suit his purpose, *וירם ימינו . . . אל השמים וישבע בחי העלם*. I do not know of the combination "he lifted up his hand and sware" occurring elsewhere in canonical literature save in these two passages:

ὅς ἐκτίσεν τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ ὅτι χρόνος οὐδέτι ἔσται.

This statement that God has created all things, serves to introduce the announcement that affects all created things.

Such references to the creative activity of God (cf. iv. 11, xiv. 7) are very frequent in later Judaism (cf. Bousset, *Rel. d. Judenthums*, 296) but very rare outside the Apocalypse in the N.T.: cf. Acts xiv. 15, xvii. 24; Heb. xi. 3. In the O.T.: cf. Gen. i. 1 sqq.; Ex. xx. 11; Isa. xxxvii. 16, xlii. 5; Jer. xxxii. 17, li. 15; Ps. xxxiii. 6, cii. 25, cxv. 15, cxxiv. 8, cxxxiv. 3, and especially cxlv. 6, τὸν ποιήσαντα τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν, τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς. Also Wisd. ix. 1, xi. 17; 2 Enoch xxiv. 2, xlviii. 5.

χρόνος οὐδέτι ἔσται. The idea underlying χρόνος here is that of an interval of time. Hence the clause means that there will be no delay. Cf. Heb. x. 37, ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἔξει καὶ οὐ χρονίσει (= יֵצֵא, Hab. ii. 3).

We have now to inquire the meaning of the clause in relation to its context—a matter of much importance. With regard to what is there to be no delay? This question we cannot investigate apart from Dan. xii. 7, which was before the mind of the Seer, and yet we must not do violence to our text by simply forcing upon it the meaning in Daniel. Now Dan. xii. 7, vii. 25, speaks of "a time, times and half a time," i.e. $3\frac{1}{2}$ years, the period during which the Antichrist was to have power. But this period was a period already in progress in the visions of Daniel.

But this is not the case in our text. The reign of the Antichrist has not yet begun in the visions of the Seer. All the evils and plagues—even the two demonic plagues, are only forerunners of that period. But the hour for the reign of the Antichrist has all but struck. There will be no further delay (χρόνος οὐδέτι ἔσται). The evil of the world must now culminate in the revelation of the Antichrist; for the day of the Lord cannot come, ἐὰν μὴ ἔλθῃ ἡ ἀποστασία πρῶτον καὶ ἀποκαλυφθῇ ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀνομίας (2 Thess. ii. 3). The reign of the Antichrist which is about to begin is to be introduced by and embraced in the third Woe, to which our author refers in 7.¹

¹ Of other interpretations two may be mentioned. 1. The words are said to predict the ending of the state of time and the beginning of eternity. This view, which was in vogue as early as Bede, I supported in my edition of

7. ἀλλ' ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς φωνῆς τοῦ ἑβδόμου ἀγγέλου, ὅταν μέλλῃ σαλπίζειν, καὶ ἐτελέσθῃ τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ, ὡς εὐηγγέλισεν τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ δούλους τοὺς προφῆτας.

This verse presents a difficult problem. Are we to regard ἀλλ' . . . σαλπίζειν as original or not? Spitta (p. 110) rejects the clause as an addition of the redactor; Völter (iv. 59) likewise rejects it, and J. Weiss (p. 41). These writers do not advance definite grounds for the excision of the clause, which could be stated and either accepted or rejected. The only definite objection is that of J. Weiss, who contends that it destroys the rhythm. But, as Bousset rejoins, there is no real rhythm in this chapter.

But though these critics have not furnished any just grounds for the rejection of this clause, the very fact that all three, though approaching the book from different standpoints, felt that there was something wrong about the clause, points to certain inherent difficulties. With these difficulties which arise in connection with the meaning which we attach to the phrases ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις and μέλλῃ, we shall now proceed to deal. We have already seen that as in ix. 1 we were obliged to change πέμπτos into πρώτος, and in ix. 13 ἕκτος into δεύτερος, so here for ἑβδόμον we must read τρίτον. The reference is to the third Trumpet (or third Woe, cf. xi. 14), in which the kingdom of the Antichrist is manifested and destroyed and God's kingdom established throughout the world. But the three Woes are Woes only to the inhabitants of the earth, i.e. the unfaithful: cf. viii. 13. To the faithful they are merely stages in the realization of the secret purpose of God (μυστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ, x. 7), which secret purpose leads ultimately to the blessedness of the faithful (cf. εὐηγγέλισεν, x. 7 and xi. 17-18).

Let us now return to μέλλῃ and ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις. First as regards μέλλῃ. What meaning are we to assign to this word? It is used in three senses in the Apocalypse. 1. As an auxiliary with an infinitive to express simple futurity, iii. 16 (possibly also ii. 10 *bis*). 2. Cum inf. = to be about to do or suffer something, iii. 2, 10, viii. 13, x. 4, xii. 4, 5, xvii. 8 (possibly ii. 10 *bis*). But μέλλειν is practically an auxiliary here also. 3. Cum inf. = to be destined, i. 19, vi. 11. Now x. 7 clearly does not belong to 3. Hence it belongs either to 1 or 2. It is generally assigned to 2 (see R.V., Holtzmann, etc.), and it must be con-

2 *Epoch*, p. xxiii, in relation to xxxiii. 2, lxx. 6, 7, where the absolute cessation of time is foretold. But this interpretation is wrong. 2. Nor is it right, with Alford, Bousset, and others, to connect our text with vi. 11, καὶ ἐρρέθη αὐτοῖς ὅτι ἀναπαύσονται ἐν χρόνῳ μικρῷ: for there the martyrs pray for the speedy appearing of the day of judgment, and they are assured that that day will come in a little while, when the roll of the martyrs is complete. But in our text the period referred to is the reign of Antichrist on earth, which begins with his expulsion from heaven.

fessed this is the usual meaning of μέλλειν in the Apocalypse. But if we accept it, it follows that the mystery of God will be accomplished "in the days when the seventh angel is about to sound," *i.e.* before this angel has sounded. Now this is against every reasonable meaning that can be assigned to the *μυστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ* in this context (see note *in loc.*). If μέλλη has this meaning here, then we must excise δὲ . . . σαλπίζειν as an addition from the same hand that expanded the three Trumpets (or Woes) into seven, and explain the addition as due to a misunderstanding of the *proleptic* character of xi. 1-13. Not observing the *proleptic* character of xi. 1-13, the interpolator assumed that the Antichrist came before the seventh (*i.e.* third) Trumpet.

But it is possible to take μέλλη in the first sense. In that case we should translate *ὅταν μέλλη σαλπίζειν* simply as "when he shall sound." We have now to deal with *ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις*. This phrase might in itself denote a point of time or a period. But the words *τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ*, however we interpret them, are in favour of the latter. The text then would run: "in the days of the voice of the third angel when he shall sound."

καὶ ἐτελέσθη. This can be explained as a Hebraism, *i.e.* *וְהָיָה* = *τελεσθήσεται*, or with *W.M.*, p. 346 sq., as the aor. of anticipation, "in the days when the third angel shall sound, then the secret of God is finished." *καί* introduces the apodosis in xiv. 10.

τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ. 1. This phrase has been taken by Bousset as referring to the casting down of Satan from heaven, xii. 8-9. This interpretation has much in its favour, but it is not wide enough. The thanksgivings in xi. 17-18 lead us to expect something greater. 2. Vischer (p. 21), Völter (ii. 18, iv. 73), Holtzmann (? *in loc.*) refer it to the birth of the Messiah. In this case Vischer assumes that xii. is from a Jewish hand, and Völter, that it belongs to an Apocalypse of Cerinthus. 3. While the first view is inadequate the second is impossible. Hence we take the phrase in a wider sense than Bousset. The phrase appears to mean *the whole purpose of God in regard to the world*, which must finally be accomplished.¹ This purpose is

¹ To determine the meaning of this phrase it must be studied in its several contexts. Thus in Rom. xvi. 25, 26, Col. i. 26, 27, ii. 2, iv. 3, Eph. i. 9, 10, iii. 3-6, 9, vi. 19, the *μυστήριον* means the inclusion of the Gentiles in the Christian Church. (See Robinson, *Eph.* 234 sqq.) This is actually designated *τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ* in Col. ii. 2. But this cannot be the meaning in our text. Again the unbelief of Israel is described as a *μυστήριον* in Rom. xi. 25, and as bound up with God's mercy to the Gentiles. Other meanings of the word are found in the Pauline Epistles, and one in particular calls for attention, *i.e.* that in 2 Thess. ii. 6-8, *ἐν τῷ ἀποκαλυφθῆναι αὐτόν* (= τὸν ἀνθρώπον τῆς ἀνομίας) *ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ καιρῷ*: τὸ γὰρ μυστήριον ἤδη ἐνεργεῖται

not secret; for it has already been made known to His servants the prophets. *καὶ ἐτελέσθη τὸ μ. τ. θεοῦ* means the consummation of this growing purpose of God that has run through all the ages. It presents a twofold aspect: one of woe to the inhabitants of the earth (= the third Woe), and, so far, it is equivalent to the manifestation of the Antichrist on earth: and one of joy to the faithful (*εὐηγγέλισεν*, x. 7): for the Antichrist cannot overcome them spiritually, however much he may persecute them, and, moreover, he is to reign but a short time and their recompense is at hand. The contents of the divine purpose may be inferred from the thanksgivings of the 24 Elders after the seventh Trumpet (*i.e.* third Trumpet or Woe). Thus the kingdom of God is to be set up, xi. 17—a fact which carries with it the casting down of that of Satan and the Antichrist, “the destroyers of the earth” are to be destroyed, *i.e.* Rome as the servant of the Antichrist, xi. 18 (cf. xiv. 6–20, xix. 2), the saints recompensed, and the dead judged, xi. 18.

τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ, ὡς εὐηγγέλισεν τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ δούλους τοὺς προφήτας. These words seem to be a reminiscence of Amos iii. 7 (LXX), *διότι οὐ μὴ ποιήσῃ κύριος ὁ θεὸς πρᾶγμα ἂν μὴ ἀποκαλύψῃ παιδείαν* (= כִּסּוּף corrupt for פִּתּוּחַ) *αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς δούλους αὐτοῦ τοὺς προφήτας* (כִּי אִם-לִנְלִי סוּדוּ אֶל עַבְדָּיו הַנְּבִיאִים). If our text is based on Amos iii. 7, then our author clearly did not use the LXX, since it presupposes a different text. *εὐηγγέλισεν* c. acc. as an active is found only here in the N.T., as is also *εὐαγ.* c. *ἐπὶ* in xiv. 6. Cf. LXX of 1 Sam. xxxi. 9; 2 Sam. xviii. 19. *εὐαγγελίζεσθαι* c. acc. is frequent in Luke. “His servants the prophets” is a well-known O.T. expression: cf. 2 Kings xvii. 13, 23, xxi. 10, xxiv. 2; Ezek. xxxviii. 17; Zech. i. 6; Jer. vii. 25, xxv. 4; Dan. ix. 10. But in our text we may take it that the phrase refers to the Christian prophets, the contemporaries of the Seer. The O.T. prophets touched very slightly, and generally not at all, on the great problems with which the Seer deals. As regards *ἑαυτοῦ*, if it is used, it is placed before the noun as here in x. 3. Otherwise *αὐτοῦ* is used, and placed after the noun: cf. i. 1, 4, 5, 6, 14, etc. etc. But the former expression is, of course, stronger.

τῆς ἀνομίας· μόνον ὁ κατέχων ἄρτι ἕως ἐκ μέσου γένηται καὶ τότε ἀποκαλυφθήσεται ὁ ἀνομος. The principle of evil will at last be revealed and culminate in a personality; for the advent of the Lord cannot take place unless this apostasy come first and the man of lawlessness be revealed (2 Thess. ii. 3). Here the *μυστήριον* refers to the Antichrist who is still hidden, but about to be revealed. This use is very nearly allied to that in our text, but it is much more limited in meaning. *τὸ μυστ. τ. θεοῦ* in our text embraces the whole purpose of God in history. The manifestation of evil in the Antichrist is only a part of this all-embracing purpose, which issues in the complete triumph and manifestation of goodness. The conceptions underlying 2 Thess. ii. are related essentially to those in our text.

8. καὶ ἡ φωνὴ ἣν ἤκουσα ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πάλιν λαλοῦσαν μετ' ἐμοῦ καὶ λέγουσαν Ὑπαγε λάβε τὸ βιβλίον τὸ ἠνεωγμένον τὸ ἐν χειρὶ τοῦ ἀγγέλου τοῦ ἐστῶτος ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

In the above text I have followed the uncials. The solecism seems to go back to the Seer himself. If he had had the opportunity of revising his MS. he would probably have written ἐλάλησεν . . . λέγουσα or λαλοῦσα μετ' ἐμοῦ, λέγουσα. (Cf. iv. 1, xvii. 1.) The reading of the majority of the cursives, λαλοῦσα . . . καὶ λέγουσα, is simply a scribal correction and not in our author's style. Nor is the text read as in 7 vulg^{te} s¹ Prim., καὶ ἤκουσα φωνήν, aught else than a correction, though it is in keeping with our author's style. The voice is that already mentioned in 4.

The expression ὑπαγε λάβε is a Hebraism, and exactly reproduces the clause in Gen. xxvii. 13; Hos. i. 2, הָרָץ. Cf. Gen. xxix. 7, xxxvii. 14—in all about 57 times (in *Oxford Heb. Lex.*, p. 234). It occurs also in Matt. v. 24, viii. 4, xix. 21, etc.; John iv. 16, ix. 7. In our text in xvi. 1 we have ὑπάγετε καὶ ἐκχέετε. See note on x. 5. From x. 9-10 we know that our author had Ezek. iii. 1 sqq. before him: now this idiom occurs in Ezek. iii. 1, וְהָרָץ הָרָץ, and in iii. 4. ἐστῶτος ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης. See 6 n.

9. καὶ ἀπήλθα πρὸς τὸν ἀγγελον λέγων αὐτῷ δοῦναί μοι τὸ βιβλαρίδιον καὶ λέγει μοι λάβε καὶ κατάφαγε αὐτό, καὶ πικρανί σου τὴν κοιλίαν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ στόματί σου ἔσται γλυκὺ ὡς μέλι.

With λέγων . . . δοῦναί, "bidding him to give," cf. xiii. 14; Acts xxi. 21, λέγων μὴ περιτέμνῃν. See Blass, *Gram.* 232, 240. The incident here undoubtedly recalls Ezek. iii. 1 sqq. Our author is not dependent on the LXX, which reads here: iii. 1, 3, κατάφαγε τὴν κεφαλίδά ταύτην . . . καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ στόματί μου ὡς μέλι γλυκάζον.

There is a difference between the description in our text and in Ezekiel. Ezekiel's roll was sweet as honey in the mouth, but there is no *direct* reference to its being bitter in the belly. And yet even the latter idea, which is emphasized in our text, seems to be derived from Ezekiel. For this contrast implicitly underlies the description in Ezekiel, where, though the book was sweet in the mouth, its contents with regard to Israel were full of "lamentation and mourning and woe." The same contrast is found also in Jer. xv. 16, 17 according to the Mass., "Thy words . . . I did eat (symbolically), and thy words were unto me the joy and rejoicing of my heart. . . . I sat not in the assembly of them that make merry . . . for thou hast filled me with indignation" (*i.e.* hast given me nought but wrath to announce). But it is noteworthy that for וָרָץ, "I did eat," the LXX reads וָרָץ = συντέλεισον αὐτούς, a text accepted by

Duhm and Cornill. Bertholet (Ezek. iii. 3) suggests that our author may have taken iii. 14 in this sense: "So the spirit lifted me up . . . and I went in bitterness" (רַחֵם וְאֶמָּן¹). This suggestion seems probable.

Next as to the meaning of the sweetness followed by bitterness in our text various explanations are offered. Most expositors are of opinion that the reception of a revelation is in itself a joy, but that its contents carry with them grief and bitterness. This is the meaning supported by the passages just cited from Ezekiel and Jeremiah.

But Ewald, Heinrici, Holtzmann hold that the sweetness and bitterness point to the diverse nature of the contents of the book. For of the book (which = xi. 1-13), xi. 1, 3-6, 11-13 disclose mercy and redemption, whereas xi. 2, 7-10 predict disappointment and death even for the righteous.

The introduction of this episode points to the use of a foreign source by our writer. The inspiration is not direct. There is not a single mention of this Little Book through the remaining chapters, and the Seer speaks of seeing the visions himself. The inspiration-theory underlying the idea of acquiring superhuman knowledge through eating is lower than that which prevails elsewhere in the Apocalypse. And yet this idea is not without parallel in the Apocalypse; for the eating of the Tree of Life in xxii. 14 appears to impart immortality, but there the words are symbolically used.

In the O.T. the conception appears more natural. According to the Paradise story, the Tree of Knowledge gave to those who ate of it spiritual knowledge. The ancients did not distinguish sharply, as we do, between the material and spiritual life. And yet even we moderns believe in the close relation of these two; for we hold that with the material elements of the bread and wine spiritual gifts are imparted to the faithful in the Holy Communion.

10. καὶ ἔλαβον τὸ βιβλαρίδιον ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς τοῦ ἀγγέλου καὶ κατέφαγον αὐτό· καὶ ἦν ἐν τῷ στόματί μου γλυκὺ ὡς μέλι· καὶ ὅτε ἔφαγον αὐτό ἐπικράνθη² ἡ κοιλία μου.

In 9 the importance of the results that followed the eating of the book is emphasized, and accordingly these are placed first; in this verse the events are given in the order of the Seer's experience.

¹ The LXX reads καὶ ἐπορεύθη μετέωρος here, where the last word = οἶ, corrupt for ὠ.

² ἐγεμισθη = 1854 arm Prim. This reading seems due to Ezek. iii. 3, κῶλον τυγοῦ; LXX, ἡ κοιλία σου πλησθήσεται. Swete thinks that it is "the first word of a gloss ἐγεμισθη πικρίας, accidentally transferred into the text from the margin."

11. καὶ λέγουσιν μοι Δεῖ σε πάλιν προφητεῦσαι ἐπὶ λαοῖς καὶ ἔθνεσιν καὶ γλώσσαις καὶ βασιλεῦσιν πολλοῖς.

The plural λέγουσιν is difficult. We cannot determine whether the words come from the heavenly voice (4, 8), or from the angel (9). Probably it is simply the plural of indefinite statement, as in xiii. 16, δώσω : xvi. 15, βλέπωσιν—an idiom sometimes found in Hebrew, and frequent in Biblical Aramaic. Cf. Dan. iv. 13, 22, 23, 29, v. 20, 21, vii. 12, 26 ; Ezr. vi. 5. See Wellhausen, *Einleitung in d. Evang.* 25 sq.

The construction προφητεύειν ἐπὶ (c. dat. or acc.) is found not infrequently in the LXX as a rendering of *לְעַל* *עַל*. ἐπὶ = "in regard to" is found in John xii. 16 after γράφειν. The phrase πάλιν προφητεῦσαι refers backward in πάλιν to what precedes, and forward in προφητεῦσαι to the chapters that follow xi. 15, as the βιβλαρίδιον embraces only xi. 1-13. The prophecies are to deal with "peoples and nations and languages and many kings." It is interesting that this enumeration, which occurs seven times in the Apocalypse (see note on v. 9), is here given a different form, and βασιλεῦσιν is put in the place of φυλαῖς. The "kings" are specially those mentioned in xvii. 10, 12. The Seer is recasting this characteristic phrase with a view to the contents of his later visions.

CHAPTER XI.

§ 1. *The contents of the Little Book, being a proleptic Digression on the Antichrist in Jerusalem.*

The measuring (i.e. the securing against demonic powers) of the faithful, 1-2, and the preaching of the two Witnesses, 3-6, are a preparation against the appearance of the Antichrist in Jerusalem—the Beast from the abyss, who will reign for three and a half years, and will war against and put to death the Witnesses to the great joy of the unbelievers, 7-10 : the Witnesses raised anew to life, and the rest of the Jews converted to Christianity, 11-13.

Such appears to be the meaning of this section in its present context. This section is proleptic, because it really belongs to the third Woe or Trumpet, when Satan had already been cast down from heaven (xii.) and the Kingdom of the Antichrist established (xiii.). It is, therefore, contemporary in point of time with xii.-xiii. It is a *digression*, because the author has turned aside for the moment from his main theme of the Antichrist as identified with Rome and its empire, in order to describe his appearance in Jerusalem. This task done, he can pursue without interruption to its close the struggle between Christ and the Antichrist as embodied in the Roman Empire. If we ask why he

introduced this section at all, we might perhaps reply that in one respect its presence here is a tribute to the older form of the Antichrist tradition (before 70 A.D.), which regarded Jerusalem as the scene of the manifestation of the Jewish Antichrist, as in 2 Thess. ii.; and that in another respect it was designed to represent the Conversion of the Jews to Christianity under the pressure of fear and after the preaching of Moses and Elijah—the two companions of Christ on the Mount of Transfiguration—was completed.

§ 2. *But 1-13 had originally a different meaning and was borrowed by our author from an early source.*

But though § 1 gives the meaning of this section in its present context, this was not its original meaning; for it was not the original composition of our author, but consisted originally of two independent fragments which were borrowed and revised by him to suit his own ideas.

The grounds for this statement are as follows:

1. xi. 1-13 consists of two independent fragments, both written before 70 A.D.

2. The diction differs very perceptibly from that of our author.

3. The order of the words, which is largely non-Semitic, differs decidedly from that of our author.

4. The meaning of certain phrases in xi. 1-13 differs absolutely from that which they bear in the rest of the Apocalypse.

5. Certain ideas common to xi. 1-2 and xi. 3-13 are expressed in different phraseology and appear to point to different authorship (whether Greek or Aramaic).

1. xi. 1-13 consists of two independent fragments both written before 70 A.D.

The first fragment is xi. 1-2. Owing to Wellhausen's recognition of the fact that xi. 1-2 was originally an independent oracle written before 70 A.D. (*Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi. 221 sqq.; cf. also his *Analyse der Offenb. Johannis*, 1907, p. 15), the task of subsequent critics has been rendered easier.

This oracle predicted the preservation of the Temple and those who worshipped in it (*i.e.* the Zealots, who during the siege had taken up their quarters in the Temple and the inner court; see my note *in loc.*), while the outer court and city would be trodden down of the Gentiles.¹ There is here no idea of the destruction, but only of the capture of Jerusalem. There were many prophets among the Zealots, according to Josephus. This fragment would naturally be the work of one of these.

Amongst the older scholars, Corrodi, Herren, Schneider,

¹ On the expectation that Jerusalem would be captured by the Romans, see Josephus, *B.J.* vi. 5. 3.

Eichhorn, Semler, Bleek, Ewald, De Wette, and Lücke interpreted xi. 1-2 of the preservation of the Temple; and, as they held to the unity of the Apocalypse, they naturally concluded that the Apocalypse was written before 70 A.D. J. Weiss accepts the date thus found for xi. 1-13 and takes xi. 3-13 to be from the same hand. But Bousset and Porter distinguish xi. 1-2 and xi. 3-13.

xi. 3-13. This fragment, as Wellhausen has rightly observed (*Analyse*, p. 16), stands in an isolated position. οἱ δύο μάρτυρες (xi. 3) are in spite of the article not previously mentioned, nor is τὸ θῆριον (xi. 7). He thinks that xi. 3-13 originally referred to Rome, and that the Redactor adapted it by his additions to Jerusalem. The reasons he advances for this last view are not tenable, and are dealt with in my notes where necessary. In the course of his criticism Wellhausen reduces the original document to xi. 3^a, 7, 8^a, 9 (four words), 10-13 (with excisions).

The criticism of Bousset is sounder. He shows first of all how fragmentary xi. 3-13 is, seeing that it leaves us in doubt as to whether the Antichrist appears as a purely mythological figure or an historical personage: as to the relation in which he stands to Jerusalem, or to the nations and people mentioned, or to the Witnesses. Next he takes xi. 3-13 in connection to xi. 1-2. The binding together of these two fragments could not, he holds, have been effected by an author who wrote after 70 A.D.; for that only under the presupposition that they were combined in an apocalypse written before 70, could they possess a good sense and an inner connection. For according to xi. 1-2, Jerusalem is to be given over to the Gentiles, but the Temple is to be preserved. And only in this situation is the following prophecy conceivable. The two Witnesses and the Beast from the abyss appear in the city beleaguered by the Romans. I confess that I find this reasoning unconvincing. The writer who could adapt to his own Apocalypse of 95 A.D., when Jerusalem was in ruins, a *fragment that bore definitely on its face the date of 70 A.D.* when Jerusalem still stood, would have found less difficulty in adapting to it a *fragment dealing with eschatological expectations of the reign of the Antichrist and written at some undiscoverable date before 70 A.D.*; for xi. 3-13 also presupposes Jerusalem to be still standing.

But, as we shall discover later, there are some grounds for regarding xi. 7 as wholly recast by our author and xi. 4 (?), 8^{bc}, 9^a as added by him, and that xi. 5^d is possibly a gloss.

2. *The diction and idiom differ very perceptibly from those of our author.*

First we observe that in 1 ἐγείρειν, in 2 ἐκβάλλειν and αὐλή, in 5 (and 12) ἐχθρός, in 6 ἐπὶ βρέχειν and ὁσάκις ἐάν, and ἀφέναι c. inf. in 9, and in 11 ἐπιτίπτειν are found here only in the Apoc. These facts in themselves prove nothing, but the follow-

ing prove much. Thus πῶμα = "corpse," is used in 8, 9, whereas our author uses νεκρός in this sense, xvi. 3, xx. 13; θεωρεῖν in 11, 12, whereas our author uses βλέπειν or ὁρᾶν in this connection; προφητεία = "period of prophetic activity" in 6, but "prophecy" in the rest of the Apoc. Again in xi. 6 we have τὴν ἐξουσίαν, whereas in such a passage where limited authority is implied the article is omitted; see note on ii. 26: the pres. inf. στρέφειν though the aor. inf. only is used, except in the case of βλέπειν, i. 12, v. 3, 4, ix. 20, and καταβαίνειν in xiii. 13, and of infinitives after μέλλειν; see note on i. 19. Again in xi. 11 ἔστησαν stands (cf. xviii. 17) where our author would probably have used ἰστήκεισαν (cf. vii. 11) or ἰστάθησαν (cf. viii. 3, vi. 17). In xi. 13 ἐπτά stands after χιλιάδες. See viii. 2 n. Finally, in 3 we have δώσω . . . καὶ προφητεύουσιν where our author would have used δώσω ἐξουσίαν . . . προφητεύειν or ἵνα προφητεύσωσιν, see note on xi. 3; in 5^b we have εἰ with subj., which is against our author's usage; in 6 δσάκις εἰς to denote indefinite frequency, whereas our author uses ὅταν: cf. iv. 9 (ix. 5); and in 11 εἰσῆλθεν ἐν, whereas εἰσέρχασθαι is followed either by εἰς or πρὸς c. acc. elsewhere in the Apoc.

3. *The order of the words, which is largely non-Semitic, differs decidedly from that of our author.*—The subject precedes the verb in xi. 5, πῦρ ἐκπορεύεται . . . καὶ κατεσθίει: xi. 6, ὑπὸς βρέχῃ: xi. 10, καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες . . . χαίρουσιν: xi. 11, πνεῦμα ζωῆς . . . εἰσῆλθεν and φόβος . . . ἐπέπεσαν: xi. 13, τὸ δέκατον . . . ἔπαιον and οἱ λοιποὶ . . . ἐγένοντο. But more noteworthy are the cases where the object precedes the verb: xi. 2, μὴ αἰτὴν μετρήσῃς, τὴν αὐλήν . . . ἐκβαλε, τὴν πόλιν . . . πατήσουσιν: xi. 5, αὐτοὺς . . . ἀδικῆσαι: xi. 6, ἐξουσίαν ἔχουσιν (here only in this order in the text of the Apocalypse): xi. 9, τὰ πνῶματα . . . οὐκ ἀφίουσιν τεθῆναι: xi. 10, δῶρα πέμψουσιν.

I leave out of consideration xi. 7, which has been recast by our author; xi. 4 (?), 8^{bc}, 9^a, which have been probably added by him.

Now the force of this evidence becomes clearer if we compare the order of words in this chapter with the five preceding chapters. In these

Subject precedes verb.	Prepositional phrase precedes verb.	Object precedes verb.
Chap. vi. . . . 10 times.	...	1 (for emphasis: vi. 6).
„ vii. . . . 4 „	...	...
„ viii. 1, 3-5, 13. 1 time.	...	...
Chap. viii. 7-12. 7 times. (addition to text).	...	7 times.
Chap. viii. 2, 6. . . 2 „ (recast).	...	...
Chap. ix. . . . 1 time.	3 times.	1 (in a gloss: ix. 11).
„ x. . . . 4 times.	1 time.	1 (object a pronoun: x. 4. Cf. xi. 2).

Thus in five chapters from the hand of our author the object precedes the verb only twice, whereas in eleven verses in chap. xi. it precedes it seven times. This evidence speaks for itself.

4. *The meaning of certain phrases in xi. 1-13 differs absolutely from that which they bear in the rest of the Apocalypse.* The phrase $\delta\ \nu\alpha\delta\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ is used in xi. 1 of the Temple in Jerusalem. But our author does not apply this phrase to the earthly Temple, as he reserves it for the Temple in heaven. Next our author could not have described the actual Jerusalem as $\tau\eta\ \nu\ \pi\acute{o\lambda\iota\ \nu$ $\tau\eta\ \nu\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\alpha\ \nu$ in xi. 2. This phrase he reserves for the heavenly Jerusalem which cometh down from heaven (xxi. 10). Again, $\eta\ \pi\acute{o\lambda\iota\varsigma\ \eta\ \mu\epsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta$ is used in xi. 8 of Jerusalem, but in our author this phrase technically designates Rome. See note *in loc.* Finally, $\omicron\iota\ \kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\upsilon\ \nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ \epsilon\pi\iota\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \gamma\eta\varsigma$ = the dwellers in Palestine in xi. 10, but elsewhere in the Apocalypse the inhabitants of the whole earth. Owing to the above facts our author must have attached a symbolical meaning (if he did attach a definite meaning) to the first phrase as well as to $\pi\acute{o\lambda\iota\varsigma$ in xi. 13 (see notes *in loc.*).

5. *Though the ministry of the Witnesses is of the same duration as the occupation of Jerusalem by the Gentiles, the incidents in xi. 3-13, culminating in the destruction of one-tenth of Jerusalem, suggest quite a different situation from that implied in xi. 1-2.*

6. *Certain ideas common to both xi. 1-2 and xi. 3-13 are expressed in different phraseology and may point to different authorship (whether Greek or Aramaic).*

Thus over against $\mu\eta\ \nu\alpha\varsigma\ \tau\epsilon\sigma\sigma\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\ \nu\tau\alpha\ \delta\upsilon\omicron$ in xi. 2 we have the same idea expressed by $\eta\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\varsigma\ \chi\iota\lambda\iota\alpha\varsigma\ \delta\iota\alpha\kappa\omicron\sigma\iota\alpha\varsigma\ \epsilon\acute{\xi}\eta\kappa\omicron\ \nu\tau\alpha$ in xi. 3, and over against $\tau\eta\ \nu\ \pi\acute{o\lambda\iota\ \nu\ \tau\eta\ \nu\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\alpha\ \nu$ in xi. 2 we have $\tau\eta\varsigma\ \pi\acute{o\lambda\epsilon\omega\varsigma\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \mu\epsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\varsigma$ in xi. 8.

In xi. 1-2 of this section we have a notable instance of reinterpretation on the part of our author. The inviolable security which the Jews attached to the Temple is reinterpreted by him as meaning the *spiritual* security of the Christian community despite the Satanic kingdom of the Antichrist about to be manifested.

The same process of reinterpretation runs through xi. 3-13, as will be seen in the notes. In addition to the transformations of meaning thus effected it is possible that our author would here impress the general lesson that underlies the entire Apocalypse, that fidelity to Christ, while it ensures spiritual security against the demonic world, entails martyrdom, but that this martyrdom in its turn leads to ultimate victory in all things.

**XI. 1-13. A PROLEPTIC DIGRESSION ON THE
ANTICHRIST IN JERUSALEM.**

1. καὶ ἐδόθη μοι κάλαμος ὁμοῖος ῥάβδῳ, λέγων "Ἐγειρε καὶ μέτρησον τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον καὶ τοὺς προσκυνοῦντας ἐν αὐτῷ.

These two verses, xi. 1-2, are a fragment, as Wellhausen was the first to recognise, of an oracle written before 70 A.D. by one of the prophets of the Zealot party in Jerusalem, who predicted that, though the outer court of the Temple and the city would fall, the Temple and the Zealots who had taken up their abode within it would be preserved from destruction. These verses, therefore, originally dealt partly with contemporary history and partly with eschatological forecasts. But in their present context they cannot possibly be interpreted by the Contemporary Historical Method. The Temple is destroyed and the Zealots with it, and the prophecy of Christ, Mark xiii. 2 = Matt. xxiv. 2 = Luke xxi. 6, has been fulfilled to the letter. Hence no literal interpretation is here possible. The verses must be taken wholly eschatologically, and several of the phrases symbolically, as μέτρησον τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον, τὴν αὐλὴν τὴν ἐξωθεν τοῦ ναοῦ. For the temple of God is here the spiritual temple of which all the faithful are constituent parts; the outer court is the body of unbelievers who are given over to the sway of the Antichrist; and the measuring, like the sealing in vii. 4 sqq., denotes the preservation of the faithful, not from physical evil, but from the spiritual assaults of the Antichrist and his demonic following during the reign of the Antichrist. The grounds for the above interpretation will be found in the introduction to this chapter and in the notes that follow.

The construction ἐδόθη μοι . . . λέγων is very abnormal for ἐδωκέν μοι . . . λέγων. We have, however, an analogous construction in Gen. xxii. 20, ἀνηγγέλη . . . λέγοντες (. . . נִתְּנָה לְיִצְחָק): xxxviii. 24, xlviii. 2; Jos. ii. 2, x. 17, xvi. 2, etc.; Clem. 1 Cor. xi. 1, Ἀὐτ., ἐσώθη ἐκ Σοδόμων . . . πρόδηλον ποιήσας ὁ δεσπότης. Here we should expect ἐσωσεν. But eleven words intervene between ἐσώθη and ποιήσας here. Cf. Thuc. iii. 36. 1.

κάλαμος. Ezek. xl. 3-xlii. 20 was in the mind of the author of this verse. In xli. 13 the angel measures the Temple. The Hebrew is מִדָּתָהּ מִדָּתָהּ in Ezekiel.

μέτρησον. Three explanations have been given of the measuring.

1. Measuring may be done with a view to rebuilding and restoring, as in Ezek. xl. 2 sqq., 47, xli. 13, xliii. 13; Zech. ii. 2-8; Jer. xxxi. 39. So Vitringa, Bengel. But this meaning is excluded by the context.

2. It may be done with a view to destruction, as in 2 Kings xxi. 13; Isa. xxxiv. 11; Amos vii. 7-9; Lam. ii. 8; 2 Sam. viii. 2^a. So Baumgarten and Erbes (69-74). But this sense also is inadmissible in our text, since the exclusion of the outer court in 2 from measurement is the same as its surrender, not indeed to destruction, but to profanation by the Gentiles. The ideas underlying μέτρησον and ἔκβαλε are here essentially opposed.

3. There remains, therefore, the third and only meaning applicable to this word in its original context, i.e. the measuring means physical preservation, as in 2 Sam. viii. 2^b. So Storr, Oeder, Semler, Corrodi, Bleek, Ewald, Züllig (ii. 163-169), De Wette, Lücke, Bousset, etc. The text here in its original form dealt with the actual Temple, altar, outer court, and city. It does not, however, follow that our Seer attached the same meaning to these words. Rather we shall see grounds for believing that in re-editing this earlier document, xi. 1-13, he attached to them symbolical meanings.¹ And such is the case with the word "measure" in its present context. Thus we must have recourse to a measuring different from the above three.

4. In its present context the measuring does not mean preservation from physical, but from *spiritual* danger. Thus the measuring comes to be practically synonymous with the sealing in vii. 4 sqq. A related meaning is attached to measuring like 1 Enoch lxi. 1-5:

1. "And I saw in those days how long cords were given to those angels and they . . . flew . . . towards the north.
2. And I asked the angel saying:
Why have those (angels) taken these cords and gone off? And he said unto me: They have gone to measure . . .
3. . . . These shall bring the measures of the righteous . . . to the righteous

¹ Bousset rejects every attempt at a symbolical explanation; but there is no other kind of explanation admissible, if we hold that xi. 1-13 is borrowed material, and that our author attached a certain meaning to it in its new context. On p. 330 Bousset gives the following attempt at an explanation. He admits (because he rejects an allegorical interpretation) that the meaning attached to xi. 1-13 by "the Apocalyptist of the last hand" can scarcely be made out. He holds that, in case he reflected on its meaning, he would at all events have seen in xi. 1-2 a prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem. But the very phraseology is against this view: the city is "trodden down" but it is not destroyed. Moreover, Bousset recognizes that in xi. 3-13 the city is still presupposed to be standing (cf. xi. 13 specially). From this attempt we may conclude that it is impossible to interpret xi. 1-2 in its present context from the standpoint of the Contemporary Historical hypothesis.

That they may stay themselves on the name of the
Lord of Spirits for ever . . .

4. . . . And those are the measures which shall be given to
faith,

And which shall strengthen righteousness.

5. And these measures shall reveal all the secrets of the
depths of the earth,

And those who have been destroyed by the desert,

And those who . . . have been devoured by the fish of
the sea,

That they may return and stay themselves

On the day of the Elect One ;

For none shall be destroyed before the Lord of Spirits,

And none can be destroyed."

The exact meaning of measuring in this passage is difficult to determine, but its general sense is clear. It does not signify preservation from physical destruction, but the spiritual preservation, xli. 3-4, or restoration of those who had been *physically* destroyed, to the spiritual community of the Messianic Kingdom, xli. 5. The last words imply that all the faithful live unto God, whether quick or departed. Physical death in their case is a thing without meaning.

τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ. This phrase here denoted originally the actual Temple in Jerusalem. But our Seer would never have so described it ; for in his own diction it means one of two things.

1. The spiritual temple, iii. 12, of which the faithful are pillars.
2. The temple in heaven, vii. 15, xi. 19 (*bis*), xiv. 15, 17, xv. 5, 6, 8 (*bis*), xvi. 1, 17. Next, it is noteworthy that at the close of Christ's ministry (Matt. xxiii. 38 = Luke xiii. 35) the actual Temple is called by Christ the Jew's house, no longer God's house, though at the beginning He had called it His Father's house (John ii. 16 = Mark xi. 17 = Matt. xxi. 13 = Luke xix. 46), and that there is no temple at all in the heavenly Jerusalem, xxi. 22. To our Seer the Jews are ἡ συναγωγή τοῦ Σατανᾶ, ii. 9, iii. 9, and in John viii. 44 they are the children of the devil (ὁμοίως ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ διαβόλου ἐστὶν). But since our Seer has incorporated into his text xi. 1-13 with certain editorial changes, he must have attached some meaning to the above phrase and taken it symbolically.¹ To him, therefore, it meant the spiritual temple (iii. 12 ; Eph. ii. 19 sqq.) of which all the faithful are constituent parts, the Christian community of God generally, or rather he took the Temple, altar, and worshippers together as representing this community. This idea was a very familiar one

¹ Our Seer's addition in xi. shows that he attaches a symbolical or rather non-literal meaning to certain expressions.

in the N.T. : cf. 1 Cor. iii. 16, *ναὸς θεοῦ ἐστέ* : 2 Cor. vi. 16, *ἡμεῖς γὰρ ναὸς θεοῦ ἐσμὲν ζῶντος* : 1 Pet. ii. 5, *καὶ αὐτοὶ ὡς λίθοι ζῶντες οἰκοδομείσθαι οἶκος πνευματικός*.

τὸ θυσιαστήριον. In our note on viii. 3 we have shown that *τὸ θυσιαστήριον* in the Apocalypse refers always, with the exception of this passage, to the one altar in heaven. As regards the present passage expositors are divided. Some take this altar to be the altar of incense within the *ναὸς* : others, the altar of burnt-offering. In the case of the two altars in the earthly Temple, *τὸ θυσιαστήριον*, when it is used without any additional defining phrase or attribute, means the altar of burnt-offering.

But we have already found that our author has not, and indeed could not have, taken the words *μέτρησον* and *τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ* literally. If he attached any special meaning to *θυσιαστήριον* here, it must also be a figurative one. He appears to have taken it together with the *ναὸς* and *οἱ προσκυνῶντες ἐν αὐτῷ* as forming one idea. But in the case of borrowed apocalyptic material, it is not necessary to explain every detail of such material, and indeed it is frequently impossible ; for the material is often borrowed on account of certain of its *chief* ideas which fit in with the borrower's own, or easily lend themselves to entire transformation in their new context. The very presence of such inexplicable details, moreover, in apocalyptic texts is *prima facie* evidence that the contexts in which they occur are not original and spontaneous creations of the Seer, but are derived from traditional material.

τοὺς προσκυνῶντας ἐν αὐτῷ. For the meaning of measuring in connection with this phrase see the quotation from 1 Enoch above. Since the Temple, the altar, and the worshippers are set over against the outer court, the worshippers must include those in the men's and women's courts, *i.e.* Jews in opposition to Gentiles, who were restricted to the outer court. But the writer did not mean that all Jews, as worshippers in the inner court, would be saved, but a certain definite body of Jews worshipping at a certain definite time, *i.e.* when Jerusalem was trodden down by, and in the hands of, the Gentiles—the Romans. At this period the inner courts were occupied by the Zealots. Safety was assured to them by one of their prophets in the above fragment, xi. 1-2.

2. While the community of God is to be preserved against spiritual evils, *i.e.* against the assaults of its spiritual foes, the Antichrist and the demonic world about to be revealed, the unbelievers are left a prey to the Antichrist and his demonic followers for the forty and two months.

τὴν αὐλὴν τὴν ἔξωθεν τοῦ ναοῦ. In Herod's Temple the inner court, with its various divisions accessible only to Jews, was

separated from the outer by a breastwork of stone—*δούρακτος* (Joseph. *B.J.* v. 5. 2) or *τὸ μεσότοιχον τοῦ φραγμοῦ*, Eph. ii. 14. On this breastwork stood pillars at equal distances from one another with inscriptions, some in Greek and some in Latin, forbidding the Gentiles to pass this barrier on pain of death (*Ant.* xv. 11. 5).¹

This outer court was in later times called the Court of the Gentiles, but this designation is not found in the Mishna or Josephus. This court was not regarded by the Jews as strictly sacred (*Jew. Encyc.* xii. 88), but was recognized as such by our Lord, who (Mark xi. 17 = Matt. xxi. 13 = Luke xix. 46) quoted the words of Isa. lvi. 7 (LXX), *ὁ γὰρ οἶκός μου οἶκος προσευχῆς κληθήσεται πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν*.

The original reference in this verse is to the capture of the city and the outer court of the Temple by the Romans, by whom, according to its writer, these were to be trodden down for 42 months. Thus the words were written while the Temple itself was still in the possession of the Zealots, and therefore before 70 A.D. The writer of xi. 1-2, who was a prophet of this fanatical party, assured his fellow Zealots that the Temple itself would not be destroyed. But *in its present context* there is a transformation of the original sense. Since the Temple, altar, and the worshippers in the Temple represent to our Seer the Christian community of the faithful (see note *in loc.*), the outer court and the city symbolize those who are given over for 3½ years to the domination of the Antichrist, irrespective of their race, whether Jew or Gentile. But probably only the former are here in the foreground.

ἐκβαλε ἔξωθεν καὶ μὴ αὐτὴν μετρήσης. These words make it very clear that *μετρεῖν* here means to preserve, and that the non-measuring of the outer court is equivalent to its rejection. The Temple and the outer court are to experience exactly opposite fortunes.

ἐδόθη τοῖς ἔθνεσιν καὶ . . . πατήσουσιν. This construction is regarded by many scholars as the same as that in 3. But the constructions are quite dissimilar. The latter forms one idea and the tenses are the same; but in the former the *ἐδόθη* is to be taken literally. The outer court and the city "have been given over (in the counsels of God) to the Gentiles, and they shall," etc. For the idiomatic uses of *διδόναι* to which the present instance does not belong, see 3, note. It is not here implied that Jerusalem will be destroyed. The following clause defines the degree of devastation and the duration of it.

¹ One such inscription is still extant, discovered in 1871 by Clermont-Ganneau. See *Encyc. Bib.* iv. 4945; Hastings' *D.B.* iv. 713; *Jewish Encyc.* xii. 85.

τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἀγίαν. This phrase could not be used of the actual Jerusalem by our Seer. It stood in the oracle he borrowed, and he left it there unchanged, as we find it frequently the case in this and other apocalypses in the case of borrowed material. This phrase is only used by our Seer of the new Jerusalem and the heavenly Jerusalem, as in xxi. 2 : cf. xxi. 10, xxii. 19. His true attitude to the actual city, Jerusalem, is revealed in the clause he adds in xi. 8, ἥτις καλεῖται πνευματικῶς Σόδομα καὶ Αἴγυπτος κτλ. The phrase itself is a familiar one in Jewish prophecy and Apocalyptic : cf. Isa. xlviii. 2, lii. 1 ; Dan. ix. 24, ^{יְרוּשָׁלַם} ^{הַנִּיחָא} ; the prayer of Azariah in Dan. (LXX and Theod.) iii. 28 ; Neh. xi. 1, 18 ; Pss. Sol. viii. 4, πόλει ἀγιάσματος. The heavenly Jerusalem, which was to be the abode of Christ and the martyrs for 1000 years, is called τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἡγαπημένην in our text, xx. 9, in contrast to the earthly Jerusalem, which our author designates as Σόδομα καὶ Αἴγυπτος.

τὴν πόλιν . . . πατήσουσιν. (The future as contrasted with ἐδόθη here implies that this event is still in the future.) Cf. Luke xxi. 24, Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἔσται πατουμένη ὑπὸ ἐθνῶν. In the Pss. Sol. this verb or a compound of it is used in relation to the Temple, vii. 2, μὴ πατησάτω ὁ ποὺς αὐτῶν κληρονομίαν ἀγιάσματος σου, ii. 2 (κατεπάτουν), 20 : and in relation to Jerusalem in xvii. 25. In all these passages from the Pss. Sol. profanation but not destruction is implied as in our text. But the expression is not infrequent in the O.T. and Apocrypha. Cf. Zech. xii. 3, θήσονται τὴν Ἱερουσαλὴμ λίθον καταπατούμενον πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν : Isa. lxiii. 18 ; Dan. viii. 10, 13 ; Ps. lxxix. 1 ; 1 Macc. iii. 45, τὸ ἀγίασμα καταπατούμενον, 51, iv. 60 ; 2 Macc. viii. 2.

μῆνας τεσσαράκοντα καὶ δύο. This period is derived from Dan. vii. 25, xii. 7, where, however, it is described as "a time and times and half a time," i.e. $3\frac{1}{2}$ times or years, and defines the duration of the reign of the Antichrist. It is noteworthy that this idea appears under three forms in our text : 1. as here and in xiii. 5. 2. xi. 3, xii. 6, ἡμέρας χιλίας διακοσίας ἐξήκοντα : cf. Dan. xii. 11, where, however, the number is 1290, owing to the insertion of an intercalary month. 3. xii. 14, καιρὸν καὶ καιροὺς καὶ ἥμισυ καιροῦ. This is a literal rendering of Dan. vii. 25, xii. 7. It is somewhat peculiar that two different forms occur in xi. 2, 3 to express the same idea, but this is no longer a difficulty when we assume the different provenance of xi. 1-2 and xi. 3-13. Similarly on independent grounds we assume that xii. 6 and xii. 14 are from different sources. This explains the double form of the phrase in these verses also.

The origin of the $3\frac{1}{2}$ years has never been satisfactorily explained. Gunkel, *Z. rel. Verst. d. NT.* 79-82, traces it to a mythological source, and thinks that it meant originally the evil

time, *i.e.* the winter months (cf. *K.A.T.*³ 389); but this is fanciful.

How strongly this period had impressed itself on the imagination of the early Christians may be inferred from the fact that the drought caused by Elijah in 1 Kings xviii. 1 sqq., which lasted 3 years, is said to have lasted 3½ in Luke iv. 25; Jas. v. 17. Thus it is transformed into a type of the great and final Woe that should befall the world. It is referred to as the *καιροὶ ἐθνῶν* in Luke xxi. 24 (which belongs to the interpolated Jewish Christian Apocalypse) and also in 4 Ezra v. 4.

xi. 3-13. (See Introduction to chapter.) Concurrently with the advent of the Antichrist (in Rome?) the two Witnesses—Moses and Elijah, our Lord's companions on the Mount of Transfiguration—appear in Jerusalem as preachers of repentance to the Jews. Towards the close of his reign the Antichrist suddenly comes to Jerusalem and slays the Witnesses, whereat his followers rejoice. After three days the spirit of life enters into the two Witnesses and they ascend into heaven, while an earthquake destroys part of Jerusalem. Under the influence of fear the Jews are converted to Christianity.

3. καὶ δώσω τοῖς δυσὶν μάρτυσίν μου, καὶ προφητεύουσιν ἡμέρας χιλίας διακοσίας ἐξήκοντα περιβεβλημένους σάκκους.

The construction καὶ δώσω . . . καὶ προφητεύουσιν is Hebraic.

יִשְׁתָּן . . . יִתְּן = "I will commission (or give permission to) my two witnesses to prophesy." Some scholars think that it occurs also in xi. 2, ἐδόθη . . . καὶ πατήσουσιν: but this seems wrong, for we should then require δοθήσεται . . . καὶ πατήσουσιν. Besides ἐδόθη is used in a literal sense in xi. 2, whereas δώσω in xi. 3 is used in an idiomatic sense. Hence this is the only instance of this idiom in the Apocalypse which uses three different constructions of διδόναι in this sense. 1. διδόναι, c. inf. = "to permit": cf. ii. 7, iii. 21 (ὁ νικῶν δώσω αὐτῷ καθίσαι), vi. 4, vii. 2, xiii. 7, 15, xvi. 8. This is the normal construction in this sense in our book. It is noteworthy that in xiii. 15 we find this idiomatic sense and the literal close together, ἐδόθη αὐτῇ δοῦναι. This idiom is Hebraic: cf. Esth. ix. 13, . . . יִתְּן מֶלֶךְ. It is found once in John v. 26. 2. διδόναι, c. ἵνα and subjunctive: cf. ix. 5, xix. 8. 3. ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ἐξουσία ποιῆσαι, xiii. 5. This is found twice in John i. 12, v. 27. It is also a well-known Hebrew idiom, *i.e.* לִי הָיָה אֲנִי יִתְּן. The speaker is either God or Christ.

τοῖς δυσὶν μάρτυσιν. The presence of the article shows that the writer is dealing with two well-known figures, or that the present section is fragmentary, and that the article refers to a portion of it now lost.

The origin and identification of the two Witnesses are problems of great difficulty. Here the apocalyptic tradition does not give us the help we should expect; for the apparent meaning of xi. 5-6 and apocalyptic tradition are here at variance. 1. The latter, which Bousset holds is really the older, identifies the two Witnesses with Enoch and Elijah. The oldest Christian attestation of this view belongs to the 2nd cent. A.D. Cf. Tert. *De Anima*, 50, "Translatus est Henoch et Elias, nec mors eorum reperta est, dilata scilicet. Ceterum morituri reservantur ut Antichristum sanguine suo exstinguant." Ps. Johannine Apoc. 8; Ps. Cyprian, *De Montibus Sina et Sion*, 5, and other authorities, for which see Bousset, *The Antichrist Legend*, xiv. To these we may add the remarkable fact that in 1 Enoch xc. 31, if the text is correct, it is said that Enoch and Elijah would return before the judgment.

2. The text of xi. 5-6 apparently identifies the two Witnesses with Moses and Elijah. The Witnesses are empowered to turn the water into blood and to smite the earth with every plague, xi. 6. These words point to the first Egyptian plague, Ex. vii. 14 sqq., and the rest that were inflicted by Moses on the Egyptians. But the rest of the text points just as clearly to Elijah. For the Witnesses have power to consume with fire (cf. 2 Kings i. 10 sqq.; Sir. xlviii. 3), and to close the heaven so that there should be no rain upon the earth, 1 Kings xvii. 1 sqq.; Sir. xlviii. 1-3; Luke iv. 25; Jas. v. 17. We are here undoubtedly reminded of Elijah. Moreover, their assumption into heaven is in harmony with 2 Kings ii. 11 and the tradition in regard to Moses embodied in the Assumption of Moses. In the next place their return before the end of the world was expected amongst the Christians and the return of Elijah among the Jews. The belief in the return of Moses would naturally arise from Deut. xviii. 18, cf. John vi. 14, vii. 40, and in that of Elijah from Mal. iv. 5: cf. Sir. xlviii. 10; Mark ix. 11; Matt. xi. 14; Eduj. viii. 7: see *Jew. Encyc.* v. 126. Possibly both expectations may be combined in John i. 21. Again the account of the Transfiguration (Mark ix. 1 sqq. and parallels), in which Moses and Elias appear with Christ, taken with the preceding evidence, may also point to the existence of an expectation of their return. And a reference to this expectation is actually found in Debar. R. x. 1, where, according to Jochanan ben Zakkai (1st cent. A.D.), God said to Moses, "If I send the prophet Elijah, ye must both come together"; see Volz, 193.

The duty assigned to Moses and Elijah here is to spread repentance. This idea is found in Pirke El. xliii., xlvii., in regard to Elijah, though generally in Judaism his duties are differently described. It is remarkable that in later Judaism it

is said in regard to Elijah that his Messianic activity would begin three days before the coming of the Messiah (Elijahu Rabba, 25 sqq.) The number three here is significant in regard to our text.

We may, therefore, conclude with some confidence that the author of the Jewish fragment, xi. 3-13, meant Moses and Elijah by the two Witnesses.¹

But, though Moses and Elijah were designed by the phrase "the two witnesses" in the original document, there is much doubt as to the denotation of this phrase in its present context. Many allegorical interpretations have been given of it, but not one of them is satisfactory when taken in connection with the work of the witness in xi. 5-6. Apparently, therefore, we are to conclude that the phrase retains its original significance, as we shall see more clearly presently. In any case the question is of very small moment; for throughout the rest of the Apocalypse our Seer's thoughts and visions are concerned with Rome and not with Jerusalem, as they are in this fragmentary section, xi. 1-13. For the moment the steady progressive current of our author's thought has been checked, and he has here turned aside into a backwater, but with xi. 14 we return again into the main current.

χιλίας διακοσίας ἐξήκοντα. See note on 2.

περιβεβλημένους σάκκου. An uncorrected slip of our author. The raiment typifies the sombre nature of their message.

4. οὗτοί εἰσιν αἱ δύο θλαῖαι καὶ αἱ δύο λυχνῖαι αἱ ἐνώπιον τοῦ κυρίου τῆς γῆς ἱστάτες. This verse is based on Zech. iv. 2, 3, 14, but the writer departs widely from both the text and the ideas. Thus in Zechariah there is one candlestick with its seven lamps which are the eyes of the Lord running to and fro through the whole earth, iv. 2, 10, and on either side of this candlestick are the two olive trees, which are Joshua and Zerubbabel, iv. 3, 12, 14. But the one candlestick is changed into two in our text, and the two candlesticks and the two olive trees are treated as synonymous; for the two Witnesses are said to be the two candlesticks, and the two olive trees which stand before the Lord, *i.e.* in Zechariah's prophecy. Several links in the development of thought between our text and Zechariah may be lost, which might have served to explain the wide divergence between

¹ Moffatt suggests that the Zoroastrian expectation of the two apostles, Hūshēdar and Hūshēdarmāh, after the temporary triumph of the evil spirit, may have been fused into the Jewish expectation of Enoch and Elijah. But the beliefs are not analogous. Not two but three reformers were expected: the above two and Saoshyant; and these are not contemporary, but appear in successive millenniums. None of them is slain by the power of evil, but the second slays the serpent, and the third slays Ahriman himself. See *S.B.E.* xxiii. 195; v. lii. 233-235, xxiv. 15, 99.

them. But more probably we have here a bold and independent interpretation of these symbols. The two olive trees are not, as Zechariah thought, Joshua and Zerubbabel, but really the two Witnesses, Moses and Elijah, who are also candlesticks, in so far as they are *bearers* of the divine light of God in the Law and in Prophecy. The idea that the Law is a divine light was familiar to pre-Christian Judaism, cf. Prov. vi. 23: "The law is light"; Test. Lev. xiv. 4, τὸ φῶς τοῦ νόμου τὸ δοθὲν εἰς φωτισμὸν παντὸς ἀνθρώπου; Wisd. xviii. 4, τὸ ἀφθαρτον νόμου φῶς. Moreover, that an apocalyptic writer should assign a like value to prophecy is only to be expected. The O.T. was commonly described as "the Law and the Prophets" (Luke xvi. 16; Matt. vii. 12), "Moses and the Prophets" (Luke xvi. 29, 31, xxiv. 27), "the Law of Moses and the Prophets" (Acts xxviii. 23). As Moses could represent the Law, so Elijah could represent the Prophets.

Thus we have not one candlestick but two, not one witness to God but two.

Hence, if xi. 4 belongs to the original document, the doubling of the Witnesses may be due to the reinterpretation of Zech. iv. 14; for in Judaism alike before and immediately after the Christian era only one forerunner appears to have been expected, whether Elijah or Moses (see note on 2) or Jeremiah (Matt. xvi. 14). This reinterpretation of the olive trees might have led to a reinterpretation of the candlestick and the transformation of the one candlestick into two and also of the ideas underlying the candlestick. There is no reason to suppose that the writer of xi. 4 drew on any tradition independent of Zech. He borrows the technical terms directly from the Hebrew text of Zech. (see next note). His interpretation of the olive trees is natural, and that of the candlesticks intelligible when taken in connection with the interpretation of the former and their new context. If the origins of the two witnesses are to be sought ultimately in non-Semitic religions, no such origins have yet been discovered, and, even if such non-Semitic originals ever existed, the writer of xi. 4 was unacquainted with them.¹

The return of Moses and Elijah is to be interpreted in the first instance literally and in the next symbolically, as represent-

¹ Gunkel (*Verständnis*, 60) thinks that an older tradition lies behind xi. 3-13, and that, since the Beast is said to wage war with the two Witnesses, the latter were originally heavenly warriors. So also Bousset, 321. But the same reasoning would prove that every member of the Church was a heavenly warrior in xii. 17. These anthropological features recall, he holds, the hopeless struggle of the Babylonian Anu and Nudimmud against Tiamat till Marduk intervened and overcame Tiamat. But this suggestion is purely hypothetical. The attempt to establish a connection between Parsism and our text is far-fetched and nugatory. See Böcklen, *Verwandschaft*, 100 sqq.; Clemen, *Erklärung des N. T.* 109.

ing Law and Prophecy. While xi. 5-6 point to their literal return, xi. 4 attaches a new symbolical meaning to these two great figures in giving a new interpretation to O.T. symbols.

αἱ ἐνώπιον τοῦ κυρίου τῆς γῆς ἐστῶτες. Here the LXX of Zech. iv. 14 has *παρεστήκασιν κυρίῳ πάσης τῆς γῆς*. Hence our text is independent of the LXX, αἱ ἐνώπιον . . . ἐστῶτες. The insertion of a preposition with its case between the art. and participle is found occasionally in the Apocalypse, as in xi. 16, xii. 12, xiii. 6, 12, xiv. 13, xviii. 17, xix. 1. *κυρίου τῆς γῆς* is found only here in the Apocalypse.

There is the possibility that xi. 4 is due to our author. Three things point in this direction.

First, there is the free reinterpretation of Scripture, which is characteristic of him; secondly, the abnormal construction αἱ . . . ἐστῶτες, which is likewise characteristic; and thirdly, his direct translation from the Hebrew. Contrast xi. 6.

β. καὶ εἰ τις αὐτοὺς θέλει ἀδικῆσαι, πῦρ ἐκπορεύεται ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτῶν καὶ κατεσθίει τοὺς ἐχθροὺς αὐτῶν [καὶ εἰ τις θελήσῃ αὐτοὺς ἀδικῆσαι, οὕτως δεῖ αὐτὸν ἀποκτανθῆναι].

The use of θέλω here is peculiar. It is generally rendered "to desire." But this rendering gives an unsatisfactory meaning. Are we to suppose that whoever cherished even a wish to injure the witnesses was to be destroyed by fire? This difficulty could be escaped by taking θέλω as a mere auxiliary. Thus we should have, "If any man will hurt them." The fact that θέλω means "to desire" in 6 does not make this impossible.

The verse is based on 2 Kings i. 10, 12, but with a modification of the details, and probably on Jer. v. 14, *δέδωκα τοὺς λόγους μου εἰς τὸ στόμα σου πῦρ καὶ τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον ξύλα, καὶ καταφάγεται αὐτούς*. In this passage the language is figurative, but not so in our text. In Sir. xlviii. 3 we have a combination of Elijah's twofold powers of destruction—*ἐν λόγῳ κυρίου ἀνέσχεν οὐρανόν, κατήγαγεν οὕτως τρεῖς πῦρ*—which appear in xi. 5 and xi. 6^a of our text. In Sir. xlviii. 1 the meaning is mainly figurative, *ἀνέστη Ἥλίας προφήτης ὡς πῦρ, καὶ ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ ὡς λαμπρὰς ἐκαίετο*.

εἰ θελήσῃ. On the use of εἰ with the subj. see Blass, *Gram.* 216.

καὶ εἰ τις θελήσῃ . . . ἀποκτανθῆναι, seems to be the weak gloss of a scribe based on the preceding clause and on xiii. 10. It adds nothing to the sense.

δεῖ αὐτὸν . . . ἀποκτανθῆναι. Cf. xiii. 10.

β. οὗτοι ἔχουσιν τὴν ἐξουσίαν κλεῖσαι τὸν οὐρανόν, ἵνα μὴ ὑετὸς βρέχῃ τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς προφητείας αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἔχουσιν ἐπὶ τῶν ὕδατων στρέφειν αὐτὰ εἰς αἷμα καὶ πατάξαι τὴν γῆν ἐν πάσῃ πληγῇ δσάκις ἐὰν θελήσωσιν.

The first clause refers to Elijah, 1 Kings xvii. 1. Cf. Sir.

xlvi. 3; Luke iv. 25; Jas. v. 17. The phrase *ὑετὸς βρέχῃ* is not only unusual, as Swete observes, but extraordinary. For *κλείσαι τ. οὐρ.*, cf. Luke iv. 25 (*ἐκλείσθη δ' οὐρανός*), where alone the phrase is found in this connection. For *στρέφειν . . . εἰς αἷμα* in this phrase the LXX gives *μεταβάλλειν*, Ex. vii. 17.

As regards the first clause it is noteworthy that according to Josephus (*B.J.* v. 9. 4) the fountain of Siloam and other springs outside the city almost wholly dried up so as to create a famine of water before the coming of Titus against Jerusalem, but that after Titus' coming these began to flow in such abundance that they sufficed not only for the Romans and their cattle, but also for watering their gardens. Josephus adds that this same sign occurred in the days of Zedekiah, when the King of Babylon warred against the Jews, and took the city and burnt the Temple. This fact may have suggested the above reference.

ἔξουσίαν ἔχουσιν. Here only in this order in the Apocalypse. *πατάξει τὴν γῆν ἐν πάσῃ πληγῇ.* This phrase primarily refers to the Egyptian plagues, Ex. vii. 17, xi. 10, but it recalls directly the LXX of 1 Sam. iv. 8, *οὗτοι οἱ θεοὶ οἱ πατάξαντες τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐν πάσῃ πληγῇ* (*הַבְּרָחִים . . . הַמִּצְרַיִם*).

7. καὶ ὅταν τελέσωσιν τὴν μαρτυρίαν αὐτῶν, τὸ θῆριον τὸ ἀναβαῖνον ἐκ τῆς ἀβύσσου ποιήσει μετ' αὐτῶν πόλεμον καὶ νικήσει αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀποκτενεῖ αὐτούς.

In this section, xi. 1-13, where the diction and the meanings attached to so many of the phrases brand it as derived for the most part from independent sources (see *Introd.* p. 270 sq.), this verse stands out in strong relief as exhibiting the diction and thought of our Seer. Thus *τελεῖν* (x. 7, xv. 1, 8, xvii. 17, xx. 3, 5, 7), *μαρτυρία* (i. 2, 9, vi. 9, xii. 11, etc.), *τὸ θῆριον τὸ ἀναβαῖνον ἐκ τῆς ἀβύσσου* (xiii. 1, xvii. 8), *ποιήσει μετ' αὐτῶν πόλεμον καὶ νικήσει αὐτούς* (almost verbally in xiii. 7), *ἀποκτείνειν* (12 times). Whatever, therefore, stood in its place in the original document, the verse in its present form is the work of our author.

And yet in the original form of this verse there must have been some reference to the Antichrist; for to him is due the death of the Witnesses referred to in what follows. If, as we infer on other grounds, the scene of the Antichrist's appearance here is Jerusalem and the time of the composition of this fragment is anterior to 66 A.D., then the Antichrist was in all probability originally the *Jewish* Antichrist described somewhat as in 2 Thess. ii., and had therefore mainly a *religious* significance; but if this section was written during the siege, 67-69, the Antichrist may already have been identified with the Roman Empire, though not, of course, with Nero. In this latter case the conception would have had a *political* reference. So much for the conception of the Antichrist in the original document. As to its meaning in

its present context, it cannot, of course, be other than that in xiii. 1, xvii. 8, in so far as our author assigned it a definite meaning at all. The Beast from the abyss, therefore, *i.e.* Nero *redivivus* or the demonic Antichrist, appears here proleptically. See App. to xvii., vol. ii., p. 76.

But there is another feature which should be observed in this conception. Here for the first and last time in our author is the traditional connection of the Antichrist with Jerusalem set forth. In the rest of the Apocalypse this traditional connection is broken, and Rome takes the place of Jerusalem either as the seat of the Antichrist's empire or the object of his attack. This marks a revolution in the expectation of the Antichrist, but one which, independently of the immediate historical situation of 95 A.D., had already in part taken place and left its mark in the reinterpretation of the Fourth Kingdom in Dan. vii. as that of Rome and no longer as that of the Greek Empire. If τὸ θηρίον ἐκ τῆς ἀβύσσου stood in the original document, representing a pseudo-Messiah and non-political Antichrist, as in 2 Thess. ii., or else the Roman Empire, in its present context it can only represent Nero *redivivus* as in chaps. xiii. and xvii. Since the Antichrist is first introduced as θηρίον (without the art.) in xiii. 1, he appears here proleptically. But, as we have shown (see p. 269), the whole section xi. 1-13 is in its present context proleptic.

ποιήσει μετ' αὐτῶν πόλεμον καὶ νικήσει αὐτούς. These clauses represent an independent rendering of Dan. vii. 21, עַל כָּרְכַּר מַרְכָּבָה יִהְיֶה הַכָּבֹד וְיִשְׁתַּחֲוֶיךָ. Here Theod. has ἐποίει πόλεμον μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ ἰσχυσεν πρὸς αὐτούς. The LXX is very divergent in vii. 21, but in vii. 8 its rendering of the last clause (lost in Mass. and Theod.) is ἐποίει πόλεμον πρὸς τοὺς ἁγίους. Hence, since Apoc. xiii. 7^a (= ποιῆσαι πόλεμον μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ νικήσαι αὐτούς) is, and xi. 7^b is not, an exact equivalent of the Aramaic of Dan. vii. 21, xiii. 7^a cannot be derived from xi. 7^b, but the converse is possible. And not only possible but highly probable, since νικᾶν, which does not occur in the LXX or Theod. as a rendering of כָּבַד, is a favourite word with our author.

We conclude, therefore, that ποιήσει . . . καὶ νικήσει αὐτοὺς is from his hand.

8. καὶ τὸ πνῆμα αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῆς πλατείας τῆς πόλεως τῆς μεγάλης, ἣτις καλεῖται πνευματικῶς Σόδομα καὶ Αἴγυπτος, ὅπου καὶ ὁ κύριος αὐτῶν ἐσταυρώθη.

The use of τὸ πνῆμα here and in 9^a as a collective is difficult, especially as in 9^b the plural is used. In xi. 5 we have στόμα used collectively, and the collective use of πρόσωπον, κεφαλὴ, καρδιά is well known in the N.T. See Blass, *Gram.* 83.

Possibly the writer may have been influenced by the Hebrew or Aramaic usage by which נִפְּטִים is used collectively = "corpses."

$\text{τῆς πόλεως τῆς μεγάλης}$. This phrase is used of Rome throughout the rest of the book: cf. xvi. 19, xvii. 18, xviii. 10, 16, 18, 19, 21, and under the figure of Βαβυλὼν ἡ μεγάλη , xiv. 8, xvi. 19, xvii. 5, xviii. 2. The latter use is decidedly that of our author; the former belongs to the original document, and is left there by our author. That Jerusalem, however, could be so designated we see from Or. Sib. v. 154, 226, 413; Joseph. *c. Apion.* i. 197, 209, $\text{Ἰουδαῖοι πόλιν οἰκοῦντες ὀχυρωτάτην πασῶν}$: Appian, *Syr.* 50, $\text{μεγίστη πόλις Ἱεροσόλυμα}$: Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* v. 14. 70.

Spitta and Wellhausen take the city to be Rome; but whatever evidence there is against this identification. As the text stands, "the great city" can only be Jerusalem. Also in the original document it designated Jerusalem and not Rome. 1. For there is every connection between Moses and Elijah and Jerusalem, but none between them and Rome. 2. According to apocalyptic tradition the Witnesses appear always in Jerusalem. 3. xi. 13 refers to Jerusalem; for the numbers there given suit Jerusalem but not Rome (see note *in loc.*). 4. The phrase $\text{οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς}$ (xi. 10) appears to denote the inhabitants of a single country, *i.e.* the Palestinians, not the inhabitants of the whole world. 5. The original document, xi. 3-13, which I take to be of Jewish origin, naturally dealt tenderly with the Jews; for these are represented as repenting: whereas the inhabitants of Rome are represented as refusing to repent, ix. 21, xvi. 9. From the repentance of Jerusalem it follows that the final judgment is directed not against the Jews, but against the heathen world. In this respect this fragment suits our author. In the original document, xi. 1-2, the temple is spared; in xi. 3-13 the bulk of the Jews are converted.

$\text{ἥτις καλεῖται πνευματικῶς . . . ἑσταυρώθη}$. I take these two clauses to be an addition of our author. $\text{ὅπου καὶ . . . ἑσταυρώθη}$ is generally admitted by critics to be a later addition. It is quite in the style of our author: cf. xx. 10, ὅπου καί , and ii. 13, $\text{ὅπου ὁ Σατανᾶς κατοικεῖ}$ (observe the order in contrast with that in xii. 6, 14). $\text{ἥτις καλεῖται . . . Αἴγυπτος}$ is also in the style of our author. First of all ἥτις , which is properly the relative of indefinite reference, seems here = ἥ , the relative of definite reference, as in i. 12, xii. 13, xvii. 12, xix. 2—a usage which is rather frequent in the Lucan writings of the N.T. but which is not (?) found in Matthew, Mark, the Johannine writings, or the Pauline Epistles. Next, ἥτις καλεῖται in the form $\text{ἥ (ὁ) καλουμένη (-ος)}$ is found in i. 9, xii. 9, xvi. 16.

$\text{Σόδομα καὶ Αἴγυπτος}$. Cf. Isa. i. 9, 10, where Judah is com-

pared to Sodom, *ὡς Σόδομα ἂν ἐγενήθημεν* (quoted in Rom. ix. 29), iii. 9; Ezek. xvi. 46, 48, 49.

Sodom and Egypt are alluded to in Wisd. xix. 14, 15, as types of wickedness.

Jerusalem was, therefore, the city meant both by the original writer and also by our author. And yet the latter cannot have taken the entire section literally, for Jerusalem no longer existed in his time. It is impossible to reinterpret from the standpoint of the author the various details of this section, which originally set forth the expectations of an earlier time.

Θ. καὶ βλέπουσιν ἐκ τῶν λαῶν καὶ φυλῶν καὶ γλωσσῶν καὶ ἔθνῶν τὸ πτώμα αὐτῶν ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ ἡμισυ, καὶ τὰ πτώματα αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀφίουσιν τεθῆναι εἰς μνήμα. *βλέπειν* belongs to the diction of our author: cf. especially i. 11, 12, iii. 18, v. 3, xvi. 15, xvii. 8, etc. In xi. 11, 12 its place is taken by *θεωρεῖν*, where the sense is exactly the same. But *θεωρεῖν* does not occur elsewhere in the Apocalypse. Again, the use of *ἐκ τῶν λαῶν* = "some of the peoples," is a familiar idiom in our text, but it occurs elsewhere in the N.T. and is not therefore distinctive: see note on ii. 10. Next, the enumeration *λαῶν καὶ φυλῶν κτλ.* is characteristic of our author, yet it may have been a current phrase: cf. 4 Ezra iii. 7, where it occurs. See note on v. 9.

Finally, the position of the verb (*βλέπουσιν*) at the beginning of the sentence is suggestive of the style of our author. The evidence of the diction, therefore, though not decisive in favour of regarding *βλέπουσιν . . . πτώμα αὐτῶν* as an addition of our author, supports the idea that the verse is his addition, or has undergone revision at his hands. If it is an addition, then the original was written before 66 (cf. xi. 13), and xi. 8-9 ran as follows: καὶ τὸ πτώμα αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῆς πλατείας τῆς πόλεως τῆς μεγάλης ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ ἡμισυ, καὶ τὰ πτώματα κτλ., and *ἀφίουσιν* would be the plural of indefinite statement (cf. x. 11) or an Aramaism. The object of the addition would be to bring out the contrast of the Jews (cf. xi. 13) and the hostile Gentiles, and to declare that for the former an opportunity of repentance was reserved (as in the Pauline Epp.), but not for the latter (xvi. 9). On the other hand, if the enumeration *λαῶν καὶ φυλῶν κτλ.* stood in the original document, two interpretations of it in that document are possible. 1. It could refer to members of different nations present in Jerusalem—observe the partitive use of *ἐκ*, "some of." In this case *ἀφίουσιν* would be the plural of indefinite statement (cf. x. 11) or an Aramaism, and xi. 3-13 was written before 70 A.D.; for the city is still standing (xi. 13), but there is no *terminus a quo* discoverable. 2. It could refer to the beleaguering hosts of Rome—the subject of *ἀφίουσιν*.

When we turn from the meaning of this clause in its original

context to its present, I can offer none better than that suggested in the preceding paragraph.

ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ ἡμισυ. These three and a half days correspond to the three and a half years of their prophetic activity.¹

ἀφίσουσιν. This verb c. inf. (cf. John xi. 44, xviii. 8) is not found elsewhere in the Apocalypse. It occurs with different meanings in ii. 4, 20.

Burial was refused to the Witnesses in order to put them to greater shame: cf. Ps lxxix. 3; 1 Kings xiii. 22; Pss. Sol. ii. 31; and Joseph. *B.J.* iv. 5. 2, in reference to the high priests Ananus and Jesus.

10. καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς χαίρουσιν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς καὶ εὐφραίνονται, καὶ δῶρα πέμπουσιν ἀλλήλοις, ὅτι οὗτοι οἱ δύο προφῆται ἐβασάνισαν τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

The phrase (οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς or τοὺς καθημένους ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς) is the equivalent of the Hebrew עֲרֵב הָאֲרֶץ. See xiii. *Intro.* § 4. In the O.T. this phrase can denote either (1) "the inhabitants of the land," *i.e.* Palestine, Hos. iv. 1; Joel i. 2, 14, ii. 1; Jer. vi. 12, x. 18, etc.; or (2) "the inhabitants of the earth," Isa. xxiv. 6, xxvi. 21, etc.; 1 Enoch xxxvii. 2, 5, xl. 6, 7, xlviii. 5, etc.

Both these O.T. meanings appear in our text. The latter is found in iii. 10, vi. 10, viii. 13, xiii. 8, 14, xvii. 8, and the former at all events originally in the verse we are now dealing with. For, as Bousset *in loc.* has rightly urged, it is hard to see what the inhabitants of the earth would have to do with the two prophets who appear in Jerusalem in the struggle against the Beast from the abyss. And besides, when the Witnesses fell, the inhabitants could within three and a half days hear of their death, rejoice and send presents to each other; but this could not be possible if the phrase were taken to mean the inhabitants of the earth.

In the next place, the phrase can either have a good ethical meaning, as in 1 Enoch xxxvii. 2, 5, xl. 6, 7, xlviii. 5, or a neutral meaning as in our text in xiv. 6; where, however, in most MSS, though not in A, it has the form τοὺς καθημένους ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς; or it can have a bad ethical meaning, as in 1 Enoch liv. 9, lv. 1, lx. 5, lxv. 6, 12, lxvi. 1, lxvii. 8, and in our text in iii. 10, vi. 10, viii. 13, xi. 10 (*bis*), xiii. 8, 14, xvii. 8. Thus in the original document the phrase meant the inhabitants of Palestine, and there is no convincing ground for

¹ Gunkel thinks (*Zum Verständnis*, 80) that the three days go back to the three winter months during which the sun-god is hidden or dies. But it is three and a half days that we have to explain, and apart from this difficulty the speculation is wholly wanting in probability.

assigning a different meaning to it in its new context. The city which is mentioned in xi. 8, 13 is clearly Jerusalem, and, lest there should be any mistake on this head our author adds the damning clause in xi. 8. The κατοικούντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς are Palestinians—likewise Jews; and though they rejoice over the martyrdom of the Witnesses, they are not painted in such dark colours as the inhabitants of Jerusalem, xi. 8^{bc}.

δῶρα πέμψουσιν κτλ. These words recall Esth. ix. 19, 22, ἐξαποστέλλοντας μερίδα . . . τοῖς φίλοις καὶ τοῖς πτωχοῖς: Neh. viii. 10, 12.

11. καὶ μετὰ τὰς τρεῖς ἡμέρας καὶ ἡμισυ πνεῦμα ζωῆς ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰσῆλθεν ἐν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἔστησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς πόδας αὐτῶν, καὶ φόβος μέγας ἐπέπεσεν ἐπὶ τοὺς θεωροῦντας αὐτούς.

The τὰς refers back to xi. 9. πνεῦμα ζωῆς is the רוּחַ חַיִּים, Gen. vi. 17, vii. 15, 22, though the phrase is there used of the lower animal creation and not of man. But it has become for the writer the same as the phrase in Gen. ii. 7, רוּחַ חַיִּים. εἰσῆλθεν ἐν αὐτοῖς. Cf. Luke ix. 46, εἰσῆλθεν διαλογισμὸς ἐν αὐτοῖς, and see Blass, *Gram.* 130. These words and the following look like an independent translation of Ezek. xxxvii. 10 . . . רוּחַ הַחַיִּים מִבְּרֵית הַחַיִּים. Here the LXX has εἰσῆλθεν εἰς αὐτούς τὸ πνεῦμα (A, πνεῦμα ζωῆς) . . . καὶ ἔστησαν ἐπὶ τῶν ποδῶν αὐτῶν. Since in xxxvii. 5 the LXX has πνεῦμα ζωῆς, which is accepted by Cornill and others as representing the original over against the Mass. רוּחַ חַיִּים, the writer may have had this reading before him. Cf. also 2 Kings xiii. 21, ἔζησεν καὶ ἀνέστη ἐπὶ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ.

φόβος . . . ἐπέπεσεν ἐπὶ, c. acc. This is a Lucan phrase: cf. Luke i. 12; Acts xix. 17; but it is also an O.T. one: cf. Ex. xv. 16; Ps. liv. (lv.) 5.

τοὺς θεωροῦντας. This verb occurs twice in this verse and not elsewhere in the Apoc. It is a Johannine word (over 20 times). The words which our author uses in this sense are ὁρᾶν (2), ὁψεσθαι (3), εἶδον (56), and βλέπειν (12).

12. καὶ ἤκουσαν φωνὴν μεγάλην ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ λέγουσαν αὐτοῖς Ἀνάβατε ὧδε: καὶ ἀνέβησαν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐν τῇ νεφέλῃ, καὶ ἔθεώρησαν αὐτοὺς οἱ ἐχθροὶ αὐτῶν.

In defence of ἤκουσα, xii. 10 might be adduced, but the textual evidence is overwhelming in favour of ἤκουσαν. On the other hand, since the Seer constantly says ἤκουσα throughout the Book (24 times), it is more likely that ἤκουσαν would be changed into ἤκουσα than *vice versa*. The words of invitation are addressed not to the Seer but to the resuscitated Witnesses, and they are heard by their enemies, who also see their ascension into heaven.

ἐν τῇ νεφέλῃ. As Elijah (2 Kings ii. 11) and as Moses (according to a lost portion of the *Ass. of Moses*, referred to by Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vi. 15, and Origen, *In Josuam hom.* ii. 1, Jellinek, *Beth Ha-Midrash*, i. 115-129, vi. 71-78) the Witnesses went up to heaven.

But the tradition that Moses was removed from the sight of his followers by a cloud, while he was still talking with them, is given in Joseph. *Ant.* iv. 8. 48, προσομιλοῦντος ἔτι, νέφους αἰφνίδιον ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν στάντος, ἀφανίζεται κατὰ τινος φάραγγος. See also James, *Apocrypha anecdota*, ii. 3. 170-171. Our text presupposes the combination of both these traditions—the disappearance of Moses in a cloud and his ascension into heaven. Hence we explain the use of the art. before νεφέλῃ from the current tradition. In the passages above referred to in Clement Alex. and Origen and in the Apocalypse of Elias (ed. Steindorff, p. 164), a peculiar but quite intelligible account of the resurrection of the two Witnesses will be found. There it is said that Moses was carried to heaven in the spirit, but that his body was left on the earth. We see here the influence of the Alexandrian doctrine of the resurrection.

13. καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ ἐγένετο σεισμός μέγας, καὶ τὸ δέκατον τῆς πόλεως ἔπεσεν, καὶ ἀπεκτάνθησαν ἐν τῷ σεισμῷ ὀνόματα ἀνθρώπων χιλιάδες ἑπτὰ, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἔμφοβοι ἐγένοντο καὶ ἔδωκαν δόξαν τῷ θεῷ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

With the earthquake here mentioned we might compare vi. 12 and Ezek. xxxviii. 19, 20, where there is the prediction of a great earthquake that is to precede the end.

τῆς πόλεως. While this expression was used literally in the original document it could not be so understood by our author; for only the ruins of the city remained in his time (see note on 8). If he attached a new and definite meaning to it, this meaning would be symbolical. The city would represent the Jewish people.

ὀνόματα ἀνθρώπων = "persons." See note on iii. 4.

χιλιάδες ἑπτὰ. This number suits the population of Jerusalem, which according to the statement of the Ps.-Hecataeus in Josephus (*c. Apion.* i. 22), was about 120,000; but in no case could it suit Rome.

ἔδωκαν δόξαν τῷ θεῷ. This phrase is here used of Jews, and means to glorify God by turning from their apostasy and repenting. They had become servants of the Antichrist. In xiv. 7, xvi. 9, it is used of the Gentiles, who are exhorted to repent, or who refuse to repent and turn from idols to God. Repentance appears also to be the meaning of the phrase in Josh. vii. 19; Jer. xiii. 16. In iv. 9, xix. 7 of our text it means to glorify or praise God, and so perhaps in Luke xvii. 18;

John ix. 24 ; Acts xii. 23 ; Rom. iv. 20. In the O.T. it is of frequent occurrence : cf. 1 Sam. vi. 5 ; Isa. xlii. 12 ; Ezra x. 11.

In the original document, xi. 3-13, which was Jewish (for the preservation of the city is presupposed in opposition to Christ's prophecy, Mark xiii. = Matt. xxiv. = Luke xxi.), this verse simply meant the repentance of the Jews and their return to the worship of God. But in its present context it could only mean, if it had a definite meaning for our author, the conversion of Israel to Christianity in the last days—an expectation that agrees with Rom. xi. 25, 26, according to which this conversion is to follow when the full number of the Gentiles has entered into Christ's Kingdom.

τῷ θεῷ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. This phrase recurs in xvi. 11, where it is used in reference to the heathen. Wellhausen (p. 16) thinks that it would be sheer nonsense to speak of converting Jews to the God of heaven. But, if the Jewish elders in Ezra v. 12 can speak of their fathers as having provoked *the God of heaven*, it is fitting that Jews should be said to repent, *i.e.* to be converted to the God of heaven. Neh. i. 4, 5 prays and fasts before the God of heaven. This expression, as Bousset (*Rel. d. Judenthums*, 306) points out, was probably derived in the first instance from foreign sources. It and kindred phrases are of very frequent occurrence in the later canonical and apocryphal books : cf. Ezra i. 2, v. 11, 12, vi. 9, 10, vii. 12, 21, 23 ; Dan. ii. 18, 19, 37, 44. See Bousset, *op. cit.*

XI. 14^b-XIII. THE SEVENTH TRUMPET, *i.e.* THE THIRD TRUMPET AND THE THIRD WOE.

XI. 14^b-19. The proleptic digression in xi. 1-13, to which x. is an introduction, has come to a close, and our author returns to the steady and progressive development of the divine drama in the third Woe,¹ the casting down of Satan to the earth, xii. ; the manifestation of the Kingdom of the Antichrist in imperial Rome and the imperial cultus, xiii. ; the judgments on Rome, xiv.-xix. and on Satan, xx. 1-3 ; the 1000 years' reign of the martyrs, xxi. 9-xxii. 2, 14-15, 17, xx. 4-6 ; the overthrow of the unbelieving hosts of Gog and Magog, xx. 7-10 ; the final judgment, xx. 11-15 ; the blessed consummation of the Kingdom of God, xxi. 5^a 4^d 5^{bc} 6^a 1-4^{abc} ; xxii. 3-5. To these great themes the heavenly songs in xi. 15-18 are an introduction. The divine decree for all these happenings of the coming days has gone forth, and the heavenly hosts burst into song, as though they were already fulfilled in actuality as they are in essence.

¹ Spitta (p. 124) identifies the seventh Trumpet with xii.-xiii.

Thus the heavenly voices declare that God has become King of the world, xi. 17—hence no longer Satan (xii.) or Antichrist (xiii.); that the time has come to destroy “those that destroy the earth,” xi. 18, *i.e.* Rome, xiv. 6-xix., Satan, Antichrist, and the False Prophet, xx. 10; to judge the dead, xi. 18, *i.e.* xx. 11-15; to recompense the saints, xi. 18, *i.e.* xiv. 1-5, xx. 4-6, xxi. 9-xxii. 2, xxii. 14, 15, 17; and to bring to its blessed consummation the everlasting Kingdom of God, xi. 15, *i.e.* xxi. 1-4, xxii. 3-5.

xi. 14-19 is undoubtedly from the hand of our author. Thus in 14 ἀπῆλθεν (“is past”) and ἔρχεται ταχύ are our author's; see note *in loc.*

15. φωναὶ . . . λέγοντες: a characteristic abnormality. βασιλεύσει (and in xi. 17) used of God: cf. xix. 6; and of the saints, v. 10, xx. 4, 6, xxii. 5. With τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ: cf. xii. 10. εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων: cf. i. 6, 18, iv. 9, 10, etc. 16. ἔπεσαν . . . καὶ προσεκύνησαν: cf. iv. 10, v. 14, xix. 4 (also of the Elders). ἔπεσαν ἐπὶ τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῶν: cf. vii. 11. 17. Κύριε ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ᾄς: see note *in loc.* εἰληφας: cf. v. 7, viii. 5. εἰληφας τὴν δύναμιν: cf. iv. 11, v. 12. 18. ἦλθεν ἡ ὀργὴ σου: cf. vi. 17 for the same phrase, and xiv. 10, xvi. 19, xix. 15. δοῦναι τὸν μισθόν: cf. xxii. 12. τοῖς δοῦλοις σου τοῖς προφήταις: cf. x. 7 (i. 1, xxii. 6). τοῖς φοβουμένοις τὸ ὄνομα σου: cf. xix. 5. τοῖς μικροῖς καὶ τοῖς μεγάλαις: cf. xiii. 16, xix. 5, 18, xx. 12. τοὺς διαφθείροντας τὴν γῆν: cf. xix. 2. 19. ἀστραπαὶ καὶ φωναὶ κτλ.: cf. viii. 5, xvi. 18. Thus practically every clause shows the hand of our author.

14. ἡ οὐαὶ ἡ δευτέρα ἀπῆλθεν: ἰδοὺ ἡ οὐαὶ ἡ τρίτη ἔρχεται ταχύ. The second Woe is, as we have already seen, the same as the sixth Trumpet, that is, originally the second Trumpet. See pp. 217 sqq., 231.

ἀπῆλθεν = “is past,” is found only elsewhere in N.T. in ix. 12, xxi. 1, 4. This usage, which is classical, is distinctive of our author. More ordinary uses of it occur in x. 9, xii. 17, xvi. 2, xviii. 14. In ἔρχεται ταχύ we have another phrase characteristic of our author: cf. ii. 16, iii. 11, xxii. 7, 12, 20.

15-18. In these verses, which are proleptic in their outlook, we have two great anthems of praise. The first (15^{ad}), consisting of a distich and sung most probably by the Cherubim or Living Creatures, celebrates the divine conquest of the world as though already achieved and the establishment of the Millennial Kingdom, xxi. 9-xxii. 2, xx. 4-6, and heralds the advent of the everlasting kingdom that is to follow on its close, xxi. 1-4, xxii. 3-5. The second anthem (17-18), consisting of twelve lines and sung by the Elders, first recognizes the establishment of God's sovereignty in the Millennial Kingdom (17^{ad}) and the outbreak of Gog and Magog at its close, and then proclaims

that the time has come for the final judgment, the recompense of the faithful, and the destruction of those that destroy the world (18). Here, except in the last clause, which appears to be displaced or interpolated, the chronological order of development is followed.

It is noteworthy that in xix. 1^b-3 we have a corresponding anthem from the angelic hosts, at the close of which the Elders and the Cherubim simply respond with the words 'Αμήν, ἀλληλουιά, as they have already sung their anthems in this chapter (xi. 15-18); while in xix. 6^b-8 there is given the loud paean of the glorified martyrs in heaven on the establishment of the Kingdom of God and the advent of the Millennial Kingdom. Further, it is to be noted that whereas xix. 1-8 refers to the epoch immediately preceding the Millennial Kingdom, the present passage refers to the chief eschatological events from the establishment of the Millennial Kingdom to that of the Kingdom that dureth for ever and ever.

15. καὶ ὁ ἑβδόμος ἄγγελος ἐσάλπισεν καὶ ἐγένοντο φωναὶ μεγάλαι ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, λέγοντες

Ἐγένετο ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ κόσμου τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν
καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ,
καὶ βασιλεύσει εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

Whether the heaven or the earth is here the scene of the Seer's vision is uncertain; but the former is more probable, as he hears the thanksgivings of the angels. See note on iv. 1.

φωναί. These voices may be those of the Living Creatures or Cherubim. Their praise precedes that of the Elders: cf. iv. 9. ἐγένετο . . . τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν κτλ. The heavenly voices celebrate the divine conquest of the world as if it were already achieved. The words are therefore proleptic, as are those of the thanksgiving of the 24 Elders in xi. 16-18. With the phrase ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ κόσμου cf. Matt. iv. 8. τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ is an O.T. expression: cf. Ps. ii. 2, κατὰ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ. That this Psalm was early quoted as a Messianic Ps. appears from Acts iv. 26. See also xii. 10 of our text. But the first book in which ὁ Χριστός means technically the Messianic King is 1 Enoch: cf. xlvi. 10, "They have denied the Lord of Spirits and His Anointed"; lii. 4. Subsequently it appears in Pss. Sol. xvii. 36, xviii. 6, 8 (also in the inscription of this Ps.). Cf. Luke ii. 11.

βασιλεύσει. The Kingdom begins with the Millennial Kingdom (xxi. 9-xxii. 2, xx. 4-6), which after the final judgment passes over into the everlasting Kingdom of God (xxi. 1-4, xxii. 3-5). The Kingdom of God and Christ is one. In Eph. v. 5 we find τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ θεοῦ, whereas in the

earlier Epistle, 1 Cor. xv. 24-28, the Son resigns His mediatorial Kingdom to the Father, that God may be "all in all." But later Christ, too, was conceived as "all in all," Eph. i. 23; Col. iii. 11. The Kingdom is to be for everlasting: cf. Dan. ii. 44, vii. 14, 27; Luke i. 33.

16. καὶ οἱ εἴκοσι τέσσαρες πρεσβύτεροι οἱ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ καθήμενοι ἐπὶ τοὺς θρόνους αὐτῶν ἔπεσαν ἐπὶ τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῶν καὶ προσεκύνησαν τῷ θεῷ, λέγοντες.

For the unusual order οἱ ἐνώπιον . . . καθήμενοι, see note on xi. 4.

17. Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι Κύριε ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ,
ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν,
ὅτι εἰληφας τὴν δύναμιν σου τὴν μεγάλην
καὶ ἐβασίλευσας.

On the witness of the Cherubim follows the thanksgiving of the Elders. On Κύριε ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ see i. 8, iv. 8; and on ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν see i. 4, 8, iv. 8. Here and also in xvi. 5 ὁ ἐρχόμενος is omitted, because at this stage it is already fulfilled. On the combination of tenses in εἰληφας . . . καὶ ἐβασίλευσας cf. iii. 3, v. 7, viii. 5. τὴν δύναμιν κτλ. The supreme and final authority over all things. ἐβασίλευσας = "hast become king," "begun thy reign": cf. Ps. xciii. 1; 2 Sam. xv. 10, xvi. 8. Thus the power of Satan on earth (xii.) and the kingdom of his agent the Antichrist (xiii.) are overthrown. God's reign being now established on earth, the setting up of the Millennial Kingdom (xxi. 9-xxii. 1-2, xx. 4-6) follows in due course. See note on 15.

18. καὶ τὰ ἔθνη ὠργίσθησαν,
καὶ ἦλθεν ἡ ὀργή σου,
καὶ ὁ καιρὸς τῶν νεκρῶν κριθῆναι,
καὶ δοῦναι τὸν μισθὸν τοῖς δούλοις σου
τοῖς προφήταις καὶ τοῖς ἁγίοις
καὶ τοὺς φοβουμένους τὸ ὄνομά σου,
τοὺς μικροὺς καὶ τοὺς μεγάλους,
καὶ διαφθεῖραι τοὺς διαφθείροντας τὴν γῆν.

καὶ τὰ ἔθνη ὠργίσθησαν, ἦλθεν ἡ ὀργή σου . . . ὁ καιρὸς τῶν νεκρῶν κριθῆναι . . . καὶ δοῦναι τὸν μισθὸν τοῖς δούλοις σου . . . τοῖς μεγάλους. There is progressive movement in these words:—the recognition of a development of events in their true order. After the close of the Millennial Kingdom mentioned in the preceding verse the song refers to the twofold uprising of nations (τὰ ἔθνη ὠργίσθησαν: cf. xix. 19, xx. 8-9^{ab}), and their destruction (ἦλθεν ἡ ὀργή σου: cf. xix. 21, xx. 9^c), the judgment of the dead (ὁ καιρὸς τῶν νεκρῶν κριθῆναι: cf. xx. 11-15), the final recompense of all the righteous in the New Jerusalem, which together with

the new heaven and the new earth should become their eternal abode (καὶ δοῦναι τὸν μισθὸν τοῖς δούλοις σου . . . τοῖς μικροῖς καὶ τοῖς μεγάλαις: cf. xxi. 1-4, xxii. 3-5). It is remarkable that the chronological order is abandoned in the last line—καὶ διαφθεῖραι κτλ. It is possible that we have here a dislocation of the text, and that after καὶ ἦλθεν ἡ ὀργή σου we should read

καὶ < ὁ καιρὸς > διαφθεῖραι τοὺς διαφθείροντας τὴν γῆν
καὶ ὁ καιρὸς τῶν νεκρῶν κριθῆναι.

In this case, since Rome is already judged in the preceding verse, the διαφθεῖραι τ. διαφθείροντας would refer to the destruction of the Beast, the False Prophet, and Satan, by their being cast into the lake of fire (cf. xix. 20, xx. 10). Thus we should have the eschatological events in their chronological order. The words καὶ ἐβασίλευσας: 18, καὶ τὰ ἔθνη ὠργίσθησαν, certainly recall Ps. xcvi. (xcix.) 1, LXX, κύριος ἐβασίλευσεν, ὀργιζέσθωσαν λαοί, where ὀργιζέσθωσαν, though a possible, is not a right rendering of וַיִּזְן, which here should have been translated by παρασείσθωσαν or the like. Probably Ps. ii. 1, 5 was also in the mind of the writer as it was in 15. With "the wrath of the nations here cf. xvi. 9-11, 21, but especially xix. 15-21, xx. 8-9. In vi. 15-17 the thought of coming judgment makes the mighty ones of the earth fear and tremble. ἦλθεν ἡ ὀργή σου: cf. vi. 17, xiv. 10, xvi. 19, xix. 15.

ὁ καιρὸς τῶν νεκρῶν κριθῆναι: i.e. xx. 11-15. The aim of the impending event is here expressed by the inf. = ἵνα κριθῶσιν οἱ νεκροί. See Blass, *Gram.* 228, note. δοῦναι τὸν μισθόν: cf. xxii. 12. τοῖς δούλοις σου τοῖς προφήταις: cf. x. 7, also i. 1, xxii. 6. These are the Christian prophets: cf. xviii. 20; 1 Cor. xii. 28, 29; Eph. ii. 20, iii. 5, iv. 11. τοὺς ἁγίους καὶ τοὺς φοβουμένους. A primitive slip for τ. ἁγίους κ. τ. φοβουμένους. There is some difficulty in defining these two categories. Bousset proposes with hesitation to omit the καί; then we should have the parallel clauses, "Thy servants the prophets, and the saints who fear Thy name." But since the καί appears to be original, we should, with Völter (ii. 8) and others (including Bousset), interpret the two clauses ("the saints and those who fear Thy name") as referring to Jewish and Gentile Christians. In 1 Clem. xxi. 7 (cf. xxiii. 1) the Greek Christians so designated themselves, as Harnack (Vischer, *Offenb. Johannis*, 133, note) points out: τὴν ἀγάπην αὐτῶν μὴ κατὰ προσκλίσεις, ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν τοῖς φοβουμένοις τὸν θεὸν ὁσίως ἴσθην παρεχέτωσαν. Vischer (p. 19) and Spitta (p. 584) and Harnack, who assume a Jewish origin of xi. 15-19, take these words to represent Jews and Proselytes, on the ground that the phrase οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν θεόν was the usual designation for the heathen who had joined the Jewish community in the Dispersion.

So the phrase means in Ps. cxv. 11, 13, cxviii. 4, cxxv. 20 (see Duhm) But this phrase has different meanings according to the context. From 1 Clem. xxi. 7 it has above been shown that it is a designation for Christians; in Pss. Sol. ii. 37 it designates "the pious Pharisees, whose object was to maintain the purity of theocratic principles" (Ryle and James): cf. Pss. Sol. iii. 16, iv. 26, v. 21, xiii. 11, xv. 15.

τοὺς μικροὺς καὶ τοὺς μεγάλους. A slip for the dative. This phrase is characteristic of our author: cf. xiii. 16, xix. 5, 18 [xx. 12]. The two phrases τοὺς φοβουμένους τὸ ὄνομα σου and τοὺς μικροὺς καὶ τοὺς μεγάλους are derived from Ps. cxv. 13, יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ מִיְיָ אֱלֹהֵי הַמַּלְאָכִים "יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ", but hardly from the LXX, which renders τοὺς φοβουμένους τὸν κύριον τοὺς μικροὺς μετὰ τῶν μεγάλων.

διαφθεῖραι τοὺς διαφθείροντας τὴν γῆν: cf. xix. 2, ἦτις ἐφθειρεν τὴν γῆν. The phrase may be borrowed from Jer. li. (xxviii.) 25, τὸ ὅρος τὸ διεφθαμένον, τὸ διαφθείρον (τὴν γῆν) πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν. On the probability that this line originally stood after καὶ ἦλθεν ἡ ὀργή σου see first note on this verse.

19. καὶ ἡνοίγη ὁ ναὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, καὶ ὤφθη ἡ κιβωτὸς τῆς διαθήκης αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ναῷ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐγένοντο ἀστραπαὶ καὶ φωναὶ καὶ βρονταὶ καὶ σεισμός καὶ χάλαζα μεγάλη.

As the first Woe or Trumpet is preceded by the prayers of all the saints which are offered on the altar within the holy place of the heavenly temple, viii. 3, and the second Woe opens with the answer to those prayers from the same altar, ix. 13, so the third begins with the opening of the holy of holies and the manifestation of the Ark of the Covenant. This last act is symbolical. As the earthly ark was a witness to the covenant between God and Israel, the heavenly ark is a witness to the covenant between God and the Christian community, which is the true Israel. By the manifestation of the latter at this stage God has pledged Himself to the fulfilment of all the great deeds celebrated in the heavenly song just sung.

On the heavenly temple see note on iv. 2. The ark of the covenant (אֲרוֹן הַבְּרִית) originally stood within the veil of the tabernacle, and subsequently in the holy of holies in Solomon's Temple. What became of it is unknown. The fragment preserved in Jer. iii. 16-18 forbids in the name of Yahweh the hope of its restoration to the second Temple. It was no longer needed; for (iii. 17) Yahweh would make Zion His dwelling-place, and Jerusalem would be called "Yahweh's Throne." But later the legend arose that Jeremiah at the bidding of God (2 Macc. ii. 4-8; *Rest of the Words of Jeremiah*, iii. 8) hid, in a cave-like dwelling in the mountain which Moses climbed, "the tabernacle and the ark and the altar of incense." The same account is found in

2 Bar. vi. 5-10, lxxx. 2, though there it is an angel or angels by whom this task is discharged.¹

But it is quite a mistake with some scholars to identify the hidden ark with the ark in the temple in heaven. The latter is the archetype of the former, and existed prior to it. The earthly ark was, according to the above tradition, buried somewhere on the earth: see Yoma, 53^b-54^a; Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 4. 1; *Rest of the Words of Jeremiah*, iii. 7-8, 14: see note on ii. 17. ἡνοίγη δὲ τοὺς θύρας τοῦ θεοῦ—i.e. the holy of holies. Since the first two Woes open with events connected with the heavenly altar, viii. 3, ix. 13, the third Woe begins with the throwing open of the holy of holies. ἀστραπαὶ κατὰ. See note on viii. 5.

CHAPTER XII.

A RETROSPECT.

INTRODUCTION.

Chap. xii. represents the conflict of good and evil as a cosmic one—not one originating on earth. The idea is Pauline: Eph. vi. 12, etc. The presupposition of O. and N.T. apocalyptic is that the world's disorder and sin is only a part of the disorder and sin affecting the spiritual world. Cf. Isa. xxiv. 22; Daniel and Rev. xii.; Eph. i. 3, 10, etc. (see Robinson, p. 20 sqq.); Luke x. 18. The conflict is not limited to this earth or to this life. It is a warfare from which there is no discharge until the kingdom of this world is become the kingdom of the Lord and of His Christ.

§ 1. *The meaning of this Chapter in its present Christian context.*

The third Woe or the third Trumpet deals with the climax of Satan's power on earth. This crowning evil, however, was not a sign of his growing power, but the closing stage of the strife which had its beginning in heaven and was destined to have its ending on earth. In heaven the strife had already terminated in the vindication of God's sovereignty and the hurling down of Satan to earth (chap. xii.). Hence however Satan may rage and his minions—the Roman and heathen powers (chap. xiii. sqq.)—they are not to be feared: this final persecution of the Church is but the last struggle of a beaten foe, whose venom and malignity are all the greater since he knows how short a time he has.

¹ In 2 Bar. vi. 7 the text is corrupt. Instead of reading "ark" it reads "ephod." But אֲמֹר is here corrupt for אֲרֹן = "ark." The converse corruption in the Mass. text is found in 1 Sam. xiv. 18, as the LXX and several Talmudic authorities prove.

Such is the object of this and the coming chapters, in which chap. xii. gives the reader a spiritual insight into the past in order to prepare him for the crowning evil of the manifestation of Satanic power on earth in chap. xiii. sqq. In setting forth his theme the Seer borrows the main part of the present chapter from Jewish sources, in which international myths have been used and transformed to higher ends. In our text the Seer takes account alike of the past, the present, and the time to come. His vision goes back before the birth of Christ. Of a glorious goddess of the sun is born a wondrous child, against whom, alike before and after his birth, the Dragon showed a ceaseless enmity (1-5^{ab}). But from this enmity He is rescued and rapt to the throne of God, and His mother, *i.e.* the Church, is preserved from the attacks of the Dragon (5^c-6). Thither the Dragon and his angels storm after him, but are met by Michael and his angels and hurled down to earth (7-9). Thereupon, on the eve of the last and fiercest persecution about to burst on the community of Christ through the rage of the baffled fiend, the Seer hears the glorified martyrs in heaven raise a paean of triumph in honour of their brethren still on earth, who, too, are to be martyred in this persecution (10-12). In the course of this persecution part of the community—the Jewish Christian—makes its escape (13-16)—a meaningless survival in our present text—a work of 95 A.D. ; see notes *in loc.* : thereupon the Dragon turns against the rest of the seed of the woman—the Gentile Christians scattered throughout the world (17). Thus the Seer leads up to his main theme—the persecution of the Church by the Empire of Rome.

§ 2. *But this was not the original meaning of this Chapter: its chief section could not have been written originally for the Apocalypse by a Christian: nor could it have been the original creation of a Jew.*

Vischer (*Offenb. Johannis*, 19 sqq.) and Gunkel (*Schöpfung*, 173 sqq.) have shown that this chapter could not have been composed by a Christian. It is simply inconceivable that a Christian writing freely could have so represented the birth and life of Christ. Whatever his visions may have been, they could not have failed to be more in unison with the facts on which the Christian community was founded and which were embodied in the heart of its most cherished beliefs. No Christian could spontaneously have depicted the life of our Lord, under the figure of a child, born of a sun-goddess,¹ perse-

¹ Even if the sun-goddess is taken to represent the Community, it cannot be the Christian community that is here primarily designed; for it is never

cuted by the seven-headed dragon and rapt to the throne of God, and have suppressed every reference to His earthly life and work, His death and resurrection. Nor could a Christian have represented the overthrow of Satan as due to Michael and not to Christ. The passive and subordinate rôle assigned to the Messiah here is quite in keeping with Jewish, but not with Christian conceptions.

This chapter, moreover, is full of mythological features which could not have been the original creations of a Jew or a Christian. These are—1. A goddess clothed with the sun, crowned with the signs of the zodiac, and standing on the moon as her footstool. 2. This goddess is with child—an idea wholly foreign to Jewish conceptions of the angels. 3. The great fiery Dragon with seven heads and ten horns and seven diadems, whose tail can hurl down a third of the stars of heaven. 4. The birth of the young sun-god and his rapture into heaven. 5. The flight of the woman into the wilderness by means of the wings of the great eagle. 6. The flood cast forth by the Dragon after the woman, and the earth opening its mouth and swallowing it.

And yet, since this vision occurs in a Christian apocalypse, it must have had a Christian meaning for our author: he must have interpreted it in a Christian sense. What this meaning was we have in some measure seen already in § 1. Our author either took literally or allegorised the mythological features that were susceptible of such treatment, and neglected the rest—a course that was usual in dealing with traditional material. Their lack of connection with their present context and their unintelligibility are undoubtedly evidence that they are wrested from their original context and belong to earlier forms of the myth.

§ 3. *The Idiom and Diction of this Chapter are those of our Author—facts which are against his use of Greek sources here.*

1. The clause σημείον (xii. 3, xv. 1: in xiii. 13, 14, xvi. 14, xix. 20 in another meaning) μέγα ὄφθη (i. 7, xi. 19, xii. 3) ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ which recurs in xii. 3 is found also in xv. 1, εἶδον ἄλλο σημεῖον ἐν τῷ οὐρ. μέγα. μέγα follows after the noun. Cf. x. 1, xiv. 9, xv. 1, etc.

περιβεβλημένη—12 times in Apoc. and 12 times in rest of N.T. 8 times in rest of Apoc. c. acc. as here. ὑποκάτω, v. 3, 13, vi. 9. ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς. Only here in our author has ἐπὶ the gen.

said to be the mother of Jesus. On the other hand, the Jewish Messiah could be regarded as a child of the community: cf. Test. Jos. xix. 11; 4 Ezra ix. 43 sqq., x. 44 sqq. Besides, the true Israel in the O.T. was the spouse of God; whereas in the N.T. the true Israel, or Church, is the bride of Christ.

in this phrase, though this is the natural construction as denoting rest on. In x. 1 (see textual evidence) xix. 12 it occurs c. acc. in sing. Elsewhere in Apoc. always c. acc. *in plural* (five times). In the rest of the N.T. *ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς* occurs four times and *ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν* twice. *δώδεκα*—post-positive: see notes on viii. 2, xii. 3.

2. *ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα*—participle used as finite verb as in x. 2, xxi. 14. On *κράζει* κτλ. see note on text.

βασανίζω (ix. 5, xi. 10, xiv. 10, xx. 10) is never used in LXX of the pangs of childbirth, and only here in the N.T.

3. *ᾠφθη* κτλ.: see on 1. *πυρρός*: see vi. 4. For the position of the last *ἐπὶ* see footnote on viii. 2. *ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτοῦ*. This is the usual idiom in the Apoc. See note on 1 above.

4. *ἔσθηκεν ἐνώπιον*: cf. vii. 9, viii. 2, xi. 4. *τῆς μελλούσης* 13 times in Apoc., 10 times with pres. inf. and 3 times with aor. inf., iii. 2, 16, xii. 4. On the order *ἵνα ὅταν τέκη . . . καταφάγῃ*: cf. xiii. 15, *ἵνα ὅσοι . . . προσκυνήσωσιν . . . ἀποκτανθῶσιν*. *καταφάγῃ*: cf. x. 9, 10, xi. 5, xii. 4, xx. 9. *τέκνον*: cf. ii. 23.

5. The clause *ὅς μελλει . . . σιδηρᾷ* is from the hand of our author: cf. ii. 27, xix. 15.

6 is a doublet of xii. 13^b 14 from the hand of our author. *δπου . . . ἐκεῖ*: cf. xii. 14. For analogous Semiticisms, cf. ii. 7, 17, iii. 8, vii. 2, 9, xiii. 8, 12, xvii. 9, xx. 8. *ὅπου* occurs 5 times elsewhere without complementary adverbial phrase. *ἡτοιμασμένον*: cf. viii. 6, ix. 7, 15, xvi. 12, xix. 7, xxi. 2. On this rare use of *ἀπό* after a passive verb see note on ix. 18. *τρέφωσιν*. On this indefinite use of plural, cf. x. 11 (xi. 9 originally). *ἡμέρας χιλ. διακοσίας. ἐξήκοντα* (cf. xi. 3)—an interpretation of the phrase in xii. 14.

7-8. *πολεμήσαι μετά*: cf. ii. 16, xiii. 4, xvii. 14 (xix. 11). This phrase is found in the N.T. only in the Apoc., and outside the Apoc. without *μετά* in Jas. iv. 2. It is common in the LXX. On the irregular syntax see note *in loc.* *τοῦ* before the infinitive occurs only here in our author: not at all in the Fourth Gospel. *οὐδὲ τόπος εὐρέθη*: cf. xx. 11, *τόπος οὐχ εὐρέθη αὐτοῖς*.

9. On the original form of this verse see note *in loc.* *ὁ ὄφις ὁ ἀρχαῖος . . . Σατανᾶς*: cf. xx. 2. *ὁ καλούμενος*: cf. xi. 8 n. *διάβολος . . . ὁ πλανῶν*: cf. xx. 8. *τὴν οἰκουμένην ὅλην*: cf. iii. 10, xvi. 14. The writer of the Fourth Gospel would have used *κόσμος*, which, indeed, is used in Apoc. xi. 15 (xiii. 8, xvii. 8).

10. *ἄρτι*: cf. xiv. 13—a Johannine word but also Pauline and Petrine and in Matt. *ἡ σωτηρία*: cf. vii. 10, xix. 1. *ἡ δύναμις*: cf. iv. 11, vii. 12, xix. 1. *ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν*: cf. xi. 15, ἡ

βασιλεία τοῦ κόσμου τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν. ἡ ἐξουσία, *passim*. τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν, i. 9, vi. 11, xix. 10, xxii. 9. ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς: cf. iv. 8.

11. This verse is word for word the diction of our author. ἐνίκησαν—characteristic of our author. διὰ τὸ αἷμα τοῦ ἀρνίου: cf. ἐν τῷ αἵματι αὐτοῦ, i. 5, v. 9, vii. 14. διὰ τὸν λόγον τῆς μαρτυρίας αὐτῶν: cf. vi. 9, διὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ διὰ τὴν μαρτυρίαν: also i. 9, xx. 4. ἡγάπησαν: cf. i. 5, iii. 9, xx. 9. ἄχρι θανάτου occurs already in ii. 10. ἄχρι occurs 11 times in Apoc. but not in Johannine Gospel or Epistles.

12. διὰ τοῦτο: cf. vii. 15, xviii. 8 (15 times in Fourth Gospel). εὐφραίνεσθε οὐρανοί. This phrase is difficult and would point to the existence of xii. 7–10, 12 in a Greek form. We should expect εὐφραίνον οὐρανέ as in xviii. 20; for the plural is not found elsewhere in the Apoc. See note on xii. 12. οἱ . . . σκηνοῦντες, used of heavenly dwellers: cf. vii. 15, xiii. 6, xxi. 3, as κατοικεῖν of dwellers on earth. Though the LXX uses σκηνοῦν and κατασκηνοῦν of the dwellers on the earth, our author does not. οὐαί, c. acc. (= 𐤒𐤍) as in viii. 13. c. nom. in xviii. 10, 16, 19 as in LXX of Isa. v. 8, 11, 18, 20–22 = 𐤒𐤍. ὀλίγον καιρόν. ὀλίγος prepositive here as in iii. 4. This order is Semitic = 𐤒𐤍 𐤕𐤓𐤕, though the reverse order is possible. Contrast Acts xiv. 28, χρόνον οὐκ ὀλίγον.

13. ὅτε εἶδεν and ὅτε ἐβλήθη . . . γῆν (from xii. 9) added as connecting links after incorporation of xii. 7–12. ἦτες = ἦ—a usage of our author: see xi. 8 n.

14. πέτηται. Cf. iv. 7, viii. 13, xiv. 6, xix. 17. Not elsewhere in N.T. ὅπου . . . ἐκεῖ. See οὐ xii. 6 (above). καιρὸν καὶ καιροὺς κτλ. See xi. 2 n. ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ ὄψεως, a Hebraism. See xii. 14 n.

15. ὡς ποταμόν. See Additional Note on ὡς, p. 35 sq. ἵνα αὐτὴν ποταμοφόρητον ποιήσῃ. On ποταμοφόρητον see note *in loc*. Next, ἵνα is followed by object and verb also in vi. 4, xiii. 13; and adverbial phrase or clause and verb in xii. 4 (ἵνα ὅταν . . .), xix. 15; by substantive clause and verb, xiii. 15 (ἵνα ὅσοι . . .); though immediately by verb as a rule: cf. ii. 10, iii. 9, vi. 11, viii. 3, 12, ix. 5, 15, xii. 6 (ἵνα ἐκεῖ), 14, xiii. 12, 15^a, 16, xiv. 13, xvi. 12, xix. 8, 18, xxi. 15, xxii. 14. ἵνα μὴ is followed by verb 6 times; by subject and verb, iii. 11, viii. 12, xi. 6; by adjective and verb, xvi. 15. The combination ποταμοφόρητον ποιεῖν is Hebrew as well as Greek: see note on xvii. 16.

17. ὀργίσθη: cf. xi. 18. ἀπῆλθεν: cf. x. 9. ποιῆσαι πόλεμον μετὰ: cf. xi. 7, xiii. 7, xix. 19. τῶν λοιπῶν τοῦ σπέρματος: cf. ix. 20, xx. 5; Luke xviii. 11 alone in N.T. for this use of λοιπός. τῶν τηρούντων τὰς ἐντολάς τοῦ θεοῦ. These words recur in xiv. 12. τηρεῖν occurs 11 times in the Apoc. It belongs

also to the Johannine vocabulary. Gospel 18 times, 1 Ep. 7 times. τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ: cf. i. 2, 9, xix. 10, xx. 4.

18. ἐστάθη ἐπὶ, c. acc. Cf. vii. 1 (p. 190).

Before passing on attention ought to be drawn to words or expressions that are ἀπ. λεγ. in the Apoc. 5. ἡρπάσθη. 12. ὀλίγον καιρόν. 13. ἐδίωξεν. 14. ἀπὸ προσώπου = "because of." Contrast its meaning in vi. 16, xx. 11. 15. ποταμοφόρητον. 16. ἐβοήθησεν . . . κατέπιεν.

Thus the entire chapter exhibits the peculiar idioms and diction of our author—with two slight exceptions. The first is in xii. 1, ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, instead of which he uses ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν (or τὰς κεφαλὰς). The second irregular usage is the use of οὐρανοί in xii. 12, but this may be due to the source which our author is translating; see § 4. In any case these two expressions are of no weight against the overwhelming agreement in point of idiom and diction of this chapter with the style of our author. The evidence is distinctly against the hypothesis that we have here a recast of existing Greek sources from another hand or hands.

§ 4. *Yet since our author undoubtedly used sources (see § 7) and not Greek sources as we have just seen, there remains the hypothesis that he used Semitic sources oral or written—a hypothesis for which there is considerable evidence, considering the paucity of the text.*

From what precedes it follows that our author found the originals of xii. 1-5, 13-17, xii. 7-9, 12 in Semitic sources oral or written, and that he translated them into Greek with certain additions of his own as xii. 6, 10-11, and in xii. 3, 5, 9, 13, 17. The evidence for the existence of such Semitic sources is as follows.

Some evidence pointing to a Semitic source or influence has already been advanced in the past. Thus *υἱόν, ἄρσεν* = *בן נר* in xii. 5, *ὅπου* . . . *ἐκεῖ* = *שם* . . . *אשר* in xii. 6, 14, *οὐκ ἴσχυσεν* = *לא יכל* in xii. 8, and *κατέβη* xii. 12, *ἐβλήθη* xii. 9, 13, as renderings of the same verb *ירד* (Aram. *נחת*), have been adduced by various scholars in the past. Gunkel (*Schöpfung*, 200 sq.) has enumerated the above and sought to strengthen the evidence for a Semitic original by the following arguments. Thus *ᾠδίνουσα καὶ βασανιζομένη τεκεῖν*, xii. 2, is, he claims, a Hebrew construction such as *לדת הרה*, 1 Sam. iv. 19 (itself an isolated idiom), but as I have sought to show in the note *in loc.*, *τεκεῖν* should be immediately connected with *κράζει*, or taken as a complement of the preceding clause as "about to be delivered." The mis-translation of the Hebrew dual which he finds in xii. 14 was over

200 years old. He thinks that the construction in xii. 7, if we omit δ M. καὶ οἱ ἀγγ. αὐτοῦ, is Semitic, and thus misses the point.

But the above evidence, though suggestive, is in no respect conclusive—not indeed that it is possible to discover absolutely conclusive evidence where the text is so exiguous, but there is further evidence that makes the hypothesis of a Semitic original the only reasonable solution of the problem before us.

xii. 1-5, 13-17^{ab} and xii. 7-9, 12 will here be treated together as derived from Semitic sources. (1) First of all the force of the evidence in δ πον . . . ἐκεῖ xii. 14 (repeated in xii. 6), has not been observed. The addition of ἐκεῖ after δ πον is contrary to the usage of our author when writing independently. Cf. ii. 13 (*his*), xi. 8, xiv. 4, xx. 10. And yet analogous Semiticisms are used by our author elsewhere (see iii. 8 n.), but not this particular one. This idiom is repeated in xii. 6, which is merely a doublet of xii. 13^b, 14.

(2) Next the use of οὐρανοί instead of οὐρανός in xii. 12 is best explained by our author's use of a Semitic source (contrast xviii. 20 εὐφραίνον . . . οὐρανέ); for he always uses the sing. when writing independently, and even when translating a Semitic original, as in xii. 7, 8, 10, where the use of the plural might suggest the idea of a plurality of the heavens: an idea he rejects—though it was held by St. Paul and the author of the Hebrews, and was current in the O.T., and enforced in the Testament of XII Patriarchs, 2 Enoch, Ascension of Isaiah, etc. (see note on iv. 1, p. 108). Since there is here no risk of misconception he renders שָׁמַיִם רַבּוֹת by the familiar rendering of the LXX, εὐφραίνεσθε οὐρανοί.

(3) Our author nowhere else uses τοῦ before the infinitive (xii. 7). Nor is it found in any of the Johannine writings. Hence its appearance here can be best explained as due to a Semitic background. The explanation is given under (8) below.

(4) There seems to lurk a mistranslation in the clause οὐδὲ τόπος ἐνέβη αὐτῶν in xii. 8. For nowhere else in the Apocalypse is there such a separation of αὐτῶν from the noun on which it depends as here.¹ Next, in xx. 11, where the clause recurs, we find τόπος οὐχ ἐνέβη αὐτοῖς. This is the natural form of this expression: moreover, it is the Hebrew כָּל-מָקוֹם לֹא-יִנְמָצָא לָהֶם or the Aramaic כָּל אַמְרָא לֹא הִשְׁחָכָה לָהֶן. But αὐτῶν is a possible, though here an incorrect, rendering of לָהֶם (or לָהֶן). Hence for

¹ This differentiates the usage of the Apocalypse from the Johannine Gospel. ἡμῶν, ὑμῶν, αὐτοῦ, αὐτῶν can in John either precede or follow the noun: they can only follow in the Apocalypse. In John these possessives can be separated from their noun by an adj.: cf. iii. 19, viii. 17, by a preposition, ix. 15, xi. 32, or by a verb, ix. 28 (*his*), xi. 32, xii. 47, xiii. 6, 14, xix. 35, xx. 23. See note on iii. 2 above.

αὐτῶν we should read αὐτοῖς—an emendation made in some of the later MSS.

(5) In xii. 14, ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ ὄφeos = שׁנִי הַנָּחִשׁ, "because of the serpent." This is a pure Semiticism not elsewhere found in the N.T.

(6) ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα, xii. 1 = תְּחִי. Here the participle is used as a finite verb. On this Semiticism see note *in loc.* It is not improbable that σύρει in xii. 4 is a rendering of a participle also such as סָרַח. This would explain the tense of σύρει in the midst of past verbs.

(7) Other Semitisms are δλίγον καιρόν, xii. 12 = תָּע עָמַר. In the Apocalypse adjectives are postpositive, but the unusual order here can be explained as reflecting the Semitic: ἔβαλεν . . . ὀπίσω, xii. 15 = רָחַק . . . חָלַשׁ; ὡς ποταμόν, xii. 15 = כְּנָהַר; πολεμήσαι μετὰ, xii. 7 = עָם חָלַה.

(8) In xii. 7 ὁ Μιχαὴλ καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ τοῦ πολεμήσαι is the literal reproduction in Greek of a Hebrew idiom. This construction is otherwise inexplicable. For another form of it see xiii. 10. See note *in loc.*

§ 5. Order of Verb, Subject, and Object.

In the original form of xii. 1-5 there are 11 verbs: 7 times the verb comes first, 3 times it is preceded by the subject, and once by the object.

In the original form of xii. 7-9, 12 there are 10 verbs: 6 times the verb comes first, 4 times it is preceded by the subject.

In the original form of xii. 13-18 there are 16 verbs, all coming first save 2: 1 of these is necessarily preceded by the subject (xii. 13) and one by the object (xii. 15). In the latter instance the object and verb together almost certainly represent a Semitic verb and therefore this case does not count.

The above facts, though they do not help to differentiate xii. 7-9, 12 from the rest of the chapter, manifest the Semitic order of the words throughout the entire chapter.

§ 6. This Chapter was not originally a unity, but was derived from two independent Jewish sources.

That this chapter is composite is clear from many facts. It is sufficient, to begin with, to mention two. First, xii. 10-11 is clearly an addition, since it breaks the connection and conflicts with its immediate context. Next, the flight and rescue of the woman are recounted in xii. 6 before the casting down of Satan,

and yet in xii. 13-17 it is placed after that event and treated at fuller length. Owing to these and other difficulties various hypotheses are advanced.

Spitta (130 sqq.) thinks that the difficulty can be got over by excising xii. 6 as a short preliminary redactional addition, which constitutes in fact a doublet of xii. 13-17. Other additions he finds in xii. 9, ὁ πλανῶν . . . τὴν γῆν: in xii. 11, 13, ὅτε εἶδεν and ὅτε ἐβλήθη . . . γῆν: and in xii. 17, καὶ ἐχόντων . . . Ἰησοῦ. Pfeiderer (332 sq.), Völter, iii. 146 sqq., regard xii. 12-17 as well as xii. 11 as later additions. They conceive the overthrow of Satan to be the last or last but one scene of all. Völter says that the addition of xii. 6 is incomprehensible on the presupposition of the original unity of xii. 1-10, 12-17. Why should this notice of the flight of the woman be inserted, if this were recounted fully in xii. 12-17? On the other hand, the shortness of the account in xii. 6 would naturally lead to a fuller statement as in xii. 12-17.

Dieterich, *Abrahas*, 118, reconstructs the chapter as follows: xii. 1-4, 14-16, 5 (6, 17, 12^b), 7-12^a.

None of the above hypotheses is satisfactory, though some of Spitta's suggestions are of permanent value. The remaining chief hypotheses seek to explain the chapter as consisting of (a) two parallel visions, or of (b) two distinct sources.

(a) Under this head come Gunkel's and Wellhausen's. Gunkel (*Schöpfung*, 274 sqq.) sees in xii. 6 and xii. 7-16 parallel accounts. The first writer had concluded the section with xii. 6. He was acquainted with xii. 7-16, but owing to his aversion to the mythological element he not only abbreviated the account of the flight of the woman but he also left out wholly the narrative of the overthrow of the Dragon. A reviser subsequently added the original account, xii. 7-16. But why then, it may be asked, did he not excise the disturbing xii. 6? Wellhausen (*Anal. d. Offenb. Joh.* 18 sqq.) finds that xii. 1-6 and xii. 7-14 are parallel accounts, which terminate in a common conclusion xii. 15-17. Both are incomplete, and they must both be used to supplement each other. xii. 10-12 and certain clauses in xii. 3, 5, 9, 17 are added by the redactor, with a view to giving a Christian character to the whole. The rest is purely Jewish. From a combination of xii. 1-6 and xii. 7-9, 13-14 he recovers the original contents of the narrative. The Dragon warred in heaven and was overcome and cast down to the earth. There he assails the woman who had borne the male child. The child was thereupon rapt into heaven and the woman, *i.e.*, the élite of the community, fled into the wilderness, where she stayed for 3½ years. The Dragon then attacks the rest of her seed in Jerusalem which had not fled into the wilderness. The conclusion of the Apocalypse which dealt with the returning Messiah is lost.

We have, therefore, in xii. a Pharisaic counterblast to the Zelotic oracle in xi. 1-2.

But the above hypotheses labour under one and the same difficulty. They both assume two parallel visions—an assumption which can only be justified by the further assumption that one of them is considerably abbreviated. In either case a reconstruction of the parallel accounts in their completeness is impossible. Moreover, Gunkel's reconstruction is based on the Marduk myth, which as reproduced by Gunkel is itself a reconstruction and without any actual basis in tradition.

(b) *Two distinct sources.* J. Weiss (87 sq.) is of opinion that we have here two distinct sources. The first dealt with the birth of the Messiah, His persecution by the Dragon, the flight and persecution of the woman, and the persecution of the remaining children of the woman. The second dealt with the strife of Michael with the Dragon in heaven: the casting down of the Dragon and his reign on earth.

In support of this hypothesis (88 sq.) Weiss urges that the war with the Dragon has no connection of any kind with the persecution of the Child. The angels are not conscious of contending on behalf of the Messiah, and it is nowhere said that the Dragon is overthrown as an enemy of the Messiah. If the war with the Dragon and the enmity between the Dragon and the Messiah had been conceived in relation with each other, then the final strife between the Messiah and the Dragon must have been recounted at the close. And the fact that this is not so is a proof that the war with the Dragon had originally nothing to do with the Messiah, His birth and persecution.

In this matter Weiss appears to have established his contention and is herein followed by Bousset. His further contention that xii. 7-12 was an original constituent of a Christian Apocalypse is against the evidence of the section itself, which in form and idiom points to a Semitic origin (see § 4 (8), § 5) and in matter to a Jewish.

§ 7. *These two sources were borrowed by our Author from Jewish Tradition, xii. 7-10, 12 being probably an original product of Judaism, but not so xii. 1-5, 13-17.*

xii. 7-10, 12 is an original product of Judaism. All the elements in this section can be found in pre-Christian Judaism, as I have shown in the notes on xii. 7 (p. 323 sq.). Yet even in the case of this section some of the subject-matter may go back to the Zend religion. Thus in the Bund. (*S.B.E.* v. 17) iii. 10-11 it is stated that the evil spirit or Ahriman attacked the heaven with his confederate demons, and they "sprang like a

snake down to the earth" (cf. Apoc. xii. 12, *κατέβη ὁ διάβολος πρὸς ὑμᾶς*).

For 90 days and nights the heavenly angels contended with the demons of the evil spirit and hurled them down to hell (Bund. iii. 26). In some degree the Zend tradition may in turn be dependent on the Babylonian myth of the primeval chaos monster Tiāmat which was overcome by Marduk. But the same idea was found in Greece in the wars of the Titans and at a later date among the Mandaeans (Brandt, *Mandäische Schriften*, 128 sqq., 138 sqq., 178, 181 sqq., 231 sq.) and the Manichaeans (Flügel, *Mani*, 87); see Gunkel, *Verständnis*, 57. The myth had an international currency in the ancient world.

xii. 1-5, 13-17. We have already seen (§ 2) that this section could not have been written originally either by a Jew or by a Christian. It was therefore taken over from a heathen source by a Jew or by a Christian.

That it was taken over by a Jew and not by a Christian is probable on the following grounds. 1. It shows signs of being a translation from Hebrew or Aramaic (§ 4). Even if this could be established conclusively, it does not, of course, prove a Jewish original as against a Jewish-Christian, though it makes it more likely. 2. It exhibits several characteristics which differentiate the Jewish and the Christian Messiah. Thus the Messiah is here conceived as playing a passive rôle so far as the present text is concerned (cf. 1 Enoch xc. 37; Shemone Esre, 15 (14); 4 Ezra vii. 28 sq.; 2 Bar. xxix. 3). He is rapt away after His birth: and remains in concealment after His birth.¹ The same three characteristics belong to the Jewish Messiah, but are positively at variance with the universally accepted views of Jesus, the Christian Messiah. 3. The description differs widely

¹ These two facts, though impossible in a first-hand description of Jesus, would be possible in a Jewish apocalypse: for we find a kindred tradition in the Jer. Talmud, Berachoth, 5^a (chap. ii.), the Midrash Echa Rabbati, i. 16, according to which an Arab had come to a Jew at Bethlehem and told him of the destruction of Jerusalem and the birth of the Messiah. Thereupon the Jew went off to Bethlehem and saw the mother of the Messiah; but when he returned a second time he was informed that the child had been carried off by a strong wind. With this legend we might compare the tradition in the Targ. Jon. on Mic. iv. 8, that the Messiah was already born but was concealed on account of the sins of the people; and in Justin, *Dial.* 8, that, according to Trypho, the Messiah was possibly already born but would remain unknown till Elijah came and anointed Him; and in Sanh. 98^b, that He was already born but living in concealment at the gates of Rome. The same idea underlies the statement of certain Jews in John vii. 27, *ὁ δὲ Χριστὸς ὅταν ἔρχηται οὐδεὶς γινώσκει πόθεν ἔσται*, and 2 Bar. xxix. 3; 4 Ezra vii. 28, xiii. 32. The birth of the Messiah, therefore, followed by His sudden disappearance, was an idea familiar to Judaism, but impossible as a purely Christian conception. Whether He remained on earth or was carried off to heaven as in our text is a subordinate question.

from the Christian conception in the way of omission. The Person, life, death, and resurrection of Christ are here wholly ignored. 4. The description of the birth and rapture of the Messiah could well represent an event still impending in the view of the writer (and therefore a Jew), but not in that of a Christian. 5. A Jewish writer could accept the divine figure—a sun-goddess, *in a general sense* as symbolizing the true Israel, since in the O.T. Israel was the spouse of God. But in the N.T. the true Israel is the spouse of Christ.

Hence, since the original of xii. 1-5, 13-17 is alien in nearly every respect to the Christian conception, but shows affinities in certain definite respects to the Jewish, it is immeasurably more probable that the myth was adopted and adapted first by a Jew, then by a Christian. When once it was incorporated in Jewish Apocalyptic, its adoption by our author for his own purposes is easily intelligible. It is only *le premier pas qui coûte*. He sees in it a prophecy of the last times, a prophecy likewise that was coming to fulfilment in the events of the present.

xii. 1-5, 13-17 is a torso. In accordance with the primitive forms of the myth we should expect a return of the Messiah from heaven in order to destroy the Dragon, but this expectation is not fulfilled here or later in our Apocalypse. Christ destroys the two agents of the Dragon, chap. xix., but not the Dragon himself.

§ 8. *The two sections, xii. 1-5, 13-17 and xii. 7-10, 12, were adapted to their new Christian context by the addition of xii. 6, 11, and by changes and additions in xii. 3, 5, 9, 10, 17.*

Since these questions are dealt with in the notes on the text they require no further consideration here.

§ 9. *Whether the sections were first brought into connection by our author, or already formed a unity in a Semitic original is doubtful, though the evidence perhaps points to the former alternative.*

If the two sections existed already as a whole, then our author translated his source and inserted xii. 11 and certain additions in xii. 3, 5, 9, 10, 17 to adapt it to its new context. In this case xii. 6 was already before him and due to the Jewish writer who had joined the two sections.¹ *ὅπου . . . ἐκεῖ* would thus be explained as due to the source as in xii. 14 (see § 4, p. 304). But the other hypothesis, that our author first brought the two sections together, is perhaps preferable. On this hypo-

¹ That the two sections existed already as a whole (whether as Jewish or Christian, in Semitic or Greek) is the view of Weizsäcker, Sabatier, Schoen, Pfeiderer, Gunkel, Wellhausen.

thesis he added xii. 6, 11 and certain clauses in xii. 3, 5, 9, 10, 13, 17. On this hypothesis we could explain in xii. 6 the indefinite Semitic plural *τρέφουσιν* (which our author uses elsewhere, x. 11) as opposed to *τρέφεται* in xii. 14, the use of *ἡτρουμασμένον* (cf. ix. 7, 15, xvi. 12), the different phrasing of the period of the Antichrist, *ἡμέρας χιλίας κτλ.* Cf. xi. 3. The unusual *ὅπου . . . ἐκεῖ* would in that case be simply transferred from xii. 14.

The decision of this question depends on the authorship of xii. 6.

§ 10. *xii. 1-5, 13-17^{ab}—essentially a heathen myth—may have been adopted and adapted originally by a Pharisaic Jew about 67-69 A.D., but xii. 14-16 are meaningless in their present context.*

This is Wellhausen's view as to the date of the entire chapter, and it appears right, though we cannot follow him in regarding the chapter as an original Jewish creation. It was only a Jewish adaptation of a heathen myth—a question which will be discussed presently.

xii. 1-5, 13-17^{ab} represents at the outset two great powers—the sun-goddess and the Dragon, which symbolized for the Jewish adapter the Jewish Community and its spiritual foe, the Antichrist. The Dragon, who after his overthrow in the war in heaven (xii. 4) descended to earth, besets the Jewish Community with a view to destroying the Messiah, who was to come forth from it. But the Messiah who was to be born in the hour of Israel's sorest need, as was foretold in Mic. v. 3, Isa. vii. 14 sqq., was carried off to heaven, and so escaped the dragon, who therefore fell upon the Jewish Community through his agent the Roman Empire. The Pharisees, who were the élite of the nation, fled to the wilderness, xii. 14-16, and so escaped; but the Zealots clung to the Temple, and so were exposed to the fury of the Dragon, xii. 17^{ab} (cf. xi. 1, 2).¹ In its present context (95 A.D.) xii. 17 is reinterpreted, but xii. 14-16 are meaningless.

§ 11. *Original source of xii. 1-5, 13-17^{ab} to be found in a primitive international myth.*

Scholars have sought the source of this chapter variously in Babylonian, Persian, Greek, and Egyptian myths. It is not, however, directly and wholly from any one of these, but from an early international myth. The chief attempts of the above nature are as follows.

¹ The Messiah, according to Jer. Berachoth, f. 5. c. 1, was born on the day of the destruction of Jerusalem.

Babylonian origin.—Gunkel (*Schöpfung*, 379 sqq.) traces the entire chapter to an old Babylonian myth which dealt with the war between Tiāmat, the seven-headed dragon, and the gods, which was not decided till Marduk the god of light arose. In this strife Tiāmat cast down a third of the stars (cf. Dan. viii. 10). Tiāmat was a water monster—a fact which would explain the action of the dragon in xii. 15. The great eagle is the constellation called the Eagle, which Gunkel supposes to have been the servant of Marduk. Tiāmat, knowing the destiny of the child, seeks to kill it the moment it is born, but it is rescued and borne off to a place of safety. Then Tiāmat turns against the mother, but through the help of the eagle and the earth she is saved. Thereupon his fury is directed against the rest of her sons. At last Marduk grows up and returns and overcomes Tiāmat.

But the incurable weakness of this hypothesis is that it is not found in Babylonian mythology, but reconstructed on the basis of the very chapter it is invoked to explain. In that mythology indeed there is found Tiāmat and Marduk and Damkina his mother, who is, in fact, described in terms similar to those in xii. 1. But of her persecution by Tiāmat, because she was about to bear a child dangerous to the dragon, of the removal of the child, and of the flight of the woman into the wilderness, there has not been found a trace in Babylonian mythology. But perhaps the most telling criticism of this hypothesis is to be found in the fact that as the one exclusive explanation of our text it is abandoned by its author. See *Verständnis*, 59 sq.

Zend origin.—Völter (iv. 86 sq.) traces the myth in our text to a Persian origin. Ormuzd and Ahriman contend for “the great kingly glory.” The parallel to this Völter finds in the woman in xii. 1, who represents the theocracy. Ahriman sends Azhi Dahak—the dragon—to secure this treasure. The twelve stars with which the woman was crowned were the twelve constellations created by Ormuzd, while the seven diadems of the dragon had their counterparts in the seven planets which were created by Ahriman.

To the statement that the dragon cast down a third of the stars of heaven, Völter adduces the parallel that in Bund. iii. 11 the serpent stood on a third part of the heaven and sprang therefrom to the earth. So far the parallels are interesting, but of the woman with child, the birth of a son, his removal, the rescue of the mother, there is naturally not a word in Persian mythology in connection with “the great kingly glory” and the serpent. These ideas Völter would trace to Mic. iv. 8-10, though he thinks that our author may have combined the marvellous tradition of the book of Zoroaster with the myth about “the great kingly glory” which Azhi Dahak sought to obtain.

The above hypothesis, though it offers interesting parallels, cannot be accepted as the source of our text.

Greek origin.—Dieterich¹ (*Abrahas*, 117 sqq., *Nekyia*, 217, n. 3) finds the original of chap. xii. in Greek mythology, i.e. in the myth of the birth of Apollo, as transmitted by Hyginus. It was announced in prophecy to Python the son of Earth, the great Dragon, that he should be slain by the son of Leto, who was with child by Zeus. Out of jealousy Hera contrived that Leto could give birth only where the sun shone not, and Python observing that she was soon to have a child pursued her in order to slay her. But Boreas carried her off to Poseidon (cf. xii. 14), who placed her in Ortygia and submerged the island in the sea. Accordingly Python failing to find her returned to Parnassus. On the island, which was brought to the surface by Poseidon, Leto bore Apollo, who burst at once his infant bands and in the fulness of his divine form and strength hastened the fourth day after his birth to Parnassus and slew Python.

Dieterich (*Abrahas*. 120, note 4) recalls also another form of the myth. According to this, owing to the water floods of the chaotic world which Python threw into such an uproar, Leto could not have borne her child had not the earth come to her help and raised up the waste, desolate island of Delos. Further, he adduces the facts that Leto was portrayed with a veil of stars (cf. xii. 1), and that the bronze masterpiece of Euphranor, which Schreiber thinks may have originally stood in Ephesus, represented Leto as fleeing before the dragon with Apollo and Artemis in her arms.

If we may combine the above myths we obtain very striking parallels to chap. xii., and particularly so if we recognize that xii. 1-5, 13-17^{ab} is from a distinct source, as Dieterich did not. The chief figures, such as the woman, the child, the persecuting dragon, correspond closely to both: also individual traits, such as the assisted flight of the woman, the waters menacing the woman, the help given by the earth to the woman. It is only indeed by the combination of conflicting forms of the Greek myth that we can arrive at the above remarkable parallels. For one form of the Greek myth (that on the coin) represents Apollo as already born before Leto's flight, whereas another represents his birth as after it. One form represents the waters as helpful to her, the other as hostile. Both forms agree in making an island the place of refuge and not the wilderness as in our text. Notwithstanding, the Greek myth stands incomparably nearer to our text than does the Babylonian or Persian.

¹ This view was propounded in 1794 by Dupuis, *Origine de tous les cults*, iii. 49, and in 1819 by Richter, *Das Christenthum u. d. ältesten Religionen d. Orients*, 212, and adopted by O. Pfeleiderer (*Das Christenbild des urchristlichen Glaubens*, 1903, 38 sqq.).

Again, if our conclusions above as to a Jewish source of xii. 1-5, 13-17^{ab} are valid, then the ultimate derivation of xii. 1-5, 13-17^{ab} from a Greek myth through this source is quite possible; and such an hypothesis is free from the chief objection that told against Dieterich's theory, that the entire chap. xii. was taken over first hand from a Greek myth by a Christian Apocalypticist.

Egyptian source.—Bousset (354 sq.) has recourse to Egyptian mythology for the source of our text, and finds in the myth of Hathor, Osiris, Horus and Set as startling parallels as Dieterich found in the Greek myth. The woman, who is the mother of the child, is the goddess Hathor (*i.e.* Isis), who is represented with a sun upon her head (Brugsch, *Rel. u. Mythol. d. Ägypten*, 211); cf. xii. 1. The child is Horus, the son of Osiris; the dragon is Typhon (Set), the favourite symbols for whom are the dragon, serpent, or crocodile (*op. cit.* 709). Set was usually described as red (710); cf. Plutarch, *De Iside*, 22, 30. After Osiris (the declining sun) is slain by Set, Isis though pursued by Typhon collects the bones of Osiris, and in a marvellous manner bears the child, the young sun-god. Then she escapes on a boat of papyrus, makes her way through the marshes and gets safe to a legendary floating island, Chemnis (*op. cit.* 400 sq.). According to another variant, Hathor does not bear Horus till she reaches Chemnis (403, 405), while an Osiris hymn represents Hathor as producing wind with her wings¹ (398) in her flight, and as bearing Horus in the solitude whither she had fled. Finally, Horus overcomes Typhon (as Apollo the Python), 399, 717, 721. Typhon is subsequently imprisoned and destroyed by fire (722).

As in the Greek myth, the woman flees to an island and not into the wilderness as in our text. Similarly Horus (like Apollo) is not separated from Hathor as the child is from the woman in our text. Finally, water is not hurled after Hathor to destroy her; on the contrary, she finds deliverance on the face of the waters.

Conclusion.—From the foregoing discussion it follows that the myth in chap. xii. 1-5, 12-17^{ab} is not borrowed *wholly and directly* from any of the above sources, but that it is akin to elements in all of them cannot be denied. The oldest of the four is in all probability the Babylonian, but at a very early date the tradition of a World-Redeemer had become *international*. So Gunkel, abandoning the strict derivation of our text from the primitive Babylonian myth, now holds (*Verständnis*, 55), and so also Cheyne (*Bible Problems*, 195, 206) and Clemen (*Erklärung. d. NT* 237). This primitive myth is in reality "the old story of the conflict between light and darkness, order and disorder, transferred to the

¹ As Cheyne (*Bible Problems*, 199) points out, the vulture was the second bird of Hathor-Nechbit. This recalls "the wings of the great eagle," xii. 14.

latter days and adapted by spiritualisation . . . to the wants of faithful Jews" (Cheyne, *op. cit.* 80). Into this primitive international tradition Judaism had read its own religious history and its longings for a divine Redeemer (cf. Gunkel, *op. cit.* 58).

On the general meaning of this chapter see Introduction, § 1.

1. καὶ σημεῖον μέγα ὤφθη ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, γυνὴ περιβεβλημένη τὸν ἥλιον, καὶ ἡ σελήνη ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν αὐτῆς, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτῆς στέφανος ὁστέρων δώδεκα.

This verse is to be taken as constituting a complete sentence. γυνὴ περιβεβλημένη is a phrase standing in apposition to σημεῖον μέγα. We have exactly the same construction in xv. 1, εἶδον ἄλλο σημεῖον . . . ἀγγέλους ἑπτά, save that the verb in xv. 1 is active, whereas in xii. 1 it is passive. Most editors connect the καὶ ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα of 2 with περιβεβλημένη κτλ. and treat it as merely a participial phrase, but wrongly. In καὶ ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα the participle stands for a finite verb, as in i. 16, vi. 2, etc. σημεῖον has two meanings in our Apocalypse. In xii. 1, 3, xv. 1, it seems to denote a heavenly marvel; but in xiii. 13, 14, xvi. 14, xix. 20, a sign wrought by the Antichrist or his agents in order to deceive the inhabitants of the earth. The latter is thus a caricature of the sign wrought by Christ: cf. John ii. 11, 23, etc. The word in this latter sense does not naturally occur till the Satanic reign begins on earth. With the first meaning cf. σημεῖον ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, Luke xi. 16; Mark viii. 11; Matt. xvi. 1; τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου (Matt. xxiv. 30).

The first Woe was introduced by καὶ εἶδον (ix. 1), the second by καὶ ἤκουσα, ix. 13, whereas the third opens with καὶ σημεῖον μέγα ὤφθη. We have come at last to the climax of the apocalyptic vision.

ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ. This is taken as: 1 = "in the heaven" (so De Wette, Düsterdieck, Spitta, Gunkel, B. Weiss, Holtzmann). In this case the scene of action is the same as in xi. 19, and the ornaments of the woman—the sun, moon, and twelve stars—fall in fitly with this tradition; or 2 as = "on the heaven," i.e. "in the sky" (so Vischer, Völter, Bousset, Swete, J. Weiss, Anderson Scott). In favour of this view is the fact that the woman flies into the wilderness, which cannot be supposed to be in heaven. But in the original context of this tradition, as Wellhausen (p. 19) points out, while heaven was clearly the scene of action in xii. 1–3, in 4 a descent to earth on the part of the woman and the Dragon is silently presupposed, as well as the overthrow of the latter. But the overthrow of the Dragon was omitted here by the Seer since he deals with it later in xii. 7 sq.

It is hard to determine the place of the Seer during the various scenes in this chapter, since he is using independent traditions in a very abbreviated form. See note on iv. 2, p. 109.

γυνή περιβεβλημένη τὸν ἥλιον κτλ. In its *present* context this woman¹ represents the true Israel or the community of believers. This community embraces Jewish and Gentile Christians, all of whom are to undergo the last great tribulation. But the original expectation of the source xii. 1-5, 13-17 (67-69 A.D.), that the Jewish Christians would escape (see xii. 14-16 notes, *Introd.* § 10), survives in the text and is meaningless in 95 A.D. "The rest of her seed" (=originally "Gentile Christians") in xii. 17 must in its present context be taken as including all Christians.

But since the woman is represented as the mother of the Messiah, the community which she symbolizes must embrace the true O.T. Israel. The conception in the present context is very elastic. The Seer did not here create his symbols freely, but used those that had come to him by tradition. J. Weiss (p. 137) takes the woman to symbolize the heavenly Jerusalem, which St. Paul calls "our mother" (Gal. iv. 26), and which thus forms a contrast to the woman that symbolizes Babylon or Rome in chap. xvii. But this cannot have been the original meaning of the description in our text. If the Seer had been creating freely, he would not have introduced into the picture a number of notable characteristics which were without further significance for his purpose, and were, therefore, wholly superfluous. Thus the woman wearing a crown of twelve stars, clothed with the sun, and having the moon beneath her feet, the heads, horns, and diadems of the dragon, the wings of the great eagle, the stream cast forth from the mouth of the dragon after the woman and swallowed up by the earth, are ideas that can be best explained from a mythological background. See Introduction to this chapter, p. 310 sqq., for the larger consideration of these questions. Here, however, we should observe that in the crown of twelve stars we are probably to recognize the twelve signs of the zodiac, as Gunkel (*Schöpfung*, 386), Zimmern (*K.A.T.*³ 360), Bousset, and Jeremias (*Babylonisches*, 35 sq.) have done. Jeremias (*Babylonisches*, 35 sq.) draws attention to the fact that, according to Martianus Capella (*De Nupt. Philol. et Merc.* i. 75), the Assyrian Juno wore a crown with twelve precious stones, amongst which were the zmaragdus, jasper, hyacinth. These stones, Clemen (*Erklärung d. N.T.* p. 78) states, have been shown by

¹ This designation of the theocratic community by γυνή has parallels in Isa. liv. 5; Jer. iii. 6-10; Ezek. xvi. 8^b; Hos. ii. 19, 20. Zion appears as a woman in the vision in 4 Ezra ix. 38-x. 59. The spiritual Israel was the spouse of God in the O.T. The true Israel in the N.T. becomes the spouse of Christ: cf. Apoc. xix. 7, xxi. 9. The blending of the O.T. conception with that of the N.T. introduces confusion. But this is owing to the use of the Jewish source.

Kircher (*Oedipus Aegyptiacus*, 1653, ii. 177 sq.) to correspond to the twelve signs of the zodiac. The twelve stones on the breastplate of the high priest are interpreted by Philo (*Vita Mos.* iii. 14) and Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 7. 7) of these signs. The original, then, of the woman in our text was a goddess,¹ whose crown was studded with the signs of the zodiac, whose body was clothed with the sun, and whose feet rested on the moon as a footstool.

With the actual phrase *περιβεβλημένη τὸν ἥλιον* cf. Ps. ciii. (civ.) 2, *ἀναβαλλόμενος φῶς ὡς ἱμάτιον*. Το ἡ σελήνη ὑποκάτω . . . δώδεκα we have a remarkable parallel in T. Naph. v. 3-4, ὁ Λεὺ ἐκράτησε τὸν ἥλιον καὶ ὁ Ἰούδας φθάσας ἐπίασε τὴν σελήνην, καὶ ὑψώθησαν ἀμφοτέρω σὺν αὐτοῖς. 4, καὶ ὄντος τοῦ Λεὺ ὡς ὁ ἥλιος, ἰδοὺ νῆος τις ἐπιδίδωσιν αὐτῷ βᾶτα φοινίκων δώδεκα, καὶ Ἰούδας ἐγένετο λαμπρὸς ὡς ἡ σελήνη, καὶ ἦσαν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτῶν (αὐτοῦ, δά, Α) δώδεκα ἀκτῖνες.

Here Levi is like the sun, and receives twelve branches of palm, and Judah is bright like the moon, and beneath his (or "their") feet are twelve rays of light. The symbolism in both passages is the same. The twelve ἀκτῖνες, which are evidently the twelve "stars" in our text, seem to symbolize in both passages the twelve tribes. The diction recalls Joseph's dream: Gen. xxxvii. 9, ὁ ἥλιος καὶ ἡ σελήνη καὶ ἑνδεκα ἀστέρες.

2. καὶ ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα καὶ κράζει ὀδίνουσα καὶ βασανιζομένη τεκεῖν.

ἔχουσα is here used as a finite verb by a Semiticism; for in Biblical Aramaic and Syriac the participle is more frequently used as a finite verb than in its proper signification. This usage is found in late Biblical Hebrew, and frequently in Mishnaic Hebrew. It is reflected occasionally in the Greek translations: cf. Dan. ii. 21, where the four Aramaic participles (= four finite verbs) are rendered in the LXX by one finite verb and three participles, and by Theodotion by three finite verbs and one participle: cf. also ii. 22, iii. 9, 16, vi. 10, vii. 7 (here three participles = finite verbs are rendered by two participles and one finite verb). This Semiticism is found again in our text in iv. 7, 8, x. 2, xxi. 12, 14. Instances of this usage are to be found in St. Paul; cf. 2 Cor. v. 12, vii. 5. See Blass, *Gram.* 284 sq.

With σημεῖον . . . ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα cf. Isa. vii. 14, δώσει κύριος αὐτοὺς ὑμῖν σημεῖον· ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἔξει (λήμψεται, B) καὶ τέξεται υἱόν.

¹ Amongst the Egyptians the goddess Hathor is represented with the sun upon her head (Brugsch, *Rel. und Myth. d. alten Aegypten*, 211); amongst the Greeks, Leto wears a veil of stars (Dieterich, *Abrazas*, 120, n. 4), whilst among the Babylonians Damkina, the mother of Marduk, is called "the lady of the heavenly tiara" (*K.A.T.* 360, n. 3).

There are many close parallels in the O.T. in which the theocratic community is described as a travailing woman. Cf. Isa. xxvi. 17, *ὡς ἡ ὀδίνουσα ἐγγίζει τοῦ τεκεῖν καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ὥδινι αὐτῆς ἐπέκραξεν* . . . *ἐν γαστρὶ ἐλάβομεν καὶ ὠδινήσαμεν*: Mic. iv. 10, *ὠδινε* . . . *θυγάτηρ Σειῶν ὡς τίκτουσα*: Isa. lxvi. 7, *πρὶν τὴν ὠδίνουσαν τεκεῖν, πρὶν ἐλθεῖν τὸν πόνον τῶν ὠδίνων, ἐξέφυγεν καὶ ἔτεκεν ἄρσεν*.

The above passages, which compare the theocratic community to a woman in travail (cf. also Jer. iv. 31, xiii. 21, xxii. 23; Isa. xiii. 8, xxi. 3; Hos. xiii. 13), and the birth of the new Israel to that of a man child (Isa. lxvi. 7 sq.), point to the fact that this vision in its Jewish form dealt with the expected birth of the Messiah from the Jewish nation, and that in its present and Christian context it refers to the birth of Christ.

As regards the construction, *τεκεῖν* is generally taken as an exegetical infinitive dependent on *βασανιζομένη*. Perhaps it would be best to take it closely with *κράζει*. Thus we should have: "and cried in her travail and pain to be delivered." The text seems to be based on Isa. xxvi. 17 but not on the LXX, and would = *וְהָיָה הָאִשָּׁה הַזֹּאת רַגְלָהּ בְּרַגְלֶיהָ*. *βασανίζω* is used of the pangs of childbirth in profane Greek (see Thayer *in loc.*) but not in the LXX or N.T. Or else *τεκεῖν* is to be translated according to the familiar Hebrew idiom (= *וְהָיָה*) "ready to be delivered."

8. καὶ ὤφθη ἄλλο σημεῖον ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, καὶ ἰδοὺ δράκων μέγας πυρρός, ἔχων κεφαλὰς ἑπτὰ καὶ κέρατα δέκα, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτοῦ ἑπτὰ διαδήματα.

The sevenheaded Dragon is ultimately derived from Babylonian mythology. The monster appears as the chief enemy of God in the O.T., and is variously designated or hinted at under such titles as Rahab, Isa. li. 9-10; Ps. lxxxix. 10; Job xxvi. 12-13, etc.: Leviathan, Ps. lxxiv. 12-19; Isa. xxvii. 1: Behemoth, Job xl. 15-24: the dragon in the sea, Job vii. 12; Ezek. xxix. 3-6, xxxii. 2-8; Jer. li. 34, 36, 42 (cf. Pss. Sol. ii. 28-34): the Serpent, Amos ix. 2 sqq. (see Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, 29-82; Genesis⁸, 121 sqq.; Zimmern, *K.A.T.*⁸ 507 sqq.; Jeremias, *Das A.T.*² 177 sqq.; Clemen, *Religionsgeschichtliche Erklärung des N.T.* 99 sqq.).

The many names by which this monster was designated point to a manifoldness of the tradition. The dragon appears in some passages as a personification of the ocean, and specially of the primeval ocean, Isa. li. 9-10; Ps. lxxxix. 10 sqq.; Job xxvi. 12, etc.: in others as a dweller in the Nile, and so Egypt is named Rahab, Isa. xxx. 7; Ps. lxxxvii. 4: in others as the monster which prevents the rising of the sun, Job iii. 8, or from which the darkness comes, Job xxvi. 13. Hence Gunkel concludes (Genesis⁸ 122) that other mythologies in addition to that

of Babylon may have contributed towards the dragon myth in the O.T.

The dragon and the primeval ocean are brought together in Isa. li. 9 sq. These were overcome by Yahweh in the prehistoric foretime. And what happened at the beginning of days will be repeated on a greater scale at the end of time. The primeval strife between Yahweh and the powers of chaos is transformed into a final struggle between God and Satan at the world's close, in which the latter will manifest himself as a world-power, hostile first to Judaism and then to the Christian Community. The transformation of cosmological myth into eschatological doctrine is found also in Isa. xi. 6-8, lxv. 25, Hos. ii. 18-22, which assign to the blessed coming time the peace that reigned in Eden; in Isa. lxv. 17, lxvi. 22; 1 Enoch xci. 16, where the creation of the foretime is to be succeeded by the creation of a new heavens and a new earth.

The manifoldness of the ancient eschatological myth is to some extent repeated in the eschatological expectation. Thus in Isa. xxvii. 1, it is said that "in that day Yahweh with His sore and great and strong sword shall punish leviathan, the swift serpent, and leviathan, the crooked serpent, and He shall slay the dragon that is in the sea." Similarly in our Apocalypse we have a variety of evil agents—the Dragon, *i.e.* Satan, and his two agents, the Beast and the False Prophet. The Beast was originally none other than the dragon himself, the chaos monster, since he came up from the sea, xiii. 1. As such he pours forth a flood of water from his mouth after the woman, xii. 15. The same idea seems to underlie xvii. 1.

δράκων . . . πυρρός κτλ. The fiery red or scarlet colour, xvii. 3, of the dragon may (*K.A.T.*³ 503 sq. 512) go back to the mušruššu tâmtim, the "raging" or "red gleaming" serpent, which was set up in the Temple of Marduk, Esagil, and is to be regarded as the chaos monster since with the Babylonians no monster had a serpent-like form. The Babylonian representations of this mušruššu have two horns—a feature with which we may compare the horns in our text. But the number ten comes most probably from Dan. vii. 7, 24. The Babylonian tradition speaks also of the mušmahḥa, the "great serpent" with "seven heads."¹ Zimmern (*K.A.T.*³ 507, 512) takes these to be descriptions of one and the same mythological chaos monster. The combined characteristics of these two conceptions serve to account for the colour² of the dragon in our text, the number of

¹ In the Gnostic Pistis Sophia (ed. Schmidt, lxxxviii. 34) a serpent is mentioned having the form of "a basilisk with seven heads." Wetstein quotes Qiddushim 29^b where a demon with seven heads appears

² But the red colour of the Dragon is found in the Egyptian myth. The

his heads and the fact that he was horned. The idea, therefore, in our text is composite, and embraces characteristics (*i.e.* ten horns and seven heads) that cannot be reconciled or at all events understood. If the writer had been creating freely the conception before us, we should naturally have expected the Dragon to have had seven heads and seven and not ten horns. But the number ten has come from tradition, *i.e.* Dan. vii. 7, 24.

καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτοῦ ἑπτὰ διαδήματα. This clause cannot be illustrated from any ancient source. But its presence here is not difficult in itself. If the Christ has διαδήματα πολλά, xix. 12, the Dragon, His great foe, would not unnaturally be represented as likewise crowned with diadems. But we cannot in this way explain xiii. 1, where the ten horns of the beast are similarly crowned, and where these ten horns appear to refer to the Parthian kings. It is not improbable that both here and in xiii. 1 the clauses are later interpolations, and from the same hand that was at work in i. 20, viii. 2, xvii. 9. The position of the ἑπτὰ (in xiii. 1 of the δέκα) before the noun and without the article is difficult. As a rule our author placed ἑπτὰ after its noun when anarthrous. See, however, footnote on viii. 2.

4. καὶ ἡ οὐρὰ αὐτοῦ σύρει τὸ τρίτον τῶν ἀστέρων τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ἔβαλεν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν γῆν. καὶ ὁ δράκων ἔστηκεν ἐνώπιον τῆς γυναίκος τῆς μελλούσης τεκεῖν, ἵνα ὅταν τέκῃ τὸ τέκνον αὐτῆς καταφάγῃ.

In the first clause we have not only a reference to but a loose rendering of Dan. viii. 10, where it is said of the little horn מְצַחֵת מְצַחֵת לְמַחֵת מְצַחֵת לְמַחֵת. Since both the LXX and Theodotion give here wholly divergent renderings resting on a different text, the rendering in our text is an independent version. The third part of mankind was destroyed after the sixth (*i.e.* second) Trumpet: here the third part of the stars was cast down after the seventh (*i.e.* third).

To this last statement we have a remarkable parallel in Bund. iii. 11, "He (the evil spirit) stood upon one third of the inside of the sky, and he sprang like a snake out of the sky down to the earth."

καὶ ἡ οὐρὰ αὐτοῦ σύρει . . . εἰς τὴν γῆν. These words refer to a war in heaven between the good angels and Satan and his angels, and it is implied that the latter were cast down to earth, where already the woman is supposed to be, and that it was not till then that the woman brought forth her child. When the child was born He was carried off to the throne of God. Then in

dragon Typhon which sought to slay Horus the child of Hathor was according to Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride*, 22, 30) of a red colour. See Gunkel, *Zum Verständnis*, 57, note.

xii. 7 sqq. a second war in heaven is recounted. This second was intended by our author to be understood as Satan storming heaven in pursuit of the child. Thus xii. 4 would refer to the primeval war in heaven when Satan was hurled down from his first abode to earth, and xii. 7 sqq. to Satan's final attempt to storm heaven, and his final overthrow after the birth of the child. The story is told in symbolic language. The birth of the child marks the end of Satan's power in heaven. With this idea we might compare our Lord's language, Luke x. 18, *ἐθεώρουν τὸν Σατανᾶν . . . ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πεσόντα*. But originally xii. 4^{ab} and xii. 7 sqq. were doublets, and referred to one and the same war in heaven. xii. 7-9 had originally no reference whatever to the child, nor were Michael and his angels in the least conscious that they were fighting on His behalf, nor is it anywhere stated that the dragon was overthrown because of his enmity to the child.

Behind this casting down of the stars Gunkel (*Schöpfung*, 387) would discover an astrological myth, which accounted for the gap in the starry heaven. In the present context this subject of a war in heaven is rehandled in xii. 7-10, 12.

ὁ δράκων ἔστηκεν ἐνώπιον τῆς γυναίκος. In their present context these words are, as J. Weiss, p. 83, writes, intended to teach that the enmity of mankind which Jesus had to endure was in reality an enmity of the devil (cf. Luke xxii. 1 sqq.; John xiii. 27) which had beset Him from the beginning (cf. Luke iv. 13; Mt. ii. 4). But this was not their original meaning. See *Introduct. to Chapter*, § 10, p. 310.

δ. καὶ ἔτεκεν υἱόν, ἄρσεν, ὃς μέλλει ποιμαίνειν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ· καὶ ἡρπάσθη τὸ τέκνον αὐτῆς πρὸς τὸν θεόν καὶ πρὸς τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ.

The peculiar phrase υἱόν, ἄρσεν is found also in Tob. vi. 12 (κ) καὶ υἱὸς ἄρσεν οὐδὲ θυγάτηρ ὑπάρχει αὐτῷ, and the corresponding Hebrew in Jer. xx. 15, רִכְז בֶּן, where the LXX gives only ἄρσεν (B, ἄρσεν), but the Vulgate Peshitto and Targum of Jonathan support the text. Notwithstanding the text is peculiar. The neuter ἄρσεν is also peculiar. Yet we find it in the LXX, Isa. lxvii. 7, ἐξέφυγε καὶ ἔτεκεν ἄρσεν: Jer. xxxvii. (xxx.) 6.

ὃς μέλλει ποιμαίνειν . . . σιδηρᾷ. This clause which comes from the hand of our author (cf. ii. 27; xix. 15) and refers to Christ, makes clear the meaning which he attaches to the text. It is just this child (Ps. ii. 9) that will with irresistible power overcome the Antichrist and his heathen followers.

ἡρπάσθη κτλ. Our author makes these words refer to the removal of Christ from the sphere of Satan's power and to His ascension. Thus the whole life of Christ and all His redemptive activities are ignored and only His birth and ascension are here mentioned. Jesus, moreover, is represented as a child in need

of protection, and as such rapt to heaven. These facts can only be explained by the hypothesis that our author did not write this chapter himself, but by his editorial additions made the text, which had originally quite a different meaning, refer to Christ's birth and ascension. See Introd. to Chapter. ἀρπάζω is used in the same sense as in our text in 2 Cor. xii. 2, 4; 1 Thess. iv. 17; Acts viii. 39.

καὶ πρὸς τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ = "even unto His throne." It is probably an addition of our author: cf. iii. 21, v. 1, vii. 10, and possibly the idea in xxii. 1, 3, τοῦ θρόνου τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀρνίου.

Θ. καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἔφυγεν εἰς τὴν ἔρημον, ὅπου ἔχει ἐκεῖ τόπον ἡτοιμασμένον ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἵνα ἐκεῖ τρέφωσιν αὐτὴν ἡμέρας χιλίας διακοσίας ἐξήκοντα.

The Church is to be sheltered from persecution during the reign of Antichrist. But this statement does not accord with our author's teaching elsewhere. See notes on 14-16 (p. 330), and on 17 (p. 332).

This verse is a doublet (see pp. 301, 304) of xii. 13^b, 14, and anticipates *what takes place after the conflict in heaven about to be described*. On the meaning of the γυνή here, see note, p. 315.

The 1260 days is an interpretation of the corresponding but less definite phrase in 14. It denotes the period of the Antichrist's reign.

τόπον ἡτοιμασμένον ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ in xiii. 6 is an expansion and explanation of εἰς τὸν τόπον αὐτῆς in 14. The ἀπό (= ὑπό) after a passive verb—very rare in N.T.—belongs to the style of our author (see ix. 18, note). The phrase τόπον ἡτοιμασμένον is found in John xiv. 2, 3.

7. καὶ ἐγένετο πόλεμος ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ.

ὁ Μιχαὴλ καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ τοῦ πολεμῆσαι μετὰ τοῦ δράκοντος,

καὶ ὁ δράκων ἐπολέμησεν καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ, θ. καὶ οὐκ ἴσχυσεν.

οὐδὲ τόπος εὐρέθη αὐτῶν ἔτι ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ.

καὶ ἐγένετο πόλεμος . . . ὁ Μιχαὴλ . . . τοῦ πολεμῆσαι. We have here an abnormal construction. Some scholars compare Acts x. 25, ἐγένετο τοῦ εἰσελθεῖν τὸν Πέτρον, but this construction is not a true parallel.

Düsterdieck makes many suggestions. He proposes ἐπολέμῃσαν as the original text, and explains the τοῦ as a dittograph of αὐτοῦ preceding it: or he suggests the loss of ἀνέστησαν or ἦλθον (so Swete) before τοῦ πολεμῆσαι: or again, the excision of πόλεμος ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ as a marginal gloss. Viteau (*Études*, i. 168) assumes the loss of ἦσαν, but Bousset and Swete think it better to repeat ἐγένετο with Μιχαήλ. Buttmann and Blass take τοῦ

πολεμῆσαι as depending on ἐγένετο πόλεμος and ὁ Μιχαὴλ καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ as the subject of πολεμῆσαι. "There was war in heaven, so that Michael and his angels fought," etc. The nom. would then appear here irregularly for the acc., *i.e.* τοῦ πολεμῆσαι τὸν Μιχαὴλ καὶ τοὺς ἄγγελους αὐτοῦ. Robertson, *Gram.* 1066, takes τοῦ πολεμῆσαι to be "in explanatory apposition with πόλεμος," but none of the examples he gives from the LXX are parallels. Herein he follows Moulton², 218, who seeks to illustrate the construction by a quotation from Virgil which is not analogous. His illustration of this abnormal Greek by an abnormal piece of English—"There will be a cricket match—the champions to play the rest," throws no light on the difficulty.

But all these explanations are only counsels of despair. The first step to the true explanation was taken by Ewald, Bleek, and Züllig, who recognized τοῦ πολεμῆσαι as a Hebraism = מִלְחָמָה = "they had to fight." But none of these scholars attempted to deal with the chief difficulty, *i.e.* the nominatives ὁ Μιχαὴλ καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ before τοῦ πολεμῆσαι. Some acquaintance with the LXX would have solved this difficulty. So far from being a *unique* construction in Greek, it is a construction found several times in the LXX, and found as a *literal reproduction of a pure Hebraism*. Thus in Hos. ix. 13 we have Ἐφραίμ τοῦ ἐξαγαγεῖν (= אֶפְרַיִם לְהוֹצִיא), "Ephraim must bring forth," P. xxv. 14, ἡ διαθήκη αὐτοῦ τοῦ δηλῶσαι¹ (cf. Vulg. = בְּרִיתוֹ לְהוֹדִיעַם): 1 Chron. ix. 25, ἀδελφοὶ αὐτῶν . . . τοῦ εἰσπορεύεσθαι κατὰ ἐπτά ἡμέρας (= לָבוֹא לִשְׁבַע יָמִים), "their brethren had to come in . . . every seven days": Eccles. iii. 15, ὅσα τοῦ γίνεσθαι ἤδη γέγονε (= אֲשֶׁר לִהְיוֹת כְּבָר חִיה), "what is to be hath already been." Thus in the Hebrew the subject before ל and the inf. is in the nom., and the Greek translators have literally reproduced this idiom in the LXX.

There can, therefore, be no doubt that we have here a literal Greek reproduction of a pure Hebraism, which recurs in a less correct form in xii. 10 (see note). Hence this passage admits of easy retroversion into Hebrew.

7 ותהי מלחמה בשמים
מיכאל ומלאכיו להלחם בתנין
8 ותהנין נחם ומלאכיו ולא יכל
תם מקומם לא נמצא עוד בשמים

7. "And war burst forth in heaven:

Michael and his angels had to fight with the Dragon,

8. And the Dragon," etc.

¹ Here the LXX and the Vulg. take בְּרִיתוֹ in the nom., whereas modern scholars render it as the acc. after להודיעם.

πόλεμος ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ. Battles in the sky are referred to in 2 Macc. v. 2 sq.; Joseph. *B.J.* vi. 5. 3; Sibyll. iii. 796-808, ἐν νεφέλῃ δ' ὄψεσθε μάχην πεζῶν τε καὶ ἵππων. But our text refers not to a mere spectacle in the sky but to an actual war. Many of the features in this account we can find in pre-Christian Judaism. i. Thus Michael, who was earlier conceived as the patron angel of Israel as opposed to the patron angels of the Gentiles, came later to be regarded as the guardian of the righteous of all nations—a conception which set Michael in direct antagonism to Satan, the protagonist of evil. ii. Michael's greatest struggle was to take place in the last days on behalf of Israel. If this expectation is combined with the preceding, the conflict of Michael and Satan is to come to a climax in the last days. iii. According to Jewish tradition Satan was cast down from heaven in the beginning of time, but according to a widely attested belief he had still access to heaven. The fusion of these two beliefs could readily issue in the eschatological expectation that Satan was to be cast down from heaven in the last times, and, if we take the evidence of i. and ii. into account, his great angelic opponent was to be Michael.

i. In Dan. x. 13, 21, xii. 1 Michael is described as the guardian angel of Israel, and fights on their behalf against the guardian angels of the Gentile nations, Dan. x.-xii. But in 1 Enoch xx. 5 he is represented not as the patron angel of Israel, but as the patron angel of the saints in Israel. Furthermore, he is expressly distinguished from the seventy angelic patrons of the nations (Deut. xxxii. 8-9 LXX; Sir. xvii. 17; Jub. xv. 31-32), since Israel is not put under an angelic patron like the nations but is God's own portion. But another stage still in the development emerges. In the larger ethical universalism of the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs, Michael is regarded not merely as the intercessor on behalf of the saints in Israel but of the righteous in all nations, T. Levi v. 7, as the mediator between God and man, T. Dan vi. 2. This radical change of conception brought with it of necessity other changes. Michael's antagonists are no longer the patron angels of the nations but the spiritual foe—first of the righteous Israelite and next of the righteous of all nations. In either case alike this foe is Mastema (Jub. x. 8, 11), or Beliar, *i.e.* Satan,¹ T. Dan vi. 1 (T. Benj. vi. 1). Thus Michael is the angelic representative of the power of goodness in the strife with evil, and as such fights with Satan. This conception, which is that which appears in our text, had already been arrived at in Judaism. See my edition of the *Testaments*

¹ In later Judaism Michael's opponent is frequently called מַסְתֵּמָה מְרִינָה, which is practically = δ δφης δ ἀρχαίος. See Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, i. 822, 826, 837, 842.

XII Patriarchs, pp. 39-40, 132; Lueken, *Michael*, 23-30; Bousset, *Religion des Judenthums*, 320 sq.

ii. The intervention of Michael in the last times of greatest need is referred to already in Dan. xii. 1; 1 Enoch xc. 14, and later in Ass. Mos. x. 2.¹

iii. Once more we find in 2 Enoch xxix. 4-5 and in the Book of Adam and Eve i. 6. (Malan's transl.) the statement that Satan once attempted to set his throne on an equality with that of God, and was thereupon hurled down from heaven. But alongside this tradition there existed the belief that Satan had still his place in heaven: cf. Job i. 6, 7; Zech. iii. 1 sqq.; 1 Enoch xl. 7 (Eph. i. 3, 10, ii. 6, iii. 10, vi. 12; Asc. Isa. vii. 9 sqq.; 2 Enoch vii. 1). The existence of these two views in Judaism naturally led to their fusion in an eschatological expectation, such as we find in our text, according to which Satan is to be cast down from heaven by Michael in the first of the last great final struggles between the Kingdom of God and Satan.² With this conception we might compare the spiritual form given to it by our Lord in Luke x. 18, *ἰθεώρουν τὸν Σατανᾶν ὡς ἀστραπὴν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πεσόντα*, and John xii. 31, *νῦν ὁ ἀρχὼν τοῦ κόσμου τούτου ἐκβληθήσεται ἔξω*.

These words mean that evil is already hurled from its seat of power which it had hitherto held, and that the first and most important stage in the conquest of Satan had already been achieved. His sphere is henceforth more limited.

To the cosmological myth referred to above there are parallels in the Persian mythology where Ahriman in the beginning of the world's history storms heaven and is hurled down, Bund. iii. 11, 26; and in those of the Manichaeans, Mandaeans, and Greeks.

But in the Persian religion we find not only the cosmological myth but also this eschatological expectation. In the last days there was to be war in heaven, Ahuramazda and the Amshaspands were to contend with Angra Mainyu and his followers and overcome and destroy both him and the serpent Gokihar (see Böklen, *Verwandschaft d. jüd.—Christlichen mit d. Parsischen Eschatologie*, 125 sqq.).

8. *ἰσχυσεν* = *לָחַץ*, as in Ps. xiii. 4; Dan. vii. 21. This Hebrew

¹ This expectation appears also in the LXX and Theod. renderings of Dan. viii. 11, *ὡς ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος ῥύσεται* (Theod. *ῥύσῃται*) *τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν*, though the Hebrew is quite different. This designation of Michael as "the captain of the host" or "chief captain" appears in 2 Enoch xxii. 6, xxxiii. 10. Thus the LXX expected Michael to free Israel from its subjection to Antiochus.

² In the Pesik. R. iii. 6 (ed. Friedmann, p. 161^b) Satan declares that he and his angels will be cast down to hell by the Messiah (see *Jewish Encyc.* xi. 70): cf. Lueken, *Michael*, 29.

verb is used absolutely in the sense of "to be victorious" in Gen. xxx. 8, xxxii. 28; Hos. xii. 4, etc. ἐπολέμησεν . . . καὶ οὐκ ἴσχυσεν recalls Dan. vii. 21, קַיִן הָיָה . . . בְּרַךְ אֶרֶץ, Theod. ἐπὶ αἰ πόλεμον . . . καὶ ἴσχυσεν. οὐδὲ τόπος εὐρέθη κτλ. This phrase, which is found in Dan. ii. 35 (cf. Zech. x. 10), recurs in xx. 11.

Θ. καὶ ἐβλήθη ὁ δράκων ὁ μέγας, ὁ ὄφης ὁ ἀρχαῖος, ὁ καλούμενος Διάβολος
καὶ ὁ Σατανᾶς, ὁ πλανῶν τὴν οἰκουμένην δλην—ἐβλήθη
εἰς τὴν γῆν
καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐβλήθησαν.

On the casting down of Satan see note on ver. 8. The earth is now to be the scene of his activities. The ὁ μέγας points back to ver. 3, ἰδοὺ δράκων μέγας. It is not improbable that the words ὁ ὄφης . . . ἐβλήθη are an addition on the part of our author. See p. 309 sq. The diction and ideas are essentially his. In that case the original of ver. 9 ran—

καὶ ἐβλήθη ὁ δράκων ὁ μέγας εἰς τὴν γῆν
καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐβλήθησαν.

ὁ ὄφης . . . Διάβολος καὶ ὁ Σατανᾶς. Cf. xx. 2. First of all, διάβολος is the LXX rendering of נָחָשׁ. Hence διάβολος and Σατανᾶς are synonymous in our text. We have now to consider the connections here established between Σατανᾶς and ὁ ὄφης ὁ ἀρχαῖος. The conceptions were originally quite distinct. The old serpent—cf. the Rabbinical expressions נִשְׁמֵשֶׁת עֲרִיכָה and נִשְׁמֵשֶׁת עֲרִיכָה: see Wetstein and Schöttgen *in loc.*—is manifestly the serpent in Gen. iii. 1 sq. that tempted Eve. The serpent in this passage was distinct from the rest of the animal creation. It stood upright apparently (see note in my edition on *Jub.* iii. 23): it possessed supernatural knowledge—the secret of the tree—which none but God besides knew: it was opposed to God and calumniated Him. These facts point to a mythological element in the background, and that the serpent was originally a demon of a serpentlike form and hostile to God and man.

That supernatural beings had such a form was believed among the Semites, Egyptians, Greeks, Indians, and others. (See Gunkel³ on Gen. iii. 1-5.)

The word Satan, נִשְׁמֵשֶׁת, is of purely Semitic origin. Satan appears as a distinct superhuman personality only in three passages in the O.T., Zech. iii.; Job i. 6; 1 Chron. xxi. 1. In the earlier he is completely subject to Yahweh, and appears among "the sons of God" in Job, though he is regarded as distinct from them, Job i. 6. "The development of the conception moves along two lines; (a) from being subordinate to, Satan

becomes largely independent of, Yahweh; (b) from being the (not necessarily unjust) accuser, he becomes the tempter and enemy of men. In N.T. both developments are complete, in O.T. both are in process" (*Encyc. Bib.* iv. 4298).

But in the O.T. there is not the slightest hint of the later identification of the serpent and Satan beyond the combination in the tempter of Eve in the Paradise story of the demonic character and the serpent-like form. The next step in this direction is to be found in 1 Enoch lxix. 6, where Gadreel is said to have tempted Eve. He was probably a Satan, since he was a leader of the fallen angels, and the guilt of the angels consisted in their becoming subject to Satan, liv. 6. In Wisd. ii. 24 the entrance of death into the world is attributed to Satan: *φθόνῳ δὲ διαβόλου θάνατος εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον*. Some scholars explain this passage by the entrance of death into the world by the murder of Abel by Cain, but the above is to be preferred, and it is that taken by Jos. *Ant.* i. 1. 4.

Thus we come to the complete and absolute identification of the serpent and Satan in our text. Cf. Stave, *Ueber d. Einfluss des Parsismus auf das Judenthum*, 265 sqq.

10-11. The second of these verses and part of the first are from the hand of our author, and not from the source from which he is translating.

10. καὶ ἤκουσα φωνὴν μεγάλην ἐν τῷ ὄρανῳ λέγουσαν
 "Ἄρτι ἐγένετο ἡ σωτηρία καὶ ἡ δύναμις
 καὶ ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν
 καὶ ἡ ἐξουσία τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ,
 ὅτι ἐβλήθη ὁ κατήγων τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν,
 ὁ κατηγορῶν αὐτοὺς ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν ἡμέρας καὶ
 νυκτός.

The diction of 10 is wholly from the hand of our author, but this is to be expected as he was the translator. First as to the use of ἄρτι: cf. xiv. 13. καὶ ἤκουσα . . . λέγουσαν is of constant occurrence: cf. especially vi. 1, 3, 5, 7, x. 4, xix. 1. ἡ σωτηρία means here "victory" as in vii. 10, xix. 1, and thus = νίκη (so Eichhorn and Ewald). Cf. Ex. xiv. 13; 2 Chron. xx. 17. With ἡ δύναμις cf. vii. 12, xix. 1. The δύναμις is the power of God which has been manifested in the victory over the Dragon. ἡ ἐξουσία = the delegated power of the Messiah. This word occurs twenty times in our text. ἡ βασιλεία, the empire, unshared and unqualified, of God: cf. xi. 15; Ps. ii. 2, 6. ὁ κατήγων is a Hebraism: see below. τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν: cf. i. 9, vi. 11, xix. 10, xxii. 9. ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός: cf. iv. 8.

As regards the subject matter, the evidence is not so clear. Most of ver. 10 follows aptly on 9 and connects naturally and

directly with 12. But there is an unsurmountable difficulty in the phrase τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν. This could not be used by angels of men. On what grounds Bousset thinks this possible, I know not. Hence, if the singers are not angels, they must be men. And since in Judaism the faithful were not glorified before the Judgment, the singers in our text must be the Christian martyrs in vi. 9-11, who in vi. 11 have already received their glorified bodies. (See further discussions on these questions below.) Hence we conclude that this phrase in xii. 10 is from the hand of our author. See below.

κατήγορ. If this is the right reading, then it is a transliteration of קטניור, which in turn is the Hebraised form of κατήγορος. קטניור = συνήγορος exhibits the same formation. In later Judaism Michael and Satan are the protagonists of good and evil: the former, moreover, is the champion or advocate (סנינור) of the faithful, while the latter is their accuser (קטניור) before God. See T. Levi v. 6, note: T. Dan vi. 2, 3. According to Shem. R. sect. 18 (f. 117^c) on Ex. xii. 29 (Schöttgen, i. 1120, ii. 660), "Michael and Sammael are like the advocate and the accuser (דומין לסנינור וקטניור) who stand before the Court . . . Satan accuses (מקטניר) but Michael upholds the merits of Israel." Cf. also Midr. Teh. on Ps. xx. and cf. also Midr. R. on Ruth at the opening in Lueken, *Michael*, 21 sqq. The Satans are spoken of as accusers of mankind before God, 1 Enoch xl. 7—"I heard the fourth voice fending off the Satans and forbidding them to come before the Lord of Spirits to accuse them who dwell on the earth."

τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν. Who are these brethren? In their present context they cannot be those who have already suffered martyrdom; for in that case they would no longer be exposed to Satanic assaults, but they are clearly *the faithful who are still living*, and who are therefore still exposed to the accusations of Satan. To understand this passage we must remember that xii. 11 (see note *in loc.*) is an addition of our author, and that in the original document, *i.e.* xii. 7-9, 10 (in part), 12, the time presupposed is antecedent to the Judgment. Now, if xii. 10 in its present form belonged to the original Jewish source, the heavenly voices must be those of angels and not of men; for in *Judaism* the martyrs were not glorified before the Judgment, and could not therefore bear their part in the praises of heaven. Rather they were concerned as unclothed spirits supplicating for vengeance underneath the heavenly altar (see note on vi. 9-11). Since, therefore, the song of triumph is, on the presupposition that xii. 10 belongs to the source, sung by angels, possibly by the angels who had fought against the dragon and overcome him, the phrase τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν could not have stood in the original document or tradition; for men

are never said to be "brethren" of the angels: in our text they are called "fellow-servants." (Cf. xix. 10, xxii. 9.) Hence instead of τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν there would have stood some such phrase as τῶν δικαίων (*i.e.* δι' ἡμῶν) as in 1 Enoch i. 8, v. 6, xxv. 4, xxxix. 4, xlv. 6, etc. Thus the angels praised God in that the accuser of the righteous was cast out of heaven.¹ Hence we conclude that in xii. 10 our author replaced an original phrase such as δι' ἡμῶν in this Jewish source by the words τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν. By the substitution of this phrase he has transformed the original meaning of the passage, which in its present form recalls the scene in vi. 9-11. The singers are not angels but men; for they speak of the faithful on earth as "our brethren." They are, moreover, the martyrs, who in vi. 11 have already received their glorified bodies, and are bidden to wait till "their brethren" (οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτῶν—observe the recurrence of this phrase), who were also to be slain, should be fulfilled. These glorified martyrs, who sing the heavenly song, can look forward in xii. 11 and declare prophetically that their brethren have already overcome the Dragon by their martyrdom. Thus in their vision the martyr roll is already complete.

ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός, *i.e.* uninterruptedly. According to Wajjikra R. § 21, Satan accuses men all the days of the year except the Day of Atonement. κατηγορῶν αὐτοὺς ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ: cf. Job i. 6 sqq.; 1 Chron. xxi. 1; 1 Enoch xl. 7.

11. καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐνίκησαν αὐτὸν διὰ τὸ αἷμα τοῦ ἀρνίου,
καὶ διὰ τὸν λόγον τῆς μαρτυρίας αὐτῶν,
καὶ οὐκ ἠγάπησαν τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτῶν ἄχρι θανάτου.

Every phrase in this verse belongs to our author. See p. 302. It was added by him to his translation of his original document. It interrupts, according to Völter, ii. 146, Vischer, 28, Spitta, 130, J. Weiss, 89, Gunkel, 192, etc., the close connection between vv. 10 and 12. The διὰ τοῦτο in 12 referred immediately to ver. 10 in the original source. The heavens are bidden to rejoice because in the overthrow of the Dragon the sovereignty of God and His Christ has been vindicated, and the accuser of the righteous has been cast out of heaven, and the earth and its inhabitants are bidden to mourn because the Dragon has gone down to them. But in 11 the victory of the saints on the earth is already past. They have overcome the Dragon by their martyrdom and the roll of the martyrs is now complete (cf. vi. 11). Yet in 12 the advent of this last period of martyrdom is only just announced. The Dragon has only just come down to earth, and his rage is now directed against the rest of the seed of the

¹ The function of the archangel Phanuel was to prevent the Satans from appearing before God to accuse mankind, 1 Enoch xl. 7.

woman, which does not take effect till 17. Hence, even though 11 be entirely proleptic, it comes in rather incongruously between 10 and 12. See also final note on 10.

διὰ τὸ αἷμα. The *διὰ* here has been taken by Ewald, De Wette, Bousset to denote the means and not the ground; iv. 11, xiii. 14 are quoted as other instances of this use. Certainly in xii. 11, xiii. 14 this meaning seems more natural. But it is best to take *διὰ* as denoting the cause. Then the death of the Lamb is the primary and the testimony of the martyrs the secondary ground of their victory.

τὸν λόγον κτλ. Since *τὸν λόγον* is here parallel to *τὸ αἷμα* it may give a second objective ground for their victory, and so mean the divine word of revelation, for which they offer their testimony. But the next clause shows that we should take the words to mean their personal testimony to Jesus. Thus the two sides of man's redemption are here brought forward together.

οὐκ ἠγάπησαν τὴν ψυχὴν κτλ. Cf. John xii. 25, *ὁ φιλῶν τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἀπολλύει αὐτήν, καὶ ὁ μισῶν τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ κόσμῳ τούτῳ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον φυλάξει αὐτήν*; and Mk. viii. 35 sq.; Matt. x. 39, xvi. 25; Luke ix. 24, xvii. 33.

12. **διὰ τοῦτο εὐφραίνεσθε, οἱ οὐρανοὶ καὶ οἱ ἐν αὐτοῖς σκηνοῦντες· οὐαὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν,**
ὅτι κατέβη ὁ διάβολος πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἔχων θυμὸν μέγαν,
εἰδὼς ὅτι ὀλίγον καιρὸν ἔχει.

διὰ τοῦτο. See note on 11. This phrase goes back to ver. 10 in the present form of the text. *οὐρανοί* is found only here in the plural in the Apocalypse. For the phrase *εὐφραίνεσθε οἱ οὐρανοί*, cf. Isa. xliv. 23, xlix. 13, *וְיִשְׂרָאֵל וְכָל הַשָּׁמַיִם*, where the LXX has *εὐφρ. οὐρανοί* as here. Cf. also Ps. xcv. 11. We should therefore expect *εὐφραίνου οὐρανέ* (or *ὁ οὐρανός*) as it is in xviii. 20. The use of a plural here points to a source. See Introd. p. 302, and compare the unusual *ὅπου . . . ἔκει* in ver. 14. The word *σκηνοῦν* is technically used of God in vii. 15, xxi. 3, and of heavenly beings in xiii. 6; *κατοικεῖν* is used of those who dwell on the earth. No such usage prevails in the LXX. *ὀλίγον καιρὸν*, *i.e.* the period specified in 14 (see 16).

13. **καὶ ὅτε εἶδεν ὁ δράκων ὅτι ἐβλήθη εἰς τὴν γῆν, ἐδίωξεν τὴν γυναῖκα ἣτις ἔτεκεν τὸν ἄρσενά.**

As we saw above (see note on 1), the woman in the present context represents the true Israel or the community of believers.

The clauses *ὅτε εἶδεν* (cf. i. 17) and *ὅτι ἐβλήθη εἰς τὴν γῆν* appear to be additions of our author in order to bind the divergent elements together. See also Spitta, p. 134. The *ὅτε εἶδεν* is rather weak, but the second clause, *ὅτι ἐβλήθη εἰς τὴν γῆν* (repeated from ver. 9), is inserted because of the incorporation of

xii. 7-12 in the text. This verse therefore in all probability simply read in the original document as follows: *καὶ ὁ δράκων ἰδὼν τὴν γυναῖκα κτλ.*, and formed the immediate sequel of 5. When the Child was rapt to heaven in 5, the Dragon thereupon pursued His mother, 13.

ἦτις = ἦ. See note on xi. 8.

14-16. The expectation expressed here is merely a survival of an earlier time and was found by our author in his source. But in our author it is meaningless, as it is against his own expectation of a universal martyrdom: cf. xiii. 15. For other like survivals see xviii. 4 n.: also p. 43, § 4. Our Book is only a first sketch, which our author had not the opportunity of revising.

14. καὶ ἰδὼθῃσαν τῇ γυναίκαὶ αἱ δύο πτέρυγες τοῦ ἀετοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου, ἵνα πέτηται εἰς τὴν ἔρημον εἰς τὸν τόπον αὐτῆς, ὅπου τρέφεται ἐκεῖ καιρὸν καὶ καιροὺς καὶ ἡμισυ καιροῦ ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ ὄφως.

αἱ δύο πτέρυγες τοῦ ἀετοῦ. The definite article here renders nugatory the various attempts made to explain this conception from supposed parallels in the O.T., as Ex. xix 4; Deut. xxxii. 11 (Spitta); Isa. xl. 31 (Holtzm.) or Mic. iv. 9-10 (Völter, iv. 76, 79), where the points of similarity are purely accidental. The eagle was originally a definitely conceived eagle in the tradition. ὅπου . . . ἐκεῖ—a Hebraism, שָׁם-שָׁנָה. The addition of the ἐκεῖ is contrary to the usage of our author: hence we infer the use of a Semitic source here. See *Intro.* p. 301.

καιρὸν καὶ καιροὺς καὶ ἡμισυ καιροῦ, a mistranslation (but a mistranslation that had secured a prescriptive right by reason of its ambiguity): cf. Dan. vii. 25, עַד וְשָׁנָה וְשָׁנָה וְשָׁנָה, and xii. 7, חַמֵּשׁ עֶשְׂרִים וְשָׁנָה. This translation which renders a dual as a plural is first found in the LXX and Theod. of Dan. vii. 25, xii. 7. The text does not necessarily show dependence on the Greek versions. ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ ὄφως = שְׁנֵי הַצִּדִּים. We have here a Hebrew idiom. This phrase is to be connected not with πέτηται but with τρέφεται ἐκεῖ, and to be rendered (1) "at a distance from," cf. Judg. ix. 21: ἐφυγεν . . . καὶ ὤκησεν ἐκεῖ ἀπὸ προσώπου Ἀβιμέλεχ ("ἄ ὄφως); or (2) "because of." This latter meaning is to be preferred, for it is a very frequent meaning of ὄφως; whereas the meaning it has in Judg. ix. 21 is unattested in any other passage. The sojourn of the woman in the wilderness for three and a half years is due to the serpent who reigns over the world for that period. See note on xi. 2.

15. καὶ ἔβαλεν ὁ ὄφης ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ ὀπίσω τῆς γυναίκας ὕδωρ ὡς ποταμόν, ἵνα αὐτὴν ποταμοφόρητον ποιήσῃ.

The word ποταμοφόρητος is formed on the analogy of

ὑδατοφόρητος, ἀνεμοφόρητος. It is found in Hesychius in his note on *Il.* vi. 348, ἀπόρσεν ποταμοφόρητον ἐποίησεν, but as early as 78 A.D. in *Ap.* lxxxv. 16 and later in *StrP.* v. 10 (see *Expositor*, Mar. 1911, p. 284).

To the statement in our text there are no real parallels in the O.T. or in Judaism. The passages which represent God as putting forth His wrath like water, *Hos.* v. 10; or the streams of ungodliness overwhelming the righteous, *Ps.* xxxii. 6, cxxiv. 4, *Isa.* xliii. 2; or the march of the Israelites through the Red Sea, have no bearing on our text. On the other hand the Dragon is referred to as a water monster in *Ezek.* xxix. 3, xxxii. 2, 3; *Ps.* lxxiv. 13; *T. Asher* vii. 3. See note on 3.

On the meaning of this verse for our author see next verse.

16. καὶ ἐβοήθησεν ἡ γῆ τῇ γυναικί, καὶ ἤνοιξεν ἡ γῆ τὸ στόμα αὐτῆς καὶ κατέπιεν τὸν ποταμὸν ὃν ἔβαλεν ὁ δράκων ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ.

With the diction we may compare *Num.* xvi. 30, ἀνοίξασα ἡ γῆ τὸ στόμα αὐτῆς καταπίεται αὐτούς: xvi. 32, xxvi. 10; *Deut.* xi. 6.

As regards the original meaning of this verse we are wholly in the dark. In the war between land and water mythological features are discoverable which have no longer any significance in their present connection. But we have not the same difficulty with regard to the meaning they bore in 68-70 A.D. *Vv.* 14-16, if the source is Christian, refer to the flight of the primitive Christian community to Pella before the fall of Jerusalem (cf. *Euseb. H.E.* iii. 5); but, if the source is Jewish, to that of the élite of the Jews to Jabneh, which became the seat of Jewish scholarship after the fall of Jerusalem (*Jewish Encyc.* vii. 18). In either case 14-16 are without significance in their present context.

17. καὶ ὀργίσθη ὁ δράκων ἐπὶ τῇ γυναικί, καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ποιῆσαι πόλεμον μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν τοῦ σπέρματος αὐτῆς, τῶν τηρούντων τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἔχοντων τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ.

In this verse the words τῶν τηρούντων . . . Ἰησοῦ are with Wellhausen (19) and J. Weiss (136 sq.) to be regarded as an addition of our author to the Jewish source he here uses. They belong specially to his vocabulary. (See note on xiv. 12.) Vischer (p. 35) regards Ἰησοῦ only as an addition here, Spitta (131) καὶ ἔχοντων . . . Ἰησοῦ, while Bousset, though maintaining that ch. xii. is of Christian origin, assigns xii. 17 to the Apocalypticist of the last hand, and Völter (iv. 75, 146) to a redactor of the age of Trajan. This verse comes wholly or in part from our author, or it comes from the Jewish source: it must be from one or other; for there is no counterpart to it in the international myth from which many of the chief features in this chapter were ultimately derived.

In its original source 17^{ab} is interpreted by Wellhausen as follows: The woman whose flight is represented in xii. 14 is here identified with the élite of the Jews who fled before the destruction of Jerusalem and so escaped destruction. These embraced pious Scribes and Pharisees who refounded Judaism after the destruction of Jerusalem. Their attitude was opposed to that of the Zealots, and thus ch. xii. forms a counterblast to the Zealotic oracle, xi. 1-2. The *λοιποί*, on the other hand, from whom the woman is distinguished, are the Jews who remained in Jerusalem and were destroyed by the Romans.¹

In the present context, however, the interpretation must be different. The outlook is now Christian. This being so, ver. 14, which originally referred to the divine oracle (Euseb. *H.E.* iii. 5) that commanded all Christians to leave Jerusalem before it was beleaguered by the Romans 67-68 A.D., or to the flight of certain Jews to Jabneh before 70 A.D., does not admit of any intelligible reinterpretation in its present context. Our author incorporated in his text this Jewish or Christian source, as it stood, save for certain changes and additions in 3, 5, 17, and his second source with like alterations in 7, 9, 10-11. These sources of a Vespasianic or earlier date expect the escape of the faithful, but this expectation was abandoned by our author. According to him no part of the Church was to escape persecution and martyrdom. Hence 14-16 is simply a meaningless survival. "The rest of her seed" symbolize the Gentile Christians or the Church in general throughout the Roman Empire, which forms the theme of the next chapter.

CHAPTERS XII. 18-XIII., XIV. 12-13.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. *The Original and Leading Thoughts of this Chapter.*

This Section (xii. 18-xiii., xiv. 12-13) is in the style of our author, but the greater part of it was translated by him from Hebrew sources. These, as we shall see later, dealt with two²

¹ If this verse belonged to the Jewish source, then the phrase of *λοιποί* had not the technical meaning that sometimes belongs to it in Apocalyptic as "the remnant." Cf. 4 Ezra vi. 25, vii. 28, ix. 7, 8, xii. 34, xiii. 24, 26, 48; Apoc. Bar. xxix. 4, xl. 2. It has, moreover, no technical meaning in our text here or in ii. 24, ix. 20, xi. 13, xix. 21, xx. 5.

² The first Beast, which here represents the antichristian world power of Rome, goes back ultimately to the Dragon himself, *i.e.* the primeval monster of chaos. It comes up from the sea. In the preceding chapter the Dragon

earlier and different conceptions of the Antichrist, but, as transformed and incorporated in the present context, they refer to the antichristian Empire of Rome as incarnated in Nero *redivivus* and the heathen priesthood of the imperial cult. With masterful hand here as everywhere our author adapts his materials to suit his own purpose. In chap. xii. the author carried us back into the past and represented the strife in heaven and the hurling down of Satan to earth. He next told how Satan, when cast down to earth, forthwith proceeded to persecute the Woman, whose offspring was destined to destroy him, and how, on her marvellous deliverance from his hands, he turned in fury on the rest of her seed. In order to help him in this struggle Satan takes his stand by the shore of the sea (xii. 18) and summons to his aid his two servants, the Neronic Antichrist from the sea (xiii. 1-10) and the False Prophet, *i.e.* the heathen imperial priesthood from the land (xiii. 11-17). The present chapter opens with the appearance of these two monsters in response to his summons, and thereupon the time changes from the past to the future. Our Seer beholds the first monster emerge from the sea with seven heads and ten horns, and amongst the heads he discovers one that was wounded unto death but had again recovered (xiii. 3). In the first monster we have the Roman empire—the antichristian kingdom—which becomes incarnated in Nero *redivivus*. The last and dreadest hour has now arrived—the personal reign of the Antichrist for the destined period of three and a half years, who goes to war with the saints and overcomes them in physical strife. All the faithless forthwith worship him, while the faithful are banished or slain. Thereupon the Seer adds the comment: "Here is the endurance and the faith of the saints" (10⁶). But the Antichrist is not the sole demonic foe of the faithful. He is helped by a second monster—the heathen priesthood of the imperial cult (11-18). By means of this priesthood the claims of patriotism and religion were identified, in which the interests of religion were wholly subordinated to those of the State, and thus ensued the inevitable conflict between the imperial cult and Christianity. This final persecution of the Church was to be mainly carried out by this priesthood, which was to set up images of the Neronic Antichrist everywhere and enforce their worship on the world, and have *all that*

represents Satan. Here the two conceptions, Satan and the antichristian world power of Rome, appear side by side as master and servant. See note on xii. 3. This twofold development is as old as Dan. vii., where the monster of chaos is manifested in four successive world powers, which came up from the sea.

But in the second Beast, *i.e.* the false prophet, we have a third conception, developed from the original conception of the monster of chaos—a conception already found in 2 Thess. ii., though there it has only a religious significance.

refused such worship put to death. Furthermore, this second Beast was to compel all men to bear the mark of the first Beast and to enforce the antichristian claims of the demonic Emperor of Rome by an economic warfare (16-17), that would make life impossible for all that did not bear the mark of the Beast. Next the Seer discloses in a cryptic verse the number of the name of the Beast, which was also the number of a man—Nero Caesar.

Finally, just as the Seer in 10^c declares that the faithful must endure captivity, exile, or death in the persecutions just foretold in 10^{ab}, so here (xiv. 12-13)¹ he again declares the duty of the faithful—even endurance unto death in the worldwide persecution that he has just witnessed in the vision in 16-17. Martyrdom, he declares, is inevitable for those who keep God's commandments and the faith of Jesus. And thereupon a voice from heaven declared the blessedness of those who suffered martyrdom in this strife; for that rest would follow thereupon and the victor's joy.

§ 2. But the meaning of the Hebrew sources which were used by our author is somewhat different. We shall now proceed to a detailed examination of the text, and in due course attempt to determine the present extent of such sources and their original meaning so far as the data render this possible.

§ 3. *The diction and style of this Chapter come from the hand of our author, but it appears in part to be translated from Hebrew sources.*

XII. 18. ἐστάθη ἐπὶ. Cf. acc. as in iii. 20, vii. 1, viii. 3, xi. 11, xiv. 1, xv. 2. The same use of the passive aorist of this verb is to be found also in viii. 3, but in a derived sense in vi. 17: whereas ἔστησα is used in same sense in xi. 11, xviii. 17, which are probably from another hand.

XIII. 1. ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης . . . ἀναβαῖνον. On this order see note *in loc.* Observe order of numerals κέρατα δέκα καὶ κεφαλὰς ἐπτὰ (see note on viii. 2). καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν κεράτων αὐτοῦ δέκα διαδήματα is a gloss. See note *in loc.* The phrase ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς is characteristic of our author. 2. . . ὡς ἄρκου. Pregnant construction: cf. i. 10, iv. 1, 7, τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ ὡς τὸ στόμα. Cf. i. 15. 3. ὡς ἐσφαγμένην. Cf. v. 6. πληγὴ here and in xiii. 12, 14 in the sense of "blow" = נֶזֶק. Elsewhere as meaning "plague" in ix. 18, 20, xi. 6, xv. 1, 6, 8, xvi. 9, etc., a meaning also of נֶזֶק. 4. ὅλη ἡ γῆ. Elsewhere this adjective follows the noun as in iii. 10, vi. 12, xii. 9, xvi. 14. Also instead of this phrase ἡ οἰκουμένη ὅλη is used, iii. 10, xii. 9, xvi. 14. ἐθαυμάσθη . . .

¹ xiv. 12-13 have been restored to their original position at the close of xiii.

ὀπίσω. This is not Greek : nor is it Hebrew. It may arise from a corruption in the Hebrew source. See § 4. προσεκύνησαν τῷ δράκοντι. This use of προσκυνεῖν with the dative belongs to our author : see note on vii. 11. Contrast xiii. 8, προσκυνήσουσιν αὐτόν, which also conforms to his usage, and xiii. 12.

6. τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτοῦ. God's abode, *i.e.* heaven : cf. xxi. 3.

7. On ποιῆσαι πόλεμον μετὰ and νικῆσαι αὐτούς, see note *in loc.* φυλὴν καὶ λαὸν κτλ. See note on v. 9. 8. προσκυνήσουσιν αὐτόν. See note on ver. 4 above. οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ, c. gen. See note on iii. 10 : § 4 below. On the remaining phrases see notes *in loc.* 9. Cf. ii. 7, iii. 6, 13, 22. 10. πίστις = "loyalty," "faithfulness." Cf. ii. 19. 11. ὁμοία ἀρνίῳ = pregnant construction frequent in Apocalypse. 12. τὴν ἐξουσίαν . . . πᾶσαν. This position of πᾶς occurs only twice elsewhere in Apoc. v. 13(?), viii. 3. Elsewhere always before its noun. τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ κατοικοῦντας. Here only in Apoc. Most probably a close rendering of the Hebrew. See § 4. ποιῶ . . . ἵνα. Cf. iii. 9, xiii. 15, 16. προσκυνήσουσιν τὸ θηρίον. See note on 4 above. 18. ποιῆ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβαίνειν. Order elsewhere καταβαίνειν ἐκ τ. οὐρ. 14. πλανᾷ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. Cf. for verb ii. 20, xii. 9, xviii. 23, xix. 20, xx. 3, 8, 10, and for similar thought xii. 9. λέγων . . . ποιῆσαι. See note *in loc.* 15. ἐδόθη . . . δοῦναι. See vol. i. p. 54. On the form ἵνα δοῖ . . . προσκυνήσουσιν . . . ἀποκτανθῶσιν, cf. xiii. 4. 16. τοὺς μικροὺς κ. τ. μεγάλους : cf. xi. 18, xix. 5, 18. (Contrast xx. 12.) τοὺς ἐλευθέρους κ. τ. δοῦλους : cf. xix. 18, vi. 15 (reverse order).

ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῶν τῆς δεξιᾶς. The genitive is also found in i. 20 but the acc. in xiv. 9, xx. 1, 4. This full form of the phrase has already appeared in x. 5, τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ τὴν δεξιάν (cf. x. 2, τὸν πόδα αὐτοῦ τὸν δεξιόν), and in i. 16, τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ, but the shorter form in i. 17, τὴν δεξιάν αὐτοῦ (i. 20, ii. 1, v. 1, 7). Both forms are Hebraic יְמִינִי and יְמִינֵי־ךָ. ἐπὶ τὸ μέτωπον αὐτῶν. See vii. 3, note. 18. On ἔδεα see note *in loc.*

From the above examination it follows that the diction of the entire chapter is from the hand of our author, with the exception of certain phrases explicable on the hypothesis of a Hebrew original (see § 4). There are, however, good grounds for regarding it, not as an original product of his pen, but to a great extent as a translation of a Hebrew source or sources. With this problem we shall now deal.

§ 4. *This Chapter exhibits many Hebraisms, which in certain cases presuppose an independent source or sources.*

Now, as we shall see later, xiii. 3, 7^b-8, 9, 12^d, 14^c appear to be additions to this chapter made by our author and in

part from a Hebrew source. We shall, therefore, first study the Hebraisms in the rest of the chapter.

(a) XIII. 4. τίς δύναται πολεμήσαι μετ' αὐτοῦ = חֲזַקְתָּ לְיָהוָה כִּי הָיָה.

10. εἰ τις ἐν μαχαίρῃ ἀποκτανθῆναι, αὐτὸν (rd. αὐτὸς) ἐν μαχαίρῃ ἀποκτανθῆναι. See note *in loc.* on this Hebraism.

11. ἰδὲ αἶψά τις δράκων. There seems to be no intelligible explanation of this clause save on the supposition that it is the translation of a corruption in a Hebrew source. See note *in loc.*

12. τὴν ἐξουσίαν . . . πᾶσαν. Since only twice (once ?) elsewhere, v. 13 (?), viii. 3, does πᾶς follow its noun it is not improbable that the Greek here is a rendering of the Hebrew שלטן החיה הראשונה כלו: cf. Ezek. xxxii. 12, λοιμοὶ ἀπὸ ἐθνῶν πάντες = ערצֵי נַיִם כָּלם; Jer. xlviii. 31.

Again τὴν ἐξουσίαν . . . ποιεῖ is peculiar Greek but good Hebrew = "exercises the authority": cf. 1 Kings xxi. 7, עָשָׂה מְלוּכָה = "exercises sovereignty."

τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ κατοικοῦντας. Our author expresses the idea contained in these words by the phrase τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς (nine times), and once by οἱ κατοικοῦντες τὴν γῆν (xvii. 2). This can hardly be accidental, seeing that these three forms of expression occur in the LXX and correspond as a rule in the later books to three different forms in the Hebrew. Our author's own use is clearly 1. πάντες οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, i.e. כָּל־הַיֹּשְׁבִים עַל־הָאָרֶץ: whereas 2. οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν τῇ γῇ = כָּל־יֹשְׁבֵי בָאָרֶץ (or כָּל־יֹשְׁבֵי בָאָרֶץ), and 3. πάντες οἱ κατοικοῦντες τὴν γῆν = כָּל־יֹשְׁבֵי הָאָרֶץ. These phrases are comparatively frequent in the Prophets. In Isaiah the renderings are irregular (cf. xxiv. 5, xxvi. 9, 18, 21), but in Jer. and Ezek., though the LXX of these books comes from at least four hands (see Thackeray, *Gramm. of O.T. in Greek*, p. 11), the renderings are as a rule those given above. In Jer. xxix. (xlvii.) 2 the two latter Hebrew phrases occur, i.e. יֹשְׁבֵי בָאָרֶץ and יֹשֶׁב הָאָרֶץ, which are respectively rendered by τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας ἐν τῇ γῇ and οἱ κατοικοῦντες τὴν γῆν.

Hence I conclude that the forms of this phrase in xiii. 12, xvii. 2, which are abnormal, so far as our author's usage is concerned, are due either to his close rendering of a Hebrew source or to his use of a Greek source. But the evidence is against the latter hypothesis in xii. 12.

XIII. 16. δώσω αὐτοῖς χάραγμα. The plural is here a Hebraism. (See note *in loc.*)

(b) The Hebraisms in xiii. 3, 7^b-8, 12^d, 14^c.

XIII. 3. ὡς ἐσφαγμένην εἰς θάνατον = כָּסֶפֶת לְמָוֶת. Cf. 2 Kings

xx. 1, תָּוֹב . . . הָלַךְ. Next ἡ πληγὴ τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ, = תָּוֹב תָּמַד. Cf. xiii. 12, 14 for similar Hebraisms.

ἐθαυμάσθη . . . ὅπισω. This un-Greek and un-Hebraic expression can be explained by retroversion into Hebrew (see note *in loc.*). In fact in xiii. 3°, 8 and xvii. 8 we have an undoubted doublet.

XIII. 3°. καὶ ἐθαυμάσθη ὅλη ἡ γῆ † ὅπισω † τοῦ θηρίου, xiii. 8, καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν αὐτὸν πάντες οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς οὐ οὐ γέγραπται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ ἀρνίου τοῦ ἐσφαγμένου ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου.

XVII. 8. καὶ θαυμάσθησονται οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. ὣν οὐ γέγραπται τὸ ὄνομα ἐπὶ τῷ βιβλίῳ τῆς ζωῆς ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου, βλέπόντων τὸ θηρίον.

Now in the note on xiii. 3 I have shown that καὶ ἐθαυμάσθη . . . ὅπισω τοῦ θηρίου = תָּוֹב תָּמַד . . . הָלַךְ תָּמַד, where תָּמַד is corrupt for תָּוֹב (or תָּמַד), and thus the rendering should be καὶ ἐθαυμάσθη . . . βλέπουσα τὸ θηρίον. Thus the identity of the two passages is established. But xvii. 8 does not appear to be a translation from the hand of our author; for he uses ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ (cf. xiii. 8, xx. 12, xxi. 27, xxii. 18, 19) and not ἐπὶ τῷ βιβλίῳ. Further, in rendering Hebrew he always, so far as we can discover, reproduces the Hebraisms of his source. But in xvii. 8 the αὐτῶν after ὄνομα is omitted, whereas it is carefully reproduced in xiii. 8. Yet the rendering in xvii. 8 is from a purer text, as we have seen above. The abnormal position of ὅλη in ὅλη ἡ γῆ (elsewhere ὅλος follows its noun in the Apocalypse) is probably due to the order of the Hebrew תָּוֹב תָּמַד. In the LXX, except in the free translation of Isaiah, ὅλος almost invariably precedes the noun, or follows it in accordance with the order in the Hebrew. For the latter cf. Ex. xix. 18, τὸ ὅρος τὸ Σινά . . . ὅλον = כָּל . . . יְיָ ה'. See Ezek. xxix. 2, etc. The use of ὄνομα for δνόματα in xvii. 8, xiii. 8, is a Hebraism (see note *in loc.*), and προσκυνήσουσιν in xiii. 8 should be προσεκύνησαν in keeping with the tenses of the other verses in the vision, but προσκυνήσουσιν may be an unconscious reproduction of the imperfect tense in his original source: cf. xvii. 8.

XIII. 14. With τὴν πληγὴν τῆς μαχαίρας cf. Esth. ix. 5, תָּוֹב תָּמַד.

§ 5. Order of Words.

The verb precedes both subject and object (object and subject, xiii. 8), or object or subject 27 (28) times: subject

precedes verb 4 times, xiii. 2, 3, 15, 18 (the interrogative *τίς* naturally precedes in xiii. 4 and the indefinite *τίς* twice in xiii. 10, but these do not count): the object precedes verb 2 times (xiii. 12, 13). The structure of the sentences is thoroughly Hebraic, and so far as the order goes no conclusions can be drawn as to the provenance of the different sections.

§ 6. *Conclusions from preceding Sections. Chapter based on Hebrew sources.*

The diction is that of our author. This follows from § 3. But there are certain features in the text which make it practically impossible to assume that the whole chapter is his own free creation linguistically. Thus the position of *δὲ*, xiii. 4 (see § 3), of *πᾶσαν*, xiii. 12 (see § 3), the form of the phrase *τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ κατοικοῦντας*, xiii. 12, are against our author's usage. And yet these are not to be explained as due to our author's use of a Greek source: for the style of the chapter as a whole is thoroughly his own. They could, however, be explained on the hypothesis that he used Hebrew sources. And this hypothesis is strongly confirmed by the fact that unintelligible clauses in xiii. 3^c, 10, 11 are hardly susceptible of any explanation save through retroversion into Hebrew. I therefore assume the use of Hebrew sources by our author in this chapter. One such source we have already discovered (see § 4) in xiii. 3^c, 8, the translation of which is our author's, whereas in xvii. 8 he makes use of a translation of it from another hand.

§ 7. *Theories of Erbes, Spitta, Wellhausen, and J. Weiss as to the sources of this Chapter.*

Erbes and Spitta discern in xiii. an Apocalypse written in the reign of Caligula, and reflecting the condition of Palestine in the years 39-41. According to Erbes this Apocalypse was Christian and consisted of chapters xii. 1-13, 18, xiv. 9^b-12 (pp. 1-33). It referred to Caligula's attempt to set up his statue in the Temple in Jerusalem. Spitta's criticism is much more drastic (see *Offenbarung des Johannis*, 136-141, 392 sqq.). The source was, as Vischer supposed, of Jewish origin. Caligula was symbolized by the sevenheaded Beast. Spitta attempts to recover the original Caligula Apocalypse by excising *μίαν ἐκ τῶν . . . εἰς θάνατον* in xiii. 3, *καὶ προσεκύνησαν τῷ θηρίῳ . . . μετ' αὐτοῦ* in xiii. 4, *καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ἐξουσία . . . δύο* in xiii. 5, *τοὺς ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ . . . νικῆσαι αὐτούς* in xiii. 6, 7, *τοῦ δυνάτου τοῦ ἐσφαγμένου* in xiii. 8 and xiii. 9-10 wholly, *ὃς ἔχει . . . ἔζησεν* in xiii. 14, *ἡ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦ ὀνόματος . . . ἀνθρώπου ἐστίν* in xiii. 17-18. Finally

he adopts the reading 616 in xiii. 18. After these excisions xiii. 1-8 could easily be interpreted of Caligula. Thus xiii. 3 would refer to his dangerous illness, xiii. 4 to the joy of the people on his recovery (see my note *in loc.*), xiii. 6 to his attempt to set up his statue in the Temple, and xiii. 8 to the worship offered him. But Spitta's interpretation of the second Beast by Simon Magus and Erbes' interpretation of it by the Magi at the court of Caligula are wholly inadequate.

Bousset (p. 376) thinks that this hypothesis belongs only to the region of possibilities. He observes that to carry it out Spitta is obliged to excise one third of the chapter, and that xiii. 7^b, 16 betray the hand of our author, and must also on this hypothesis be excised. Further, he rightly objects to the acceptance of so badly attested a reading as 616.

Quite a different analysis of this chapter has been propounded by Wellhausen. He finds two sources in this chapter. The first referred to the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 in the 3½ years' war, and consisted of xiii. 1 (om. ἔχον . . . ἐπτά), 2, 4-7^a, 10^a^b. This source dealt not with the duty of patient endurance on the part of the Christian during the persecution under Domitian, but with the wretched lot of the Jews after the destruction of Jerusalem. The σκηνὴ αὐτοῦ is Jerusalem: the Beast is not Nero but the Roman Empire.

The second is of uncertain date and embraces only xiii. 11^a, 12^{abc}, 16^b, 17 (om. τὸ ὄνομα and ἡ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ). xiii. 18 was introduced by the same hand, which has left traces in xiii. 10^c, xiv. 12, xvii. 9. In this source, as in the earlier, Nero *redivivus* has been introduced by the Apocalypticist, and also the False Prophet as the ἄλλο θηρίον. This Beast, according to Wellhausen and Mommsen, represents the imperial power exercised in the provinces by the state officials. There was, however, only one θηρίον, and instead of ἄλλο θηρίον there stood εἰκόν. Thus in xiv. 9, 11, xv. 2, xvi. 2, xix. 20, xx. 4 the θηρίον and his εἰκόν are mentioned together. The εἰκόν is the *alter ego* of the empire just as Jesus was called the εἰκόν of God.

Thus in Wellhausen's opinion xiii. 3, 7^b-9, 10^c, 11^b^c, 12^d, 13-15, 16^a, 17^b are from the hand of the final editor. Let us deal with the last list of passages first.

If these are additions of our author, then we find him writing first hand unintelligible Greek such as ἐθανμάσθη . . . ὀπίσω, xiii. 3^c, an unintelligible clause such as ἐλάλει ὡς δράκων, xiii. 11, and such a phrase as ὅλη ἡ γῆ, xiii. 3, whereas his universal practice is to write ἡ γῆ ὅλη, or rather ἡ οἰκουμένη ὅλη. Again, in xiii. 13 the pres. inf. in ποιῇ . . . καταβαίνειν is unusual in our author, and the order ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβαίνειν unexampled. The occurrence of so many anomalies and breaches of our

author's usage in so few verses would be extraordinary, if this part of Wellhausen's theory is right. But the rest is still less tenable. Wellhausen, as we have seen above, finds two distinct sources in this chapter. Since there is not even a hint that these sources are Semitic, he evidently assumes that they are Greek. But this is impossible. We have seen in § 3 that the diction and style of these two sources are decidedly those of our author save in certain passages, which are dealt with in § 4. Hence it appears impossible to explain this chapter save on the hypothesis that it is in a large degree translated from Hebrew sources by our author.

J. Weiss (*Offenbarung des Johannes*, pp. 93 sq., III, 115, 139-142; *Schriften des NT.* II. 653-662) likewise assigns this chapter to two different authors: xiii. 11-18 to the original Johannine Apocalypse written about 60 A.D., and xiii. 1-2, 3-7 (written in strophes of four lines each) to a Jewish Apocalypse of the year 70. These two sources were united by the final Apocalyptist, who by means of various additions made the entire chapter refer to the Roman Empire, Nero *redivivus* and the imperial cult.

The original source of xiii. 11-18 dealt with a Jewish Antichrist or False Prophet, but the final author in Weiss's scheme transformed him into an agent of the Roman Empire, *i.e.* the priesthood of the imperial cult. This False Prophet has thus become the *ἄλλο θηρίον*.

There is much that is true in Weiss's view as to different sources, but it is open to the same objections as Wellhausen's, and perhaps in a greater degree. By taking *δράκων* in xiii. 11 (*Offenbarung*, p. 94) as if it were *ὁ δράκων* he tries to make the passage parallel to 2 Thess. ii. 9, but this is, of course, inadmissible. He holds that xiii. 1-7 already existed in a literary form, but does not explain how the diction is with certain exceptions the same throughout the entire chapter, though on his hypothesis it is derived from three distinct authors.

§ 8. *The sources behind this Chapter according to the present Editor.*

(a) *The two sources behind xiii. 1-10.* We have already seen, § 4, that xiii. 3^c, 8 and xvii. 8 are doublets, and that in all probability they are independent translations of the same Hebrew source, the former translation being by our author. In the next place xiii. 7^b, 9 are clearly from the hand of our author. By the removal of xiii. 7^b, 9 the original connection of the text is here restored, as Wellhausen has already recognized. Again xiii. 3^{ab}, 6^c are characteristic of the standpoint and diction of our author. They transform the entire character of

xiii. 1-10. xiii. 3 interrupts the connection between xiii. 2 and xiii. 4-7^a. Of these additions xiii. 3^{ab}, 7^b, 9 are obviously his own, whereas xiii. 3^c, 8 are from a source. Furthermore, we shall see in the notes *in loc.* that xiii. 1^c (καὶ ἐπὶ . . . διαδήματα) is probably a later addition.

We are now in a position to reconstruct in some measure the source behind xiii. 1-10. It consisted of xiii. 1^{abd}, 2, 4-7^a, 10, and was a Jewish Apocalypse written in Hebrew by a Pharisaic Quietist before or after 70 A.D., and dealing with the Beast that came up from the sea (*i.e.* the Roman Empire), the siege of Jerusalem (τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτοῦ) by the Romans for three years, and the woeful plight of the survivors (xiii. 10).

Thus there are two sources behind xiii. 1-10, *i.e.* xiii. 3^c, 8, and that just given. This hypothesis accounts, so far as I am aware, for all the difficulties in the text. The source as rendered by our author ran :

Jewish Apocalypse directed against Rome—the impersonation of the Antichrist.

- XIII.** 1. καὶ εἶδον ἐν τῆς θαλάσσης θηρίον ἀναβαῖνον,
ἔχον κέρατα δέκα καὶ κεφαλὰς ἑπτὰ,
καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτοῦ ὀνόματα βλασφημίας.
2. καὶ τὸ θηρίον ὃ εἶδον ἦν ὅμοιον παρδάλει,
καὶ οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ ὡς ἄρκου,
καὶ τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ ὡς στόμα λέοντος.
- καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ ὁ δράκων ἐξουσίαν μεγάλην,¹
4. καὶ προσεκύνησαν τῷ δράκοντι
ὅτι ἔδωκεν τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῷ θηρίῳ.
- καὶ προσεκύνησαν τὸ θηρίον, λέγοντες·
τίς ὅμοιος τῷ θηρίῳ;
καὶ τίς δύναται πολεμῆσαι μετ' αὐτοῦ;
5. καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ στόμα λαλοῦν μεγάλα καὶ βλασφημίας,
καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ἐξουσία ποιῆσαι μῆνας τεσσαράκοντα
καὶ δύο.
6. καὶ ἤνοιξεν τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ εἰς βλασφημίας πρὸς
τὸν θεόν,
- βλασφημῆσαι τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτοῦ,
7. καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ποιῆσαι πόλεμον μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ
νικῆσαι αὐτούς·

¹ I have omitted τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ as an addition of our Apocalypticist. The diction is his at all events, and the removal of the clause restores the parallelism.

10. εἴ τις εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν,
εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν ὑπάγει·
εἴ τις ἐν μαχαίρῃ ἀποκτανθῆναι,
αὐτὸς ἐν μαχαίρῃ ἀποκτανθῆναι.

In this source the Beast is the Roman Empire. The date of the composition is shortly after 70. The destruction of Jerusalem is referred to in xiii. 7, and the massacres that followed in xiii. 10.

(δ) xiii. 11-18.—We have now to deal with the source of xiii. 11-18. This is a more difficult problem than the former, but it is still possible to recognize the original character of this source, and the extent to which it survives in our text. Certain facts help to guide us in this quest.

1. The style, though on the whole that of our author, postulates a Hebrew source (see § 3, 4) in two verses, 11, 12^{ab}, the very verses which have as their subject the False Prophet. The theme, then, of this fragment of the source is the False Prophet. We shall find that the same subject is dealt with in the greater part of this section.

2. Next the False Prophet (ψευδοπροφήτης) is just as undeniably the theme of xiii. 13, 14^a, 16^b, 17^a as it is of verses xiii. 11, 12^{ab}; xiii. 11^{bc} clearly defines the False Prophet, who, as in Matt. vii. 15, outwardly simulates the character of the Lamb (the ἀρνίον or Messiah), but is in reality an ἀπολλύων like his master the Dragon (see ix. 11: cf. also xi. 18, xix. 2). For his mission he is armed with the power of the Dragon, 12^a (here δράκοντος and δράκοντα originally stood instead of πρ. θηρίον and θηρίον τὸ πρ.), as in 2 Thess. ii. 9-10: οὐ ἐστὶν ἡ παρουσία κατ' ἐνέργειαν τοῦ Σατανᾶ ἐν πάσῃ δυνάμει καὶ σημείοις καὶ τέρασιν ψεύδους καὶ ἐν πάσῃ ἀπάτῃ ἀδικίας τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις: Didache, xvi. 4. The object of these signs and wonders is to deceive. Thus in xiii. 14 the False Prophet deceives those who dwelt upon the earth (cf. 2 Thess. ii. 10 just quoted; Mk. xiii. 22, ἐγερθήσονται γὰρ ψευδόχρισται καὶ ψευδοπροφήται καὶ δώσουσιν σημεία καὶ τέρατα πρὸς τὸ ἀποπλανᾶν εἰ δυνατόν τοὺς ἐκλεκτούς, Matt. xxiv. 11, 24, etc. Finally he causes all who have rendered him worship to place a mark on their right hand and on their forehead, xiii. 16^b, and, to make this effective and universal, ordains that none shall buy or sell save such as have this mark, xiii. 17^a.¹

3. From the foregoing—especially the parallel passages in the Gospels and 2 Thess.—it follows that the ψευδοπροφήτης was originally a Jewish or a Christian Antichrist. That he was the

¹ The object of the marking of the faithful in vii. 3 sqq. is to secure them against demonic or Satanic attack: the object of the marking of the followers of the Antichrist—at all events a secondary object—is to secure them against physical injury and to make physical life impossible for the faithful.

former may be reasonably concluded from xiii. 16^b, seeing that the Antichrist there requires his worshippers to place his mark on their *right hand* and brow—an antichristian travesty of the practice of orthodox Judaism, which required the faithful to wear it on the left hand and forehead (see my note *in loc.*).

4. The above interpretation of the source xiii. 11, 12^{ab}, 13-14^a, 16^b, 17^a is borne out by the subsequent references to the subject of this source as the *ψευδοπροφήτης*, xvi. 13, xix. 20, xx. 10. This word testifies to the meaning of the idea in the original source, *i.e.* the Jewish Antichrist conceived as a *ψευδόχριστος* or *ψευδοπροφήτης*. See also Bousset, p. 378. But in its present context this Antichrist has been transformed into a mere agent of the Antichrist (*ἄλλο θηρίον*).

5. We have already inferred that the *ψευδοπροφήτης* of this source was really *the Jewish Antichrist* (see 3), and not a mere agent of the Antichrist. This inference is confirmed by the fact that in xiii. 11^c he is associated directly with the Dragon (*i.e.* Satan), and declared (xiii. 11: cf. 15) to be an *ἀπολλύων* like his master. Hence all phrases that transform this Antichrist into a mere agent of the Antichrist do not belong to the original source.

6. From the above facts and inferences we conclude that the source did not mention a *θηρίον* as in 11, but an *ἀντίχριστος* or a *ψευδοπροφήτης*. Hence *ἄλλο θηρίον*, xiii. 11, and *τὸ πρῶτον θηρίον* in xiii. 12 are from the hand of our author as well as the additions *οὗ ἐθεραπεύθη . . . αὐτοῦ*, xiii. 12^c, *ἐνώπιον τοῦ θηρίου . . . ἀποκτανθῶσιν*, xiii. 14^b-15, *τοὺς μικροὺς . . . δούλους*, xiii. 16, *τὸ ὄνομα . . . ἐξήκοντα ἔξ*, xiii. 17^b-18. By means of these additions the Jewish Antichrist was transformed into a secondary personage (*ἄλλο θηρίον*) that waited on the Antichrist (*τὸ πρῶτον θηρίον*), and formed, in fact, the heathen priesthood of the imperial cult. It was this priesthood that set up the *εἰκών* of the beast and required all the inhabitants of the earth to worship it on pain of death, xiii. 14^{bc}, 15. Thus the *εἰκών* is not an original constituent of the source, as Wellhausen supposed, but an addition of our author. By the above additions also Nero *reddivus* is represented to be Antichrist: cf. xiii. 12^c, 14^c, 18. These additions, as we have already seen, are in the style and from the hand of our author: the rest of the section is his translation from a Hebrew source. Finally, xiv. 12-13 should be read undoubtedly after xiii. 15. Just as the first stage of the persecution of the saints ended in the emphasizing of patience and faithfulness on their part (xiii. 10), so its final stage is accompanied by a like emphasizing of the patience of the saints and a declaration of the blessedness of those who suffered martyrdom in the Lord; xiv. 12-13 are from the hand of our author.

We are now in a position to sum up the character and present limits of the source of xiii. 11-18. *It was written in Hebrew. All that survives of it is xiii. 11, 12^{ab}, 13-14^{ab}, 16^{aa}-17^a. It dealt with a conception of the Jewish Antichrist such as we find in 2 Thess. ii., who like that Antichrist was to claim the prerogatives of Deity, i.e. the worship of mankind, and required all men to bear his mark, just as the faithful bore the mark of God. The date cannot be definitely determined.*

We might now hypothetically and partially restore this second source in the Greek of our author. It may originally have been written in verse.

Jewish Apocalypse directed against the Antichrist in the form of the False Prophet.

- XIII.** 11. καὶ εἶδον τὸν ψευδοπροφήτην,
καὶ εἶχεν κέρατα δύο ὅμοια ἀνθρώπου,
καὶ ἀπέλλυε ὡς ὁ δράκων.
12. καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ δράκοντος πᾶσαν ποιεῖ ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ,
καὶ ποιεῖ τὴν γῆν καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ κατοικοῦντας
ἵνα προσκυνήσουσιν τὸν δράκοντα.
13. καὶ ποιεῖ σημεῖα μεγάλα, ἵνα καὶ πῦρ ποιῇ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ
καταβαίνειν εἰς τὴν γῆν ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀνθρώπων.
14. καὶ πλανᾷ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς
διὰ τὰ σημεῖα ἃ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ποιῆσαι,
- 16.-17. καὶ ποιεῖ πάντας ἵνα δώσιν αὐτοῖς χάραγμα ἐπὶ τῆς
χειρὸς αὐτῶν τῆς δεξιᾶς ἢ ἐπὶ τὸ μέτωπον αὐτῶν,
ἵνα μὴ τις δύνηται ἀγοράσαι ἢ πωλῆσαι εἰ μὴ ὁ
ἔχων τὸ χάραγμα.

The Two Beasts, xii. 18-xiii.

XII. 18. καὶ ἐστάθη ἐπὶ τὴν ἄμμον τῆς θαλάσσης.

There can be no question here as to the original text. The textual evidence in itself is overwhelming in behalf of ἐστάθη. In the next place the sense is in favour of it. The dragon foiled in his attempt to destroy the Messiah and His Community proceeds to the shore of the sea and summons from it the Beast (i.e. the Roman Empire) in order to arm it with his own power. Thus ch. xiii. follows naturally after xii. Again the order of the words in the next sentence, καὶ, . . . ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης θηρίον ἀναβαῖνον, is in favour of ἐστάθη : ἐστάθη ἐπὶ τ. ἄμμον τῆς θαλάσσης, καὶ εἶδον ἐκ τ. θαλάσσης θηρίον ἀναβαῖνον. And, finally, ἐστάθη preserves the continuity ἀπῆλθε, xii. 17, and ἔδωκε, in xiii. 2.

The First Beast, xii. 1-10.

XIII. 1. καὶ εἶδον ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης θηρίον ἀναβαῖνον,
 ἔχον κέρατα δέκα καὶ κεφαλὰς ἑπτά,
 καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν κεράτων αὐτοῦ δέκα διαδήματα,
 καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ ὀνόματα βλασφημίας.

The order of the words ἐκ τῆς θαλ. . . . ἀναβαῖνον is unusual. It differs from that in Dan. vii. 3, τέσσαρα θηρία . . . ἀνέβαινον ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης: 4 Ezra xi. 1, Ecce ascendeat de mari aquila, and xi. 7, xiii. 11, xvii. 8 (vii. 2), in our text. On the other hand, we find one parallel in xvi. 13-14, εἶδον ἐκ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ δράκοντος . . . πνεύματα τρία . . . ἃ ἐκπορεύεται. The unusual order in our text may be due to the order in the Hebrew source or may be adopted for the sake of emphasis. Stress may be laid on the quarter from which the Beast comes. The second Beast comes from the land, xiii. 11.

The first Beast is the Roman Empire. The description of this Beast in xiii. 1-2^{abc} is clearly based on Dan. vii. 2-7. It comes up from the sea, as the four beasts in Daniel did: the number of its heads may be directly derived from adding together the heads of the four beasts, though this characteristic has probably an older history; its ten horns are from the fourth beast, and its likeness to a leopard, its possession of the feet of a bear, and the mouth of a lion, are borrowed from the first three beasts. It is evidently the representation of the fourth kingdom in Daniel, though it is a still more terrible monster than that depicted there.

But in Daniel the fourth beast represents the Greek Empire of Alexander and his successors. When did the reinterpretation which appears in our text arise? Possibly, even probably, in the first century B.C.; for with the assertion of the power of Rome in the East this reinterpretation was inevitable. Probably from Pompey's time onward the Roman Commonwealth came in certain circles in Palestine to be identified with the fourth kingdom. Thus in Pss. Sol. ii. 29 Pompey is called ὁ δράκων—a term associated with the Antichrist. He impersonates the power of Rome, as Nebuchadnezzar did that of Babylon in Jer. xxviii. 14. Rabbinic literature shows many traces of this identification. Thus, according to Cant. rab. ii. 12; Gen. rab. xlv. 20; Lev. rab. xiii.; Midr. Teh. Ps. lxxx. 14 (see *Jewish Encyc.* x. 394), it was the last wicked kingdom whose end was to usher in the Messianic Kingdom. In the Aboda Zara, 2^a, Sheb. 6^b, Rome is declared to be the fourth kingdom in Dan. vii. 23. In the Rabbinic writings the usual designation of Rome is Edom (Schürer, *Gesch.*³ iii. 236 sq.; Weber, *Jüdisch. Theol.*² 365 sqq., 383 sq., 395). Though the date of the Jewish writings just mentioned is late, the fact of the reinterpretation of Dan. vii. 23

is unquestionable in the first century A.D. In the Assumption of Moses, x. 8 (7-30 A.D.), and 2 Bar. xxxix. 5 sqq., xxxvi. 5-10; 4 Ezra xii. 11 sq., this reinterpretation is not only given, but in the latter book it is implied that the angel, who instructed Daniel as to the fourth kingdom being Greek, was wrong. In Josephus (*Ant.* x. 11. 7) the same interpretation occurs, but the passage is rejected by Niese. Turning now to the Christian Church, we find the first identification of the Roman Empire with the fourth kingdom of Daniel in the Little Apocalypse as it is given by Luke xxi. 20; for, whereas in Mark xiii. 14; Matt. xxiv. 15 (ὅταν δὲ ἴδῃτε τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως), the phrase of Daniel, τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως, is used generally as referring to the profanation of the Temple by the Antichrist, this phrase is interpreted by Luke of the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans—ὅταν δὲ ἴδῃτε κυκλουμένην ὑπὸ στρατοπέδων Ἱερουσαλήμ. Thus the rôle of the fourth kingdom is assigned by Luke in some degree to Rome. The date of this reinterpretation is probably between 70 and 80 A.D. From this period we pass onwards to the Ep. Barn. iv. 4-5 (100-120 A.D.), where the same interpretation of the fourth kingdom is set forth.

From the above survey, therefore, we conclude that from 30 A.D. onwards Jewish exegesis universally and Christian exegesis generally took the Roman Empire to be the fourth kingdom in Daniel. So far, therefore, as our text sets forth this view it contains no new development: it merely expresses a current and apparently undisputed interpretation. But there is more than this in our text, as we shall see, and we cannot on the above grounds as well as on others acquiesce in any interpretation of the mysterious numbers in xiii. 18 which would limit it to the disclosure of a mere exegetical platitude of the times. The first advance on this interpretation appears in xiii. 3, where see note.

κέρατα δέκα καὶ κεφαλὰς ἑπτά. This clause and the following present great difficulties. The first clause has already occurred in xii. 3 as a description of the Dragon save that the order of the heads and horns is reversed. What meaning did our author attach to the heads or to the horns? As the text at present stands, the heads refer to the Roman emperors. This is clear from xiii. 3 (μίαν ἐκ τῶν κεφαλῶν αὐτοῦ), 12, 17, 18, and xvii. 9, 10. The reference here is clearly contemporary. This being so the horns cannot refer to the same persons.¹

¹ This latter illegitimate interpretation has been adopted by many who have accordingly concluded that the Apocalypse was written under the tenth Caesar. But, however the counting is done, it fails to lead to Domitian, under whom the Apocalypse was written. If, beginning with Caesar (as in 4 Ezra xii. 15) or Augustus, we include Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, we find the tenth in Titus or Vespasian: if we exclude these three we arrive at Nerva or Trajan. To reckon the three as one, as some do, and so make Domitian the tenth, is inadmissible.

Since this reference has been excluded, it has been proposed to treat the phrase *κέρατα δέκα* as an archaic survival here, and therefore meaningless in the present context. We have already met with such archaic survivals in the preceding chapters, but this explanation is not so satisfactory here. If the phrase were such, would it have been given this emphatic position? for the horns seem to be placed before the heads in contrast to the order in xii. 3, and the diadems are shifted from the heads to the horns. The difficulty is increased when we turn to xvii. 3, and find there that the Beast has "seven heads and ten horns" like the Dragon. The only explanation remaining, and it is not satisfactory, is that the horns are mentioned first, because they first became visible as the Beast rose from the sea in the vision.

Wellhausen thinks that xiii. 1^b and xii. 3^c, *ἔχων κεφαλὰς ἑπτὰ καὶ κέρατα δέκα*, are additions, since they have no bearing on the text till ch. xvii. But the seven-headed monster is derived from tradition, and is not a mere symbol created by our author.

That the number seven is not due to the fact that our author already knew or expected seven emperors we have already seen. See note on xii. 3. He gives an ancient tradition a new meaning by interpreting it of the seven Roman emperors.

καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν κεράτων αὐτοῦ δέκα διαδήματα. These words have been inserted in the text to prepare for the account in xvii. 12 of the Parthian kings, where the horns are expressly said to denote ten kings. In Daniel's visions a horn "represents either a king (see vii. 24, viii. 5, 8^a, 9, 21) or a dynasty of kings (viii. 3, 6, 7, 8^b, 20, 22) rising up in, or out of, the empire symbolized by the creature to which the horn belongs" (Driver, *Daniel*, vii. 7). The ten horns in Dan. vii. 7 refer to the successors of Alexander on the throne of Antioch—that is, to a single division of Alexander's empire. Similarly here the ten horns would refer to the kings of the eastern division of the Antichrist's empire, *i.e.* the Parthian. *διαδήματα* are elsewhere assigned only to Christ, xix. 12, and to the Dragon, xii. 3. The latter conception is permissible since the Dragon is in many respects a caricature of Christ. It would be permissible also, if the clause could be interpreted of the Roman emperors, since they could be regarded as incarnations of the Beast. But it is difficult to take them in connection with Rome's vassal kings. The position of *δέκα* before *διαδήματα* is found only in xvii. 12 in our author: see note on viii. 2. Hence the clause may be a gloss. For the phraseology we might compare the Egyptian royal title "Lord of diadems." (Mommson, *Rom. Gesch.* v. 565, note, quoted from Erbes, p. 95.)

καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτοῦ ὀνόματα βλασφημίας. Cf. xvii. 3, *θηρίον . . . γέμοντα ὀνόματα βλασφημίας.* The evidence for *ὄνομα*

and *ὀνόματα* is fairly balanced. If we take the singular then the blasphemous name on each head is no doubt *Σεβαστός*, *i.e.* *divus Augustus* — a blasphemous title involving divine claims and connected with the imperial cult. The terms *θεός* and *θεοῦ υἱός* were freely applied to the emperors in inscriptions from Augustus onward.¹ This interpretation is found in Bede, as Düsterdieck has pointed out: “Reges enim suos deos appellant tam mortuos et velut in cœlum atque inter deos translatos, quam etiam in terris Augustos, quod est nomen ut volunt deitatis.”

If, on the other hand, we read *ὀνόματα*, the seven heads are to be regarded as bearing respectively the seven names of the Caesars.

2. καὶ τὸ θηρίον ὃ εἶδον ἦν ὅμοιον παρδάλει,
καὶ οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ ὡς ἄρκου,
καὶ τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ ὡς στόμα λέοντος.
καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ ὁ δράκων τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ
καὶ τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐξουσίαν μεγάλην.

Our text as it stands combines the characteristics of the three beasts which arise out of the sea in succession in Dan. vii. 1 sqq.—the lion, the bear, and the leopard. In Hos. xiii. 7, 8 the lion, leopard, and bear are referred to. The third line suggests a combination of the traits of the first beast (*i.e.* the lion), Dan. vii. 4, and of the fourth and unnatural ten-horned beast, which had iron teeth wherewith it devoured and brake in pieces, vii. 7.

It is impossible to conceive the complex figure here portrayed by our author, unless we take it that he regards each of the seven heads as having a lion's mouth. But the text appears to imply that it had only one mouth. The figure therefore is wholly fantastic and not plastically conceivable. This inconceivableness is possibly somewhat in favour of regarding the line καὶ τὸ στόμα . . . λέοντος as a later addition.

But this argument is hardly valid here. It is noteworthy, however, that we have here the full construction τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ ὡς στόμα λέοντος, whereas in accordance with what precedes we should expect τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ ὡς λέοντος as in i. 10, iv. 1, 7. Yet in ix. 8, 9 we have the same combination of full and pregnant constructions.

3. καὶ μίαν ἐκ τῶν κεφαλῶν αὐτοῦ ὡς ἐσφαγμένην εἰς θάνατον. We must here supply εἶδον from ver. 1 as in iv. 4

¹ Temples were erected to Augustus in his lifetime bearing the dedication: *θεῶς Ῥώμης καὶ Σεβαστοῦ καίσαρος* (Dittenberger, *Or. Gr. inscr.* ii. 11—quoted from Swete, p. lxxxvii.). Hicks (*Epheesus*, p. 150) records the following inscription at Ephesus [*ἀποκράτωρ*] *καίσαρ θεοῦ Τραϊανοῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱὸς θεοῦ Νεροῦ αὐγού* *κλεινός*, *Τραϊανὸς Ἀδριανὸς Σεβαστός*.

(both additions from the hand of our author). The phrase *ὡς ἐσφαγμένον* has already occurred in connection with the Christ, v. 6. It marks the Beast, or rather one of its heads, as the Satanic counterpart of the Christ, and therefore as the Antichrist. It has, moreover, a twofold significance. It not only implies that the being so described was put to a violent death (*ἐσφαγμένην*), but also that he was restored to life (*ὡς ἐσφαγμένην*). With these words the text makes a new advance. From the current identification of Rome with the fourth or last kingdom in Daniel, it proceeds to deal with one of the heads of the Beast, *i.e.* an emperor of Rome who sums up in himself all its anti-christian characteristics. The next step whereby this head is identified with the Beast itself is taken in xiii. 12, 14.

καὶ ἡ πληγὴ τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ κτλ. The αὐτοῦ limits the statement to the wounded head, though in xiii. 12, 14 this head is identified with the entire Beast. It is this head and none other that *is healed*.¹ Hence the interpretation (of Zuschlag, Bruston, Gunkel, Clemen, Porter) which would find a reference to Julius Caesar here is excluded. The choice therefore lies between Caligula and Nero. The former view was advocated at an early date by Weyers (see Züllig, ii. 239), Holtzmann (Stade's *Gesch. Israels*, ii. 388 sq.), Erbes (p. 29), and Spitta (392). In 1885 Zahn proposed it by way of a jest (*Z.K.W.* 568 sqq.). The words *ἡ πληγὴ τοῦ θανάτου* would then refer to a very dangerous illness of Caligula from which he recovered (Suet. *Caligula*, 14; Dio Cassius, lix. 8; Philo, *Legatio ad Caium*, ii. 548, μέμνηται γὰρ οὐδεὶς τοσαύτην μᾶς χώρας ἢ ἐνὸς ἔθνους γενέσθαι χαρὰν ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ καὶ καταστάσει ἡγεμόνος, ὅσην ἐπὶ Γαίῳ συμπτώσης τῆς οἰκουμένης, καὶ παραλαβόντι τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ῥυσθέντι ἐκ τῆς ἀσθενείας. See Spitta, 139 sq., 369 sq., 392-95; Erbes, 17 sqq.). There is much to recommend this view. It would explain many of the difficulties in this chapter. It is the natural explanation of the thrice-recurring clause relating to the healing of the wound, xiii. 3, 12, 14, of the wonder of the whole world at his recovery, xiii. 3 (cf. Philo quoted above), and of the horror in Palestine at his attempt to set up his statue in the Temple,

¹ Since the text refers to the healing of the wounded head and not to the healing of the Beast itself with seven heads, the interpretation of Düsterdieck, O. Holtzmann, B. Weiss, and Moffatt is also out of court here. These scholars explain the text as referring to the convulsions which shook the Empire to its foundation in 69 A.D. after Nero's death, and from which it recovered only by the accession of Vespasian. Moffatt rightly observes that 4 Ezra xii. 18, which refers to this crisis in Roman affairs, requires this explanation: "Post tempus regni illius (*i.e.* Nero's) nascentur contentiones non modicae, et periclitabitur ut cadat, et non cadet tunc, sed iterum constituetur in suum initium," and compares Suet. *Vesp.* i.; Jos. *Bell.* iv. 11, 5, vii. 4. 2.

xiii. 6. Again it offers a satisfactory explanation of xiii. 8, καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν αὐτὸν πάντες οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, for we find in Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 8. 1 that all the subjects of the Roman Empire erected altars to Caligula and regarded him as a god : πάντων γοῦν ὁπόσοι τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ ὑποτελεῖς εἶεν βωμοὺς τῷ Γαίῳ καὶ νεὼς ἱδρυμένων τὰ τε ἄλλα πάντα αὐτὸν ὥσπερ τοὺς θεοὺς δεχομένων. Spitta (p. 369) and Erbes (p. 18) in opposing the Nero *redivivus* interpretation rightly argue : "Who in all the world would say of a wound, which was bringing a man to the grave, that he was healed because in a marvellous manner he rose again (as Nero *redivivus*) from the dead?" But however just these contentions may be, the text as it stands cannot refer to Caligula. To make it do so requires the change of the number 666 to 616, and the excision of xiii. 3^a, 4^{ode}, 5^b, 6^a, 7^a, 9-10, 14^c, 18^{ab}, and a phrase in xiii. 8 (so Spitta). The text as it stands refers, as both Spitta and Erbes admit, to Nero *redivivus*. That, however, our author is probably using here an earlier source referring possibly to Caligula we have already seen (see p. 349).

As the text stands the only satisfactory explanation is that which takes the text as referring to Nero *redivivus*. The two renderings 666 and 616 can be explained thereby, and no excisions are necessary, though certain expressions are difficult, owing probably to the fact that they were applied differently in an earlier source. The origin and belief in Nero's return has been investigated by Zahn, *Z.K.W.L.* 1885-86; Bousset, *Offenb. Johannis*, 410-18; and Charles, *Ascension of Isaiah*, li.-lxxiii.; and in a revised form in the Appendix to chap. xvii. of the present work. Several forms of the Antichrist tradition lie behind different sections of our Apocalypse. There is the Beliar Antichrist in xi. 7, which apparently had in its original form only a religious significance as in 2 Thess. ii. Of the first stage of the Neronic myth there is no trace, but there are ample traces of the second stage in xvi. 12 and in the original document or tradition behind xvii. 12-17, according to which Nero was to return from the far East at the head of ten Parthian kings for the destruction of Rome. The third stage which represents Nero *redivivus*, i.e. Nero as returning with demonic powers from the abyss, is that which was present to the mind of our author alike in the passage before us and throughout the book. See ch. xvii. and the Appendix. Only when so conceived "does the one head," as Bousset remarks, "become the complete antitype of the ἀρνίον ὡς ἐσφαγμένον." The wounded head is identified with the Beast in xiii. 12, 14, xvii. 8, 11.

καὶ ἐθαυμάσθη . . . ὀπίσω τοῦ θηρίου. We have here a construction which is neither Greek nor Hebrew, as Gunkel

has observed. Blass (p. 129) observes rightly that the prepositional use of *ὀπίσω* is foreign to profane writers, and takes its origin from the LXX (= אַחֲרַי), and compares in this connection the construction in Acts v. 37, xx. 30.¹ The present phrase *ἐθαυμάσθη . . . ὀπίσω* he admits (p. 118, note 3) is very strange, but he thinks it can be taken as a pregnant construction for *ἐθαυμάσθη ἐπὶ τῷ θηρίῳ καὶ ἐπορεύθη ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ*. Such an explanation can satisfy no one. Gunkel assumes that we have here a translation from the Hebrew ותתמה מאחרי החיה, where מאחרי is corrupt for מאחוריה. Thus we should have "and wondered at the end of the beast," i.e. that it remained alive. But the meaning Gunkel assigns to the Hebrew here is quite unnatural. "The end" of the beast was *not* this temporary restoration. And yet it is possible to explain the difficulty through retroversion into Hebrew: i.e. ותתמה כל־הארץ מאחרי החיה, where מאחרי is corrupt for בראותה (i.e. בראתה or בראות, though this last is a rarer construction). Thus the Greek should run: καὶ ἐθαυμάσθη ὅλη ἡ γῆ ἰδούσα (or βλέπουσα) τὸ θηρίον. This restoration is supported by the parallel passage dealing with the very same subject in xvii. 8, καὶ θαυμάσθησονται οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς . . . βλέπόντων τὸ θηρίον κτλ. The construction recurs again in xvii. 6, ἐθαύμασα ἰδὼν αὐτήν.

The meaning therefore of this clause is exactly the same as in xvii. 8. The world was astonished at the marvellous return of Nero *redivivus*.

4. καὶ προσκύνησαν. The power of the Roman Empire is derived from the Dragon, and the Dragon is worshipped as the source of this power. The words wherewith the inhabitants of the earth belaud the Beast are an intentional parody of certain expressions of praise in the O.T. Ex. xv. 11, τίς ὁμοίός σοι ἐν θεοῖς, κύριε; Ps. xxxv. 10, lxxxix. 6, cxiii. 5; Isa. xl. 25, xlvii. 5; Mic. vii. 18. The motive for the worship is given in the words that follow, τίς δύναται πολεμῆσαι μετ' αὐτοῦ; as Swete remarks, "it was not moral greatness but brute force which commanded the homage of the provinces."

In this verse our author takes up the theme which led really to the composition of the book as a whole, the worship of the Beast, the imperial cultus. Since this meant a subordination of the interests of religion to those of the State, it became the chief source of strife between Christendom and the Roman Empire. Again and again this subject recurs throughout the chapters that follow.

¹These passages are no more analogous to our text than 1 Tim. v. 15, ἐξερπάτησαν ὀπίσω τοῦ Σατανᾶ; for all three admit of good Hebrew renderings, but our text does not.

δ. καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ στόμα λαλοῦν μεγάλα καὶ βλασφημίας,
καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ἐξουσία ποιῆσαι μῆνας τεσσεράκοντα καὶ ὀκτώ.

The words στόμα λαοῦν μεγάλα are from Dan. vii. 8, 20 : cf. Ps. xii. 3 ; 2 Bar. lxvii. 7. With καὶ βλασφημίας cf. Dan. xi. 36, where it is said of Antiochus, ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν τῶν θεῶν ἑξάλλα (ὑπέρρογκα, Th.) λαλήσει, and vii. 25, ῥήματα εἰς (λόγους πρὸς, Th.) τὸν ὑψιστον λαλήσει : also 1 Macc. i. 24. ποιῆσαι (= πῶν) may mean either "to do," "to act with effect" : cf. Dan. viii. 12, xi. 28. It could mean "to spend the time," a sense that πῶν also has in Hebrew. On μῆνας κτλ. see note on xi. 2. Nero *redivivus* is to hold sway for the usual apocalyptic period.

ε. καὶ ἤνοιξεν τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ εἰς βλασφημίας πρὸς τὸν θεόν,
βλασφημῆσαι τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτοῦ,
καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ οὐρανῷ σκηνοῦντας.

With our text we might compare Dan. viii. 10-12. The claims of the Empire were expressed in ever deepening terms of blasphemy. Cf. what is said of the Antichrist in 2 Thess. ii. 4, ἀντικείμενος καὶ υπεραιρόμενος ἐπὶ πάντα λεγόμενον θεὸν ἢ σίβασμα . . . ἀποδεικνύντα ἑαυτὸν ὅτι ἴστιν θεός : Asc. Isa. iv. 6 (before 100 A.D.) "he will say : I am God and before me there has been none" : Sibyll. Or. v. 33-34 (= xii. 85, 86), εἴτα ἀνακάμψει ἰσάξων θεῷ αὐτόν. The impious claims of the Cæsars are here in the mind of the writer. Of Caligula Philo writes (*Leg. ad Caium*, 23), ὁ δὲ Γαῖος ἑαυτὸν ἐξετίφωσεν οὐ λέγων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἰόμενος εἶναι θεός. Domitian's claims here are very explicit : Suetonius, *Domitian*. 13, "Dominus et deus noster hoc fieri jubet. Unde institutum posthac, ut ne scripto quidem ac sermone cuiusquam appellaretur aliter."

βλασφημῆσαι τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ. Cf. Ass. Mos. viii. 5, where it is said that the Jews "will be forced . . . to blaspheme . . . the name." Cf. Lev. xxiv. 11, דַּעֲיִן-נַחַם דַּרְי.

The attempt to explain τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτοῦ (see § 8 in the Introd. to this chapter on the meaning of this phrase in the original source) of the earthly temple is against the context here and the usage of our author in xxi. 3, and especially the use of σκηνοῦν, as in vii. 15, xii. 12, xxi. 3. It is probably heaven itself that is here referred to : not the temple in heaven. But it is possible that our author means τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτοῦ to be taken as meaning "His Shekinah," especially if the words that follow are original. See note on xxi. 3. Those who find a Caligula Apocalypse behind the present text interpret the σκηνή of the earthly temple, in which Caligula wished to have his statue set up, according to Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 8. 2 ; *Bell.* ii. 10. 1 ; Philo, *Leg. ad Caium*, 29, 43. σκηνή could be taken in the same sense also, if the source referred to the siege of Jerusalem under Titus.

καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ σκηνοῦντας. The καὶ though weakly supported may be original. If the clause is original then too is the καί, and the beings referred to are the angels: cf. xii. 12. In that case we should compare xxi. 3, ἡ σκηνὴ τοῦ θεοῦ . . . καὶ σκηνώσῃ. Since we have οὐρανός definitely mentioned in this third phrase, τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτοῦ can hardly be taken as its equivalent. Hence again we conclude to its meaning "His Shekinah."

7. καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ποιῆσαι πόλεμον μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ νικῆσαι αὐτούς,
καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ἐξουσία ἐπὶ πᾶσαν φυλὴν καὶ λαὸν καὶ γλῶσσαν καὶ ἔθνος.

The first line (as also xi. 7) goes back to Dan. vii. 21—to the Aramaic rather than to the Versions. Theod. has *ἐθέρουν καὶ τὸ κέρας ἐκείνο ἐποίει πόλεμον μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ ἰσχυσεν πρὸς αὐτούς*. LXX has *πόλεμον συνιστάμενον πρὸς τοὺς ἁγίους καὶ τροπούμενον αὐτούς*. Νικῆσαι is our author's own rendering here: cf. xii. 11, xvii. 14, etc., and ποιῆσαι πόλεμον μετὰ is found in xi. 7, xii. 17, xix. 19, and is a literal rendering of the Aramaic *ܩܝܡ ܕܡܝܪܝܬܐ*. The rôle of the little horn (*i.e.* Antiochus Epiphanes) in Daniel is here taken by Nero *redivivus*. The persecution referred to is not the first, *i.e.* the Neronic, but in the future; for it is to be world wide.

1 Enoch xlii. 7 speaks of the rulers and kings "casting down the stars of heaven" (*i.e.* the righteous) in dependence on Dan. viii. 10.

ἐπὶ πᾶσαν φυλὴν κτλ. See v. 9, note, on this favourite enumeration of our author.

7^b-8. καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ἐξουσία . . . ἀκουσάτω, like ver. 3, looks like an insertion. By their removal we seem to recover the original form of the verses xiii. 1-10. See *Introd.* to Chap. xiii. § 8, p. 342 sqq. But the present form is due to our author.

8. καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν αὐτὸν πάντες οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς οὐ οὐ γέγραπται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ ἀρνίου τοῦ ἐσφαγμένου ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου.

This verse combined with xiii. 3^c forms a doublet of xvii. 8. See *Introd.*, p. 337. The future *προσκυνήσουσιν* may be due to the fact that the author has dropt his rôle of Seer and passed over into prophecy, or that he has translated *קָרַב* in his original source as if it were *קָרַבָּה* instead of *קָרַבָּה*. Cf. xvii. 8. In any case we pass here from the present to the future. All do not yet worship the beast. See 15. The phrase *τοῦ ἀρνίου τοῦ ἐσφαγμένου* is generally regarded by critics as a scribal gloss, but it appears to be from the hand of our author; for, in the first place, in xxi. 27 we find *ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ ἀρνίου*, and, in the next, the phrase in our text forms a contrast to that in xiii. 3. The

subjects of the Neronic Antichrist who was *ὡς ἐσφαγμένος εἰς θάνατον* are set over against those of τοῦ ἀρνίου τοῦ ἐσφαγμένου: (cf. v. 6, 12).

The reading *ὧν . . . τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῶν*, though weakly attested, has something to be said for it. The use of *ὄνομα*, where a plurality is referred to, is a Hebraism. Thus in Num. xxvi. 33 (in xxvii. 1 where the phrase is repeated we have the plural), xxxii. 38; Deut. xii. 3; 1 Sam. xiv. 49 *ὁ* is used with reference to a number. This Hebraism would explain the correction of *ὧν . . . αὐτῶν* into *οὗ . . . αὐτοῦ* on the one hand and of *τὸ ὄνομα* into *τὰ ὀνόματα* on the other. Cf. xvii. 8.

The phrase *ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου* is by almost all scholars connected with *γέγραπται*, as in xvii. 8. In favour of this connection the following passages are quoted: Eph. i. 4, *ἐξελέξατο ἡμᾶς ἐν αὐτῷ πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου*, and Matt. xxv. 34, *ἤτοιμασμένῃν ὑμῖν βασιλείαν ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου*. Thus the election is from the beginning, and the presupposition is that only the elect can withstand the claims of the imperial cult backed by the might of the empire itself. To acknowledge such claims on the part of the State is in reality to acknowledge the supremacy of Satan. The faithful are thus secured by their election from the foundation of the world. In vii. 3 sqq., having already exhibited their steadfastness in actual temptation, they have been marked on their brows as God's own possession, and have thus been secured against the spiritual assaults of Satan but not against martyrdom. The above interpretation is right in the case of xvii. 8 but possibly wrong in the present passage, and Bede, Eichhorn, and Alford may be right in connecting the above phrase with *ἐσφαγμένου*. This connection is suggested by 1 Pet. i. 19, 20, *ἐλυτρώθητε . . . αἵματι ὡς ἀμνοῦ . . . προεγνωσμένου μὲν πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου*. What has been foreordained in the counsels of God is in a certain sense a fact already. The principle of sacrifice and redemption is older than the world: it belongs to the essence of the Godhead. In favour of this view I would adduce further evidence. In the 2nd cent. B.C. Michael was regarded as the mediator between God and man, Test. Dan vi. 2 (see my note *in loc.*), and about the beginning of the Christian era this mediatorship was assigned to Moses in Ass. Mos. i. 14 (see next paragraph). If Judaism claimed that Moses was ordained to be mediator of God's covenant *from the foundation of the world*, Christianity claimed that Christ was ordained as the Redeemer of mankind from that period. This, I think, is the meaning of the words in their present context, though it was not the meaning in the older form of the passage, which has been preserved in xvii. 8.

The phrase *ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου* is found eight times in the

N.T. outside the Apocalypse, but does not occur in the LXX. The word *καταβολή* is only once found in the LXX, *i.e.* in 2 Macc. ii. 29, where it is used of the foundation of a house. The idea, however, is found in Job xxxviii. 4, בִּיסְדִי אָרָץ; LXX, ἐν τῷ θεμελιῶν μετὰ τὴν γῆν, and the phrase itself recurs three times in the Ass. Mos. i. 13, 14, "ab initio orbis terrarum," the Greek of which is happily preserved in Gelasius of Cyzicum (see Fabricius, *Cod. Pseud. V.T.* i. 845, and my edition of the Assumption, pp. 6, 7, 58, 59), ὡς γέγραπται ἐν βιβλίῳ Ἀναλήψεως Μωυσέως . . . καὶ προεθέασατό με ὁ θεὸς πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου εἶναί με τῆς διαθήκης αὐτοῦ μεσίτην. Here as in our text the idea of predestination is forcibly expressed.

9. εἴ τις ἔχει οὖς, ἀκουσάτω. See note on ii. 7.
 10. εἴ τις εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν,
 εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν ὑπάγει·
 εἴ τις ἐν μαχαίρῃ ἀποκτανθήναι
 † αὐτὸν † ἐν μαχαίρῃ ἀποκτανθήναι·
 ὁδε ἔστιν ἡ ὑπομονὴ καὶ ἡ πίστις τῶν ἀγίων.

10. The textual evidence is very divided, and allows of three different forms of text.

1. The first, *i.e.* A, which I have given above, alone is right. Hort admits that *ἀποκτανθήναι* gives the right sense but, failing like all other scholars to understand the construction, does not adopt it into his text. Wellhausen (p. 22, note) declares that *ἀποκτενεῖ* is impossible, and that it must be changed into the passive. It is strange that he does not refer to the reading of A. Its object is to enforce an attitude of loyal endurance. The day of persecution is at hand: the Christians must suffer captivity, exile or death: in calmly facing and undergoing this final tribulation they are to manifest their endurance and faithfulness. This prophetic admonition undoubtedly suits the context and the tone of the entire Apocalypse. It has, moreover, the support of Jer. xliii. 11 and xv. 2, on one or other of which it is based. The former is אֲשֶׁר לְמוֹת וְאֲשֶׁר לְשָׁבִי, while the LXX of Jer. xv. 2 gives ὅσοι εἰς θάνατον, εἰς θάνατον· καὶ ὅσοι εἰς μάχαιραν εἰς μάχαιραν· . . . καὶ ὅσοι εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν. I have printed the text of A: it is not Greek, but it is a literal rendering of a distinctively Hebrew idiom: *i.e.* of אֲשֶׁר בַּחֲרָב לְמוֹת הוּא בַּחֲרָב לְמוֹת. It might be explained as a mistranslation of אֲשֶׁר בַּחֲרָב לְמוֹת בַּחֲרָב, where the translator read לְמוֹת twice instead of לְמוֹת. The αὐτόν is corrupt for αὐτός. See xii. 7, note, where this idiom has already occurred.

But the former, I have no doubt, is the right explanation, and the text should be rendered: "If any man is to be slain with the sword, he is to be slain with the sword." This being so, *αὐτόν* is to be taken as a corruption of *αὐτός*. In *αὐτός ἐν μαχαίρῃ ἀποκτανθήναι* we have a translation of the same Hebraism as in *ὁ Μιχαὴλ καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ τοῦ πολεμήσαι* in xii. 7. The Greek, it is true, differs in xii. 7 by the insertion of *τοῦ* before the inf. But we find the same variation in the LXX. To render *ל* before the inf. in this idiomatic sense was evidently a matter of no little difficulty to the Greek translators, who reproduced it in many ways: 1. by a fut. ind. as in Ps. xlix. 15; Jer. li. (xxviii.) 49; 2. once (?) by *δεῖ, συμ. inf.* See 2 Sam. iv. 10, *ὃ εἶδε με δοῦναι* = *לֹא יָהִי כֵן*; 3. by *εἰ* with the aor. ind., 2 Kings xiii. 19; 4. by a paraphrastic form consisting of two verbs, 2 Chron. xi. 22; 5. frequently by *τοῦ* with the inf. as in Eccles. iii. 15; 1 Chron. ix. 25, and in our text in xii. 7; 6. once simply by the inf. Ps. xxxii. 9, *ἐν χαλινῷ καὶ κημῷ . . . ἄρξαι* (B א) = *בַּחֲמֹר . . . בַּמִּלְחָמָה*. Here we have the same rendering as in our text, *αὐτός (αὐτόν, A) ἐν μαχαίρῃ ἀποκτανθήναι*. In xii. 7, just as here, *אQ* omit the *τοῦ* before *πολεμήσαι*, but *τοῦ συμ. inf.* is a better rendering. There are also other renderings in the LXX of this idiom.

2. The second form of the text is that of some cursives and Versions:

*εἴ τις εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν ἀπάγει,
εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν ὑπάγει.
εἴ τις ἐν μαχαίρῃ ἀποκτενεῖ,
δεῖ αὐτόν ἐν μαχαίρῃ ἀποκτανθήναι.*

This is the text preferred by Bousset. As in the former text so in this the parallelism of the two clauses is perfect. But the meaning is of course different. While in the former we have an appeal to the loyalty of the faithful, in the latter there is simply a promise of requital. The saints are assured that the *jus talionis* will be enacted to the full on their persecutors.

3. The third form of text is that of the R.V., which agrees with the second save that it omits *ἀπάγει*. This third form is accepted by B. Weiss, Swete, and Moffatt, but, whatever the textual evidence is, it has the parallelism against it and also the source from which it is derived. Its advocates have supported it by maintaining that both clauses refer to the Christian: he is to suffer exile if necessary, xiii. 10^{ab}: he is to abstain from using the sword, xiii. 10^{cd}, *if he would not perish by the sword*. But here the idea of the law of requital is introduced. Hence, since according to this text 10^{ab} enforces simply the duty of resignation, and 10^{cd} is clearly an expression of the law of

requital, this third form of text combines two ideas consorting very ill with each other, inappropriate to their context and at variance with the source from which they are ultimately drawn. B. Weiss interprets the whole verse as expressing requital.

It is true that this form is fairly supported by the textual evidence; but it was probably due to Matt. xxvi. 52.

The first corruption of the text (*i.e.* of ἀποκτανθῆναι into ἀποκτενεῖ as in the R.V.) seems to have been due to Matt. xxvi. 52, πάντες γὰρ οἱ λαβόντες μάχαιραν ἐν μαχαίρῃ ἀπολούνται. This change once effected, introducing as it did the idea of a *jus talionis*, could easily lead to the next corruption, *i.e.* the addition of ἀπάγει after αἰχμαλωσίαν (10). Thus this third form of text conveys to the Christians the promise that, whatever be the fate they endure, it will recoil on their persecutors.

The Second Beast, 11-18.

11. καὶ εἶδον ἄλλο θηρίον ἀναβαῖνον ἐκ τῆς γῆς,
καὶ εἶχεν κέρατα δύο ὅμοια ἀρνίῳ,
καὶ † ἐλάλει ὡς δράκων †.

In our text this second Beast is identified with the False Prophet: cf. xvi. 13, xix. 20, xx. 10. Mommsen thinks that this second Beast symbolizes the state officials throughout the provinces, but the express identification of this Beast with the False Prophet renders Mommsen's view untenable. From Victorinus downwards a number of notable scholars have identified the Beast with the heathen priesthood, but it is best with Holtzmann, Pfeleiderer, Bousset, J. Weiss to understand it in relation to the imperial priesthood of the provinces.

In this second Antichrist figure we have an independent development of the Antichrist expectation. See p. 342 sqq. Originally this expectation had a radically different object, *i.e.* a Jewish false prophet in Jerusalem, or a Christian false prophet in the Christian community, as in 1 John ii. 18, 22, iv. 3; 2 John 7. But since the vision of our author is not limited to Judaism or Christianity, but takes in the entire world, he finds that the truths he had already learnt in Judaism and Christianity attained their fullest exemplification in the heathen world. Thus this Antichrist is now heathen and the scene of his activity the heathen world.

This Antichrist comes up ἐκ τῆς γῆς. This phrase seems to indicate the locality of the beast, *i.e.* the priesthood of the imperial cultus in Asia Minor. Some scholars trace it to Dan. vii. 17, but this can only be a mere accident. Moreover that passage is corrupt. It is true indeed that according to

ancient tradition, 1 Enoch lx. 7 sqq.; 4 Ezra vi. 49 sqq., there were two monsters, Leviathan and Behemoth, the one inhabiting the deep, the other the dry land. These monsters sprang ultimately from the cosmological myths of Babylon, and, representing the primeval chaos monster *Tiāmat*, appear under many names in the O.T. as opponents of God, Isa. li. 9; Ps. lxxxix. 10 sqq.; Job xxvi. 12 sq. etc. (see *K.A.T.*³ 507), but in later times they came to be regarded as the impersonations of the evil power in the last days, when cosmological myths were transformed into eschatological expectations—as in Isa. xxvii. 1 (leviathan, serpent, dragon); Pss. Sol. ii. 28 sqq.; Rev. xii. xvi. 13, xx. 2 (δράκων); 1 Enoch lx. 7 sqq.; 4 Ezra vi. 49–52; 2 Bar. xxix. 4 (Behemoth and Leviathan); Dan. vii. (חיה); Rev. xiii. xvi. 13, xvii. xix. 19 sqq. (θηρίον). See *K.A.T.* 508.

κέρατα δύο ὅμοια ἀρνίῳ. This phrase may be illustrated by Matt. vii. 15, προσέχετε ἀπὸ τῶν ψευδοπροφητῶν, οἵτινες ἔρχονται πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐν ἐνδύμασι προβάτων, ἐσωθεν δὲ εἰσιν λύκοι ἄρπαγες. The words in our text therefore may point to the mild appearance of the second Beast.

What is the meaning of ἐλάλει ὡς δράκων? Like Gunkel I must confess that I can make nothing of it. On the ground that it is unintelligible Gunkel, assuming a Semitic source, retranslates καὶ ἐλάλει into וְתַמַּח, which he takes to be a corruption of תַּמַּח—“and a form.” But the Hebrew equivalent of λαλεῖν is not תַּמַּח but דַּבֵּר. I have two suggestions. The corruption lies either in the Greek or in the Hebrew behind the Greek. In the former case we should add the article before δράκων, which is meaningless without it. If then we might read ὁ δράκων, and take δράκων as synonymous with ὄφις as in xii. 9, 14, 15, xx. 2, then the text becomes intelligible and would refer to the seductive and deceitful character of the serpent in the Garden of Eden. If this is right, the text would imply appeals to patriotism, gratitude for the great services of the empire, self-interest. If, on the other hand, the text goes back to a Hebrew original, then וְדַבֵּר (*i.e.* καὶ ἐλάλει) might be corrupt (as in 2 Chron. xxii. 10, where דַּבֵּר is corrupt for וְתַמַּח: cf. 2 Kings xi. 1) for וְתַמַּח. The original would then have been וְתַמַּח כְּתִנִּי. “And the beast had two horns like a lamb (herein simulating the Messiah—τὸ ἀρνίον in xiv. 1), but he was a destroyer (an ἀπολλύων) like the dragon” (*i.e.* his master). This gives us the same antithesis as in Matt. vii. 15 (quoted above)—the fair outward show contrasting with the real nature. Moreover, in confirmation of this view, the second Beast is called a ψευδοπροφήτης in xvi. 13, xix. 20, xx. 10, just as the false teachers are in Matt. vii. 15. Furthermore in וְתַמַּח we might have an allusion to Ἀβαδδὼν in ix. 11; for this being appears to be Satan

or the Dragon. If this is right, instead of ἐλάλει ὡς δράκων we ought to have ἀπώλλυε (or ἀπολλύων) ὡς ὁ δράκων (cf. ix. 11).

12. καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ πρώτου θηρίου πᾶσαν ποιεῖ ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ·

καὶ ποιεῖ τὴν γῆν καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ κατοικοῦντας
ἵνα προσκυνήσουσιν τὸ θῆριον τὸ πρῶτον,
οὗ ἐθεραπεύθη ἡ πληγὴ τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ.

The construction τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ κατοικοῦντας is strange on two grounds. First, the order is against the general usage of our author, though it is found occasionally. See note on xi. 4 (p. 284). Observe that a strong minority of textual authorities are in favour of the order τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐν αὐτῇ. Secondly, the construction κατοικεῖν ἐν is found here only in the Apocalypse. Nine times we have κατοικεῖν ἐπὶ and once κατοικεῖν c. acc. See note on xi. 10 and § 4 of the Introd. to this Chapter.

The imperial priesthood uses its delegated authority to enforce the worship of the Empire, which is here identified with Nero *redivivus*. It is no longer the death stroke of one of the heads of the Beast (xiii. 3) that is spoken of, but of the Beast itself.

13. καὶ ποιεῖ σημεῖα μεγάλα, ἵνα καὶ πῦρ ποιῇ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβαίνειν εἰς τὴν γῆν ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

ἵνα has here the force of the classical ὥστε as in ix. 20 : cf. 1 John i. 9 : John ix. 2. See Blass, *Gram.* 224 sq.

In this verse the writer is thinking of the magic and lying wonders practised by the priesthood devoted to the worship of the emperors. They caused fire to come down from heaven. All oriental cults had recourse to such deceptions.

An outburst of miracles was expected to mark the advent of the Antichrist : cf. Mark xiii. 22, ἐγερθήσονται . . . ψευδοπροφῆται καὶ δώσουσιν σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα πρὸς τὸ ἀποπλανᾶν εἰ δυνατὸν τοὺς ἐκλεκτούς ; 2 Thess. ii. 9, οὗ ἐστὶν ἡ παρουσία κατ' ἐνέργειαν τοῦ Σατανᾶ ἐν πάσῃ δυνάμει καὶ σημείοις καὶ τέρασιν ψεύδους. Asc. Isa. iv. 10, "And there will be the power of his (*i.e.* the Neronic Antichrist) miracles in every city : And at his word the sun will rise at night and he will make the moon to appear at the sixth hour" : also 4 Ezra v. 4 ; Sibyll. Or. iii. 63-70. See Ramsay, *Letters to the Seven Churches*, 99 sq. The special miracle recorded in our text recalls that of Elijah, 1 Kings xviii. 38. For diction cf. Luke ix. 54.

14. καὶ πλανᾷ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς διὰ τὰ σημεῖα ἃ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ποιῆσαι ἐνώπιον τοῦ θηρίου, λέγων τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν ἐπὶ

τῆς γῆς ποιῆσαι εἰκόνα τῷ θηρίῳ, ὃς ἔχει τὴν πληγὴν τῆς μαχαίρης καὶ ἔζησεν.

πλανῶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας. The second Beast has power to deceive only the unbelieving world. This is explicitly the teaching of xix. 20 and implicitly that of xii. 9, xviii. 23, xx. 3, 8, 10.

The faithful received the mark of God on their foreheads, vii. 4 sqq. (see note *in loc.*), ix. 4, and were henceforth secured against satanic assaults in the form of deception and temptation to sin. But the unbelieving world, which had received the mark of the Beast, xiii. 16, were thereby just as inevitably predisposed and prepared to become victims of every satanic deceit and temptation, and to believe a lie. We have here a deep spiritual truth. In the degree in which a man's character approaches finality, he has in that degree, if he has been faithful, become one with God and been rendered secure against spiritual evil powers in whatever form. If, on the other hand, he has been faithless, he has in that degree by his own action predisposed and prepared himself to be at once the unconscious victim of further spiritual wrong and the helpless slave of evil powers.

On the moral significance of the phrase τοὺς κατοικ. ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, see note on xi. 10, and xiii., Introd. § 4.

There is no real occasion here and in iv. 11, xii. 11 to take *διὰ* in an instrumental sense as Bousset proposes. The imposture succeeds because of the signs that are wrought ἐνώπιον τοῦ θηρίου. The signs were wrought by the priesthood (the second Beast) before the official representatives of the emperor (the first Beast).

λέγων . . . ποιῆσαι. For the construction see note on x. 9. The imperial priesthood made every effort to spread the imperial cult by the setting up of statues of the emperor and insisting on their religious significance. In our text the *εἰκών* is that of Nero *redivivus*, as the last clause of the verse shows. With this expectation we might compare that expressed in Asc. Isa. iv. 11, "And he (probably 'they' should be read) will set up his image (*i.e.* that of the Neronic Antichrist) before him in every city."

15-18. The connection of these verses has been generally misapprehended. The meaning simply is—the worship of the Beast gives the right to assume the mark of the Beast: these two—the worship and the reception of the mark are always associated together: cf. xiv. 9, 11, xvi. 2, xix. 20, xx. 4, as in xiii. 15°, 16: the mark cannot be had without the act of worship. Next, since the refusal of such worship inevitably entails death, xiii. 15°, in order to escape death all are forced to wear the mark (xiii. 16) in evidence of having rendered such worship. And that none should escape this requirement, the necessities of life are to be

withheld from such as do not exhibit the mark, xiii. 17. Thus every individual is reached—small and great, rich and poor, bond and free, and none can evade the inquisition and none the dread alternative of worship or death.

15. καὶ ἰδὼθῃ αὐτῷ δοῦναι πνεῦμα τῇ εἰκόνι τοῦ θηρίου, ἵνα καὶ λαλήσῃ ἡ εἰκὼν τοῦ θηρίου καὶ ποιήσῃ ἵνα ὅσοι ἐὰν μὴ προσκυνήσωσιν τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ θηρίου ἀποκτανθῶσιν.

The belief in speaking and wonder-working statues was a well established one in the ancient world. According to Clem. *Recognitions*, iii. 47 (Clem. *Hom.* ii. 32), Simon Magus declared: "Statuas moveri feci: animavi exanima." Besides such wonder-workers as Apollonius of Tyana, and Apelles of Ascalon at the court of Caligula of the first century, we find remarkable parallels in the second century. Statues were regarded as the natural means by which gods or demons could have intercourse with their worshippers, and were accredited with the power of working miracles (Theophil. *ad Autol.* i. 8), and of possessing supernatural energies (Athenagoras, *Leg.* 18). At Troas a statue of a certain Neryllinus (*op. cit.* 26) was supposed to utter oracles and to heal the sick, and the statue of Alexander and Proteus at Parium to utter oracles. Athenagoras admits the actuality of these phenomena but ascribes them to demons.

Most oriental cults had recourse to magic and trickery, and that the imperial cult availed itself of their help, as our text states, there is no just ground for doubting. The association of Roman officials and sorcerers is attested in Acts xiii. 6. Irenaeus, in his comment on our text, writes (v. 28. 2): "Haec ne quis eum divina virtute putet signa facere, sed magica operatione. Et non est mirandum si daemoniis et apostaticis spiritibus ministrantibus ei, per eos faciat signa in quibus seducat habitantes super terram." See Weinelt, *Wirkungen des Geistes und der Geister*, 9 sq.

ἵνα ὅσοι . . . ἀποκτανθῶσιν. As in 8 the writer passes over into the future, so here in 15. There *all* the inhabitants of the earth who were not written in the Book of Life were to worship the Beast: Here *all* that did not worship its image were to be put to death. That refusal to worship the image of the emperor carried with it capital punishment in Trajan's time is clear from Pliny's letter to Trajan (x. 96). Those who refused to recant "duci jussi." As regards the rest he writes: "Qui negarent se esse Christianos, aut fuisse, cum praeceunte me deos appellarent, et imagini tuae, quam propter hoc iusseram . . . afferri, thure ac vino supplicarent . . . ego dimittendos putavi."

16. καὶ ποιεῖ πάντας τοὺς μικροὺς καὶ τοὺς μεγάλους, καὶ τοὺς πλουσίους καὶ τοὺς πτωχοὺς, καὶ τοὺς ἐλευθέρους καὶ τοὺς δοῦλους, ἵνα δώσιν αὐτοῖς χάραγμα ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῶν τῆς δεξιᾶς ἢ ἐπὶ τῷ μέτωπον αὐτῶν.

17. καὶ ἵνα μὴ τις δύνῃται ἀγοράσαι ἢ πωλῆσαι εἰ μὴ ὁ ἔχων τὸ χάραγμα, τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θηρίου ἢ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ.

On the familiar τοὺς μικροὺς καὶ τοὺς μεγάλους cf. xi. 18, xix. 5, and in reverse order in xx. 12: on τοὺς πλουσίους καὶ τοὺς πτωχοὺς cf. Prov. xxii. 2; Sir. x. 22. τοὺς ἐλευθέρους καὶ τοὺς δούλους recurs in xix. 18 and in reverse order in vi. 15.

ἵνα δῶσιν αὐτοῖς χάραγμα. On the impersonal plural cf. x. 11, xii. 6, xvi. 15. For the phrase διδόναι χάραγμα cf. Ezek. (LXX) ix. 4, δὸς σημεῖον (where, however, the Hebrew is וְהָיָה) ἐπὶ τὰ μέτωπα. But διδόναι . . . χάραγμα is good Hebrew, and is found in Megillah, 24b, where in reference to the tephillah it is said וְהָיָה לְעַלְמָא דְּמִנִּים.

The mark¹ was to be placed on the right hand and on the brow of the followers of the Beast. This is full of significance. For the orthodox Jew wore the tephillin (which were translated in Greek φυλακτήρια—cf. Matt. xxiii. 5, πλατύνουσι γὰρ τὰ φυλακτήρια—owing to the circumstance they were practically amulets and used as a protection against evil spirits) on the left hand and on the head (see Schürer, *Gesch.*³ ii. 485; Friedländer, *Der Antichrist*, 158 sq., 161).² Hence the worshippers of the Beast travesty (xiii. 16) this usage by wearing the mark on their right hand or their brow. In xiv. 9 and xx. 4 this double mark on the hand and the brow of the worshippers of the Beast is referred to, though which hand is not specified. In xiii. 17, xiv. 11, xvi. 2, xix. 20 only the mark without specification of the brow or hand is mentioned, though it is defined simply as τὸ χάραγμα τοῦ θηρίου in xvi. 2, xix. 20, and in xiii. 17, xiv. 11 the mark is said to consist in the name of the beast (or the number of his name, xiii. 17). In our present text, as in xiv. 9, the mark is said to be on the brow or on the hand, whereas in xx. 4 it is stated to be on the brow and on the hand. In the face of Jewish usage and xx. 4 we may fairly assume that the mark was in both places. It is to be observed that alike with regard to the faithful and the followers of the Antichrist the mark is placed on the brow (not over the brow), just as in Deut. vi. 8 the tephillin were to be set as frontlets "between the eyes." The Rabbis, however, declared that this usage was heretical, Megillah, 24b: "Whoever placed the tephillin on the brow or on the hand (וְעַל כַּף אִו עַל פֶּסַח יָדוֹ) follows the practice of the Minim," and required that they should

¹ The word χάραγμα may, as Deissmann suggests, be chosen because it was the technical designation of the imperial stamp.

² Targum on Cant. viii. 1, "The Community of Israel saith: I am chosen from among the heathen nations because I bind the tephillin on my left hand and about my head," וְאֵין אִנּוּ קִשְׁטָא חֶפְלִין בִּיר שְׂמָאִי וְנִרְשִׁי, and on the upper third of the right doorpost next the lintel, in order that evil spirits may have no power to do me injury."

be worn over the brow and on the hands or rather forearms (זרועות). Thus the worshippers of the Beast, as Friedländer (*op. cit.* 161 sq.) and Bousset recognize, travesty in these respects the practice of orthodox Judaism in the first century of the Christian era, but not of the faithful in vii. 3 sqq., etc., of our text. The mark on the brow of the faithful in our author has no connection with the tephillin. Hence this fact points to the Jewish origin of this section with regard to the Antichrist or of part of it. *But ultimately the marks on the brows of the faithful, vii. 3 sqq., etc., and of the worshippers of the Beast had the same origin. Both were intended to show that the wearers of the marks are under supernatural protection*—the former under the protection of God, the latter of Satan. The former marks were to be made on the brow only: the latter on the brow and right hand owing to the influence of the Antichrist expectation amongst the Jews, as we have just seen.¹

ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῶν τῆς δεξιᾶς. Upon the significance of the mark being upon the right hand see preceding note. See note on p. 335, on the order and fulness of this expression as contrasted with i. 17, 20, etc., as well as on the case.

καὶ ἵνα μὴ τις κτλ. The object of enforcing the wearing of the mark is not the minor one of cutting off the recusants from buying and selling (which the MSS which omit the καὶ would imply); for the penalty of such recusancy is immediate death. The necessities of life are to be withheld from such as have not the mark of the beast in order to bring them under the notice of the imperial authorities, and that thus none should escape. A ruthless economic warfare is here proclaimed with a view to the absolute supremacy of the State. This is not represented as a fact of the present but as the future in store for the inhabitants of the earth. Thus shortly the sense of xiii.

¹ Other views propounded are: 1. The marks were those used in the case of domestic slaves. Those so marked were called στυγματοί, literati, and such marks were regarded as a badge of disgrace. They were not used generally amongst the Greeks and Romans unless in the case of misconduct. 2. Soldiers sometimes branded themselves with the name of their general: see Wetstein on Gal. vi. 17. 3. Deissman (*Biblical Studies*, 241 sq.) thinks that he finds the clue in the seals (χαράγματα) which were stamped with the name and year of the emperor in Egypt in the first and second centuries on papyrus documents relating to buying and selling. But this practice does not explain the mark on the *person*. The mark of the beast was, as Ramsay observes, "a preliminary condition" of buying and selling, "and none who wanted it were admitted to business transactions." 4. Ramsay, *Letters to the Seven Churches* (110 sq.), suggests that the mark was an official certificate of loyalty which was issued to those who had complied with the ritual of the imperial religion. But this does not meet the case. 5. Spitta, Erbes and Mommsen interpret the text with reference to the Roman coins bearing the image and superscription of the emperor. But this interpretation does not explain the stamping of the marks on the right hand and brow.

16-17 is: He made every one to wear the mark, and that none should escape his scrutiny he forbade the means of life to such as had not the mark. *ἵνα μὴ . . . ἀγοράσαι ἢ πωλῆσαι.* For the diction cf. 1 Macc. xiii. 49, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἀκρας ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐκωλύοντο ἐκπορεύεσθαι εἰς τὴν χώραν καὶ ἀγοράζειν καὶ πωλεῖν.

ὁ ἔχων τὸ χάραγμα. Our author when writing independently would probably say ὁ λαβὼν τ. χ. See note on xvi. 2.

τὸ χάραγμα, τὸ ὄνομα κτλ. The name and the number of the name are one and the same thing. In the former case it is written in letters: in the latter its equivalent is given in numbers by a kind of gematria. To the diction in our text τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦ θηρίου (18) and τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ (17) there are two exact parallels in the inscriptions given by Mau in the *Bulletino del Istituto*, 1874, p. 90, one of which is φιλω ἡς ἀριθμὸς φμε (cf. τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦ θηρίου) and the second ἀμέριμος ἐμνήσθη ἀρμονίας τῆς ἰδίας κ(υ)ρία(ς) ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ, ἡς ὁ ἀριθμὸς με (or αλε) τοῦ καλοῦ ὀνόματος (cf. τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ).

18. ὧδε ἡ σοφία ἐστίν· ὁ ἔχων νοῦν ψηφισάτω τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦ θηρίου, ἀριθμὸς γὰρ ἀνθρώπου ἐστίν· καὶ ὁ ἀριθμὸς αὐτοῦ ἑξακόσιοι ἑξήκοντα ἕξ.

ὧδε ἡ σοφία ἐστίν. With this expression Eichhorn compares the cabbalistic phrase *סוהר חדאש* (Sohar Chadash, f. 40. 3). ὧδε here as in xvii. 9 refers to what follows, but in xiii. 10, xiv. 12 to what precedes. With the idea in ὁ ἔχων νοῦν we should compare Dan. i. 17 (LXX), τῷ Δαυιδ ἔδωκε σύνεσιν ἐν . . . ἐνυπνίοις καὶ ἐν πάσῃ σοφίᾳ, v. 12 (Theod.), σύνεσις ἐν αὐτῷ συγκρίνων ἐνύπνια καὶ ἀναγγέλλων κρατούμενα. Cf. v. 11, 14. The word νοῦς is not found in the Versions of the canonical Daniel, but σύνεσις (i.e. חֵכֶם) has the same meaning. Thus in viii. 15, where Daniel has a vision, it is said that he "sought to understand it" ἐξήπουν σύνεσιν (Theod.). In ix. 22 an angel is sent συμβιβάζειν σε σύνεσιν (Theod.) in reference to the prophecy of the 70 years, and in x. 1 σύνεσις αὐτῷ . . . ἐν ὅπτασι. In such mysteries οὐ νοήσουσιν . . . ἄνομοι (A), xii. 10. νοῦς or σύνεσις (i.e. חֵכֶם) is what is needed for the interpretation of the problem in this verse.

ψηφισάτω τὸν ἀριθμὸν κτλ. This passage is difficult and has been the subject of controversy since the second century. Much of it has been due to inaccurate interpretation of the words involved, but even when every care is taken there remains a hypothetical element in every solution that is offered. The two clauses that have caused difficulty are ψηφισάτω . . . θηρίου and ἀριθμὸς γὰρ . . . ἐστίν. Let us take the latter first. This clause is susceptible of two meanings. 1. It has been proposed by a number of scholars—Düsterdieck, Holtzmann, Gunkel, Clemen, Swete, etc., to take ἀριθμὸς ἀνθρώπου as meaning a

human intelligible number, not a supernatural one. They compare xxi. 17, μέτρον ἀνθρώπου ὃ ἐστὶν ἀγγέλου. But whereas the statement in xxi. 17 is significant, seeing that it is an angel that is measuring the heavenly Jerusalem, the emphasizing of the fact here that the number is such as a man uses is pointless. For the writer to set down any other than an intelligible number would be highly absurd. 2. Volkmar, Kliefoth, Corssen, Bousset, Jülicher, Moffatt maintain that the number here is that of a certain individual. To this it has been objected that in that case τινός or ἐνός would have stood in connection with ἀνθρώπου. But this is not so: cf. Ps. cv. 17, ἀπέστειλεν ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν ἄνθρωπον (שָׁם אֶת־אִישׁ לְפָנֵיהֶם), "He sent a man before them." The evidence, therefore, of the words themselves is in favour of the latter interpretation. But further, and this argument may fairly be regarded as conclusive, the Beast and one of its heads, though conceived separately in xiii. 1, 3, are subsequently in xiii. 12, 14 treated as identical. The man here, i.e. one of the heads of the Beast, is himself the Beast. If we discover the name of the man it is for the time the name of the Beast. This conclusion is of paramount importance in the interpretation of the verse as a whole.¹

Having reached this conclusion, we have next to discover the form of cryptogram used by the writer, and here I will quote

¹ This conclusion is an answer (1) to P. Corssen's contention in the *Z. f. NTliche Wissenschaft*, iii. 238-242, iv. 264-267, v. 86-88, that we have here an instance of isopsephism, which consists in establishing relations between two different conceptions—here the Beast and a man—by means of the numerical equivalence in value of the letters by which the two are expressed. As we have seen above the Seer identifies the Beast with one of its heads. Hence we have only to deal with a single conception in xiii. 18, and not with an isopsephism such as he quotes from Boissonade, *Anecdota*, ii. 459, to the effect that θεός = ἀγίος = ἀγαθός, since the numerical value of each is σπθ, i.e. 284, that Παῦλος = σοφία (ψπα = 781), κοσμάς = λύρα (φλα = 531), and from Berosus according to Alexander Polyhistor, Eusebii *Chronica*, Liber I. (ed. Schoen, p. 14 sq.), ἀρχεῖν δὲ τοῦτων πάντων γυναῖκα ἡ ὄνομα ὁμόρωκα (read ὁμόρκα) εἶναι δὲ τοῦτο χαλδαῖστί μὲν θαλάτθ, Ἑλληνιστὶ δὲ μεθερμηρεύεται θάλασσα, κατὰ δὲ ἰσόψηφον σελήνη. ὁμόρκα (an Aramaic word = מְרֻמָּה, "mother of the depth") as σελήνη = 301.

Like isopsephisms have been discovered by the Rabbis in the O.T. Thus under מָשַׁח מֶלֶךְ in Gen. xlix. 10 מָשַׁח (Messiah) is found, because both expressions = 358. Similarly מְנַחֵם ("Comforter") was found to be designed in פֶּחַח ("branch") for each word = 138. On the possibility of such a phenomenon in Ezek. v. 2 see Bertholet on Ezek. iv. 5. A cryptographic acrostic has been detected by Jewish scholars in the initial letters of Deut. xxxii. 1-6. These = 345 = Moses. See *Jewish Encyc.* v. 589.

(2) Secondly, it is an answer to all scholars who would discover the name of the Beast in the Roman Empire. The name of the Beast is the name of a man and the number is 666. Hence we reject on this ground Λατίνος first found in Irenæus, and ἡ λατινὴ βασιλεία = 666, ἡ ἰταλὴ βασιλεία = 616 of Clemen.

my friend Professor J. A. Smith of Magdalen College, who, having had much experience in solving cryptograms, has sent me the following letter (Dec. 1910): "The solution of a cryptogram with no further clue than that the numerical values of the letters composing the answer should add up to 666 was almost indeterminate. I therefore suspected a restricting addition. Assuming that the digits, decads and hundreds must add up separately, I found the possible solution much narrowed. A very obvious one presented itself in

$$\begin{array}{l|l|l} \text{I.} & \tau = 300 & \nu = 50 & \epsilon = 5 & \text{τειταν} \\ & \tau = 300 & \iota = 10 & \alpha = 1 & \end{array}$$

The clue that the answer must be "the name of a man" suggested the ending -ος or -ας.

$$\begin{array}{l|l|l} \text{II.} & \tau = 300 & \nu = 50 & \epsilon = 5 & \text{λατεινος} \\ & \sigma = 200 & \iota = 10 & \alpha = 1 & \\ & \lambda + \omicron = 100 & & & \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{l|l|l} \text{III.} & \sigma = 200 & \nu = 50 & \epsilon = 5 & \text{ευανθας} \\ & \nu = 400 & \theta + \alpha = 10 & \alpha = 1 & \end{array}$$

"I thus seemed to have hit upon the method employed by Irenaeus or his authority. I next applied this to the number 888 in the Sibyl. Oracles, i. 328 (*apud* Swete², p. 176), and find it gives at once

$$\begin{array}{l|l|l} & \sigma = 200 & \omicron = 70 & \eta = 8 & \text{'Ιησοῦς} \\ & \sigma = 200 & \iota = 10 & & \\ & \nu = 400 & & & \end{array}$$

"It then occurred to me to see if anything in the Apocalypse suggested this restriction, and I thought it might be contained in *ψηφισάτω*—literally to *calculate* with numbers. It was, I believe, common to use an abacus in a way which practically amounted to using a decimal system. You will see that if no column can contain more respectively than 6, 60 and 600 the number of possible solutions is greatly restricted. *τειταν* and *Ιησοῦς* are rigorous solutions: each of the others requires the licence of once having a compound.

"As regards the Apocalypse itself, all this does not advance matters much. All, I think, I have shown is how Irenaeus got his solutions, and why he preferred *τειταν*, and that the method is found at least once elsewhere."

We are now in a position to deal with the problem before us. The Beast and the man are identical. In other words, the Beast is for the time incarnated in a man. There is no isopsephism

here, and all solutions which propose the name of a country or nation are thereby excluded. Next, if Professor Smith's method is here valid, the name of the man must be such that in three columns of hundreds, tens and units, the total must in each case be six. The solution favoured by Irenaeus, *i.e.* $\tau\epsilon\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu$, complies rigorously with the numerical postulates, and has recently been supported by Abbott (*Notes on N.T. Criticism*, 80 sq.). But $\tau\epsilon\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu$ is not a man's name, though it is construed as referring to Titus or to the Flavian dynasty, or to the third Titus, *i.e.* Domitian. Abbott (*op. cit.* 83, note) points out that the Talmud transliterated $\tau\iota\tau\omicron\varsigma$ by $\tau\iota\tau\omicron\varsigma$.

But this solution will not do. The references to "the man" in xiii. 3, 12, 14 could not be explained of Titus or Domitian. We are, therefore, thrown back on Nero *redivivus*—the independent proposal of four scholars, Holtzmann, Benary, Hitzig and Reuss. The solution is to be sought not in Greek but in Hebrew. Nero Caesar = נֶרְוָה קֶסֶר = 666. It has been objected that קֶסֶר is the proper spelling, but according to Jastrow's *Talmudic Lexicon* קֶסֶר also is found. Besides $\kappa\alpha\upsilon\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\eta\alpha$ is transliterated by קֶסֶרִין as well as by קִסְרִין . The defective form קֶסֶר has therefore been chosen, because thereby the symmetrical 666 is attained, or because the number 666 is older than the name.¹ This solution appears to satisfy every requirement: for

1. It explains every reference in our text: see notes on xiii. 1, 3, 12, 14, and on the present verse.

2. It explains the twofold reading 666 and 616. In C, two lost cursives and Tyconius (see Iren. v. 30. 1), the reading 616 occurs instead of 666. This can be explained from the Latin form of the name Nero, which by its omission of the final *n* makes the sum total 616 instead of 666.

3. It satisfies the numerical method

$\text{נ} + \text{ו} = 100$			
$\text{ר} = 200$			
$\text{ר} = 200$		$\text{ס} = 60$	$\text{ו} = 6$
$\text{פ} = 100$			
$\overline{600}$		$\overline{60}$	$\overline{6}$

¹ Irenaeus (v. 28. 2) says with regard to 666: In recapitulationem universae apostasiae ejus quæ facta est in sex millibus annorum (see 29 and 30. 1). The number 6 is full of significance for him. Some recent scholars (Milligan, *Baird Lecture*, p. 328; Briggs, *Messiah of the Apostles*, 324; Porter, *Hastings' D.B.* iv. 258; Vischer, *Z. f. NTliche Wissensch.* iv. 167-174) take the number as having a symbolical force, as signifying the one who persistently falls short of perfection (*i.e.* the number 7), and support this view by the parallel of $3\frac{1}{2}$ years, or the period of the Antichrist's reign, as symbolizing the destruction of evil within the half of the perfect period—seven. But to this it may be objected, why was 666 chosen? and not simply 6 or 66? The origin of this number is not yet clear.

I am not sure that this was intended; for among the many varieties of Gematria given in the *Jewish Encyc.* v. 589-592, the above variety is not mentioned. It may, however, have been borrowed by the Apocalyptist from Greek usage.¹

XIV. 12-13. These verses have no connection with chap. xiv., but should follow directly on xiii. 17 or 18 as they do in this edition. 1. For there is no connection of thought between the endless torments of the worshippers of the Beast in Gehenna and the patient endurance of the saints. If xiv. 6-11 had been a *description of the persecutions awaiting the saints*, then such a statement as xiv. 12 and such a beatitude as xiv. 13 would have been in the highest degree appropriate, just as xiii. 10^b comes in most aptly after xiii. 10^a. 2. At the close of xiii. 10 we find xiv. 12^a repeated with an additional phrase, and in the earlier clauses of xiii. 10 we find exactly such acts of persecution referred to as justify wholly the final clause of the verse ὡδὲ ἐστὶν ἡ ὑπομονὴ καὶ ἡ πίστις τῶν ἁγίων.

Hence we conclude that xiv. 12-13 should similarly be preceded by a persecution which issued in death (μακάριοι . . . οἱ ἐν κυρίῳ ἀποθνήσκοντες) on the part of all who refused to worship the Beast. Now in xiii. 15 we find such a persecution foretold in the vision of the Seer. We have here the final stage of the persecution described, and it is just in such a context and none other in the Apocalypse that xiv. 12-13 has its right setting. Hence xiv. 12-13 should be transposed to xiii., and read immediately after 17 or 18. It is possible that xiii. 18 is an interpolation.

12. Here as in xiii. 10, 18, xvii. 9 our author abandons his rôle as Seer and addresses words of admonition directly to his readers.

ὡδε ἡ ὑπομονὴ τῶν ἁγίων. Cf. xiii. 10. On ὑπομονὴ cf. i. 9, ii. 2, 3, 19, iii. 10. Practically all men are capable of some momentary exhibition of heroism or self-sacrifice, and exactly in the measure in which they show themselves capable in this respect they have affinity with all true saints and heroes. But it is not such temporary manifestations of self-sacrifice or heroism that form the distinguishing mark of the saints, but *sustained persistent faithfulness in the face of continuous persecution*—even unto death. In our text the Seer has in his mind the last great tribulation, which would strengthen and mature those who encountered it faithfully.

¹ Of the great number of suggestions which have been offered a few deserve to be mentioned. In Greek Ἰδιὸς καὶ σαρ=616. In case a Caligula source lies behind this chapter, this suggestion would have much to say for itself. In Hebrew letters Manchot and Weyland propose קיסר רוס=666, and Ewald רוס קיסר=616. All these are under certain conditions possible, but not so Gunkel's proposal חיים קדמיה=primal chaos, Tiāmat (G. F. Moore, *Journ. Amer. Oriental Soc.*, 1906, p. 315 sq.).

οἱ τηροῦντες τὰς ἐντολάς τοῦ θεοῦ. We have here a break in the construction which is characteristic of our author, and to be explained as in the note on i. 5. The participial clause defines the τῶν ἀγίων. This clause has already occurred in xii. 17. Here as in that passage the keeping of the commandments is combined with faith in Jesus. The especially Johannine character of the diction is to be observed. Outside the Johannine writings the phrase τηρεῖν τ. ἐντολήν (*ἐνταλάς*) is found twice in the N.T.—and not found in the LXX—where διατηρεῖν and συντηρεῖν are used: whilst in the Johannine writings exclusive of the Apocalypse it is found 9 times. But this is not all. Our author uses also the phrase τηρεῖν τ. λόγον (*λόγους*) in iii. 8, 10, xxii. 7, 9. Now this phrase occurs 9 times in the Johannine Gospel and Epp. and not once throughout the rest of the N.T. The use of τηρεῖν in i. 3, iii. 3 is analogous. We might further observe that ἐντολή is a favourite Johannine word, occurring 27 times in the Gospel and Epp. and 37 in the rest of the N.T. πίστιν Ἰησοῦ, *i.e.* the faith which has Jesus for its object: cf. ii. 13, τὴν πίστιν μου: Mark xi. 22, πίστιν θεοῦ: Rom. iii. 22; Gal. ii. 16, iii. 22; Jas. ii. 1.

13. καὶ ἤκουσα φωνῆς ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. As the thought of the great tribulation, which was to involve the martyrdom of the entire body of the faithful, presses heavily on the heart of the Seer, he hears a new beatitude proclaimed from heaven on their behalf: "Blessed are those who are martyred in the Lord from henceforth."

In such a conflict—with the world human and satanic arrayed against them—the faithful needed strong consolation, and the mercy of God stooped to the need that called it down. The ground, on which they were declared to be blessed, is that they are at once to rest from their labours and enter into the full recompense of their faithfulness on earth. Here for the first time the departed are described as μακάριοι. They have entered on the consummation of their blessedness; for they have suffered martyrdom for their Lord, and with their martyrdom the roll of the martyrs is now complete. In vi. 9-11, though the martyrs were given white robes (*i.e.* heavenly bodies) and bidden to rest a little while till their fellow-servants, which should be martyred even as they, should be fulfilled, it is clearly implied that their blessedness is only in part consummated. But not so with the martyrs of this final persecution. They are to enter forthwith into their final blessedness;¹ for with them the number of the martyrs is accomplished, and therefore the hour for judgment has come.

¹ This final blessedness of the martyrs will not be fully consummated till the entire body of the righteous is fulfilled.

In fact in xiv. 6-11, and in 14, 18-20 we have two proleptic visions of judgment. Of these the first summarizes the judgment of Rome, which is subsequently described in detail in xvi. 18-xviii., while the second, xiv. 14, 18-20, gives in brief a proleptic vision of the judgment which is to be executed in part before the Millennial reign and in part after it, and which is represented more fully in xix. 11-21 and xx. 7-10. Neither of these proleptic visions takes any account of the judgment to be meted out to the Beasts and the False Prophet (xix. 20) or to Satan (xx. 1-3, 10), nor do they refer to the final judgment of all the dead (xx. 12-15). But the righteous have little concern with these judgments; for to none of them are they subjected. They have already been swept from the earth by a universal martyrdom, and before the plagues of the seven Bowls begin the Seer beholds them already standing before the Sea of Glass and singing the song of [Moses and] the Lamb.

In xviii. 4 the faithful are apparently presupposed to be still on earth, but, as we shall see later, xviii. was originally a vision belonging to the reign of Vespasian, and xviii. 4, as well as some other passages, reflect the facts and expectations of that time.

μακάριοι οἱ νεκροὶ οἱ ἐν κυρίῳ ἀποθνήσκοντες ἀπ' ἄρτι. With οἱ ἐν κυρίῳ ἀποθνήσκοντες cf. 1 Cor. xv. 18, οἱ κοιμηθέντες ἐν Χριστῷ; 1 Thess. iv. 16, οἱ νεκροὶ ἐν Χριστῷ; also iv. 14. ἀπ' ἄρτι, "from henceforth," is to be taken not with μακάριοι but with ἀποθνήσκοντες.

The object of the beatitude is to comfort those who in the great tribulation need strength and consolation. In the age of the author it is a message for those called to martyrdom in the immediately-impending persecution, but it can rightly be used by the Church generally of those who die ἐν κυρίῳ. Real faithfulness to Christ demands in all ages some measure of the martyr's courage and endurance. Indeed the worst martyrdoms are not always, or even generally, those which terminate in a speedy and violent death.

ναί, λέγει τὸ πνεῦμα. On this clause cf. ii. 7, 11, 17, 29, iii. 6, etc., xxii. 17. For ναί cf. i. 7 (note), xvi. 7, xxii. 20.

ἵνα ἀναπαύσονται κτλ. Cf. vi. 11. The ἵνα here is practically equivalent to ὅτι (= "in that"). Cf. xxii. 14; John viii. 56, ix. 2. On the form of ἀναπαύσονται see Blass, *Gram.* p. 44. The use of ἐκ after ἀναπαύομαι is unusual, but it is found in Plato.

τὰ γὰρ ἔργα αὐτῶν ἀκολουθεῖ μετ' αὐτῶν. ἀκολουθεῖν μετ' αὐτῶν (a rare construction: cf. Luke ix. 49) means (as in vi. 8) "accompany them" (= עֲלֵה לְךָ מִלָּךְ (?): cf. Pirke Aboth vi. 9). In xiv. 4, 9, xix. 14, ἀκολουθεῖν is followed by the dative and means "to follow after." This slight distinction is important when

we come to consider τὰ ἔργα. But what meaning are we to attach to ἔργα? Two explanations have been advanced here.

1. Some scholars like Böklen (*Verwandschaft*, p. 40) will have it that the idea in our text is derived from Zoroastrian sources. According to the Gathas the soul was escorted to blessedness by its good deeds, *S.B.E.* xviii. 64. By virtue of these it passes over the Kinvat Bridge, xviii. 76; but the more general view in later Zoroastrianism is that the soul of the righteous man was received by its good works in the shape of a beautiful maiden (*S.B.E.* iv. 219, xviii. 47 note, 49 note, 54, 117 note, 150, xxiii. 315 sq., xxiv. 19 sq.). This maiden is his religion, the sum of his righteous deeds. It was also taught that the sins and good works of the soul were weighed in the scales of Rashnû, *S.B.E.* v. 241 sq., xviii. 232 note, xxiii. 168, xxiv. 18.

It is clear that the teaching of our text differs from this somewhat crude realism, though originally they may have been related. In any case our author was not beholden to Zoroastrianism.

2. Inside Judaism this subject was developed pretty fully. In the O.T. both the actions and the spirits of men are weighed, Job xxxi. 6; Prov. xvi. 2, xxi. 2, and the wicked are found wanting, Ps. lxii. 9; Dan. v. 27. This idea of the weighing of men's actions reappears in 1 Enoch xli. 1. In Enoch as in the O.T. this idea is not incompatible with the doctrine of divine grace. But in later works it tends to become materialised, and a man's salvation depends on an actual preponderance of his good deeds over his evil: see Weber, *Jud. Theol.*³ 279-284.

But not only are the works weighed: they have been stored up in heaven in advance, and preserved by God, 1 Enoch xxxviii. 2, in treasures, 2 Bar. xiv. 12. At the last judgment these treasures will be opened, 2 Bar. xxiv. 1. Sometimes the righteous man is said to have a treasure of good works, 4 Ezra vii. 77; Shabb. 31b. In these conceptions the personality tends to be resolved into a series of individual acts. A higher conception finds expression in Pss. Sol. ix. 9, where the righteous man is said to acquire for himself with the Lord life itself as a spiritual treasure (θησαυρίζει ζωὴν αὐτῷ παρὰ κυρίου). Cf. Matt. vi. 19, 20.

But none of these passages conveys exactly the idea of our text (τὰ γὰρ ἔργα ἀκολουθεῖ κτλ.). But there is a nearer parallel in Pirke Aboth vi. 9: "In the hour of a man's decease, not silver, nor gold, nor goodly stones, nor pearls accompany the man, but Torah and good works." But, since the attitude of our author to the Law is absolutely different from that of the writer of this passage, it is probable that, though there is a literal likeness in the two passages, the thought conveyed is different.

Let us, therefore, return to our text, and restudy it in the

light of the passages just dealt with, and in connection with the contexts in our author in which the word "works" occurs.

3. First we observe that "works" are not laid up in heaven in advance, but accompany the righteous soul. Next, since our author takes up an antagonistic position to the Synagogue (ii. 9, iii. 9), and deliberately omits all mention of the Law, we reasonably infer that his conception of works must be different from that of the Synagogue. In other words, works are taken by our author not as goods in themselves, by means of which salvation is purchased, but are conceived as *the necessary manifestation of a life that is already redeemed in essence by Christ* (v. 9, xiv. 3, 4). They are wrought by virtue of their redemption through Him (xii. 11). There is, therefore, no reliance on works as in Judaism. Thus works in the mind of our author are the outward expression of the character of the soul that wrought them.

Let us now test this view by a short consideration of the passages in our author, which are definitive on this head. These are ii. 2, *οὐδὰ τὰ ἔργα σου καὶ τὸν κόπον καὶ τὴν ὑπομονὴν σου*. Here the omission of *σου* after *τ. κόπον* binds *τ. κόπον* and *τ. ὑπομονὴν* together. Nay, more, as has been rightly recognized, the first *καί* is used epexegetically, and thus the *ἔργα* are here defined as self-denying "labour and endurance." The next passage is still more instructive, ii. 19, *οὐδὰ σου τὰ ἔργα καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην καὶ τὴν πίστιν καὶ τὴν διακονίαν καὶ τὴν ὑπομονὴν σου καὶ τὰ ἔργα σου τὰ ἔσχατα πλείονα τῶν πρώτων*. Here "love, faith, service and endurance" are taken closely together and form a definition of the *ἔργα*. The third passage in iii. 2, *οὐ γὰρ εὐρηκά σου ἔργα πεπληρωμένα ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ μου*. Here the *ἔργα* fell short of the divine standard, though the world approved of them (iii. 1). Lastly, iii. 15, *οὐδὰ σου τὰ ἔργα κτλ.* The works here are neither hot nor cold. Even complete apostasy would be preferable according to the divine voice. And yet no special sin—such as those urged against the other Churches—is brought against the Church of Laodicea, save that its works lack spiritual fire and their doers are self-complacent.

We may, therefore, conclude that *works are regarded by our author simply as the manifestation of the inner life and character*.

In the Fourth Gospel we find this use of *ἔργα*: cf. v. 36, ix. 3, 4, x. 25, xiv. 10, etc. *καρπός* (though not used in our author with this meaning) has this significance in the Fourth Gospel (cf. xv. 2, 5, 8, etc.), and, so conceived, was a characteristic term on the lips of our Lord, as in Matt. vii. 16, 20, *ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιγνώσεσθε αὐτοὺς*: also vii. 17, 18, 19, xii. 33, etc. It is likewise used by St. Paul with a like significance: cf. Gal. v. 22; Phil. i. 11, etc.

In keeping with this conclusion are our author's statements

in regard to works and judgment. In ii. 23 Christ declares *δώσω ὑμῖν ἐκάστην κατὰ τὰ ἔργα ὑμῶν*. This award (in some sense external) is spoken of as a recompense or wage, or reward in xxii. 12.

*ἰδοὺ ἔρχομαι ταχύ,
καὶ ὁ μισθός μου μετ' ἐμοῦ
ἀποδοῦναι ἐκάστην ὡς τὸ ἔργον ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ.*

In the case of the righteous generally this *μισθός* is, in part at all events, the reception of spiritual bodies (see Additional Note on vi. 11, p. 184 sqq.): in the case of the martyrs spiritual bodies and a share in the Millennial Kingdom.

From the conclusion thus arrived at, that "works" in our author are regarded as a manifestation of character and are in fact synonymous with character, we are enabled to deal with the perplexing words in xix. 8, *τὸ γὰρ βύσσινον τὰ δικαιώματα τῶν ἁγίων ἐστίν*. This clause has been rightly rejected by many critics (J. Weiss, Bousset, Moffatt, etc.) as a gloss, but no definite and conclusive grounds have been adduced. But if, as we have seen in the note on iii. 5 and the Additional Note on vi. 11, the "fine linen" is the heavenly body of the righteous, and if, as we found in the present note, a man's righteous acts are simply the manifestation of his inner character, then it follows that the clause above quoted in xix. 8 is the gloss of a scribe who failed to apprehend the views of our author on this question. "The fine linen," *i.e.* the spiritual body, is not identical with the character but a product of it.

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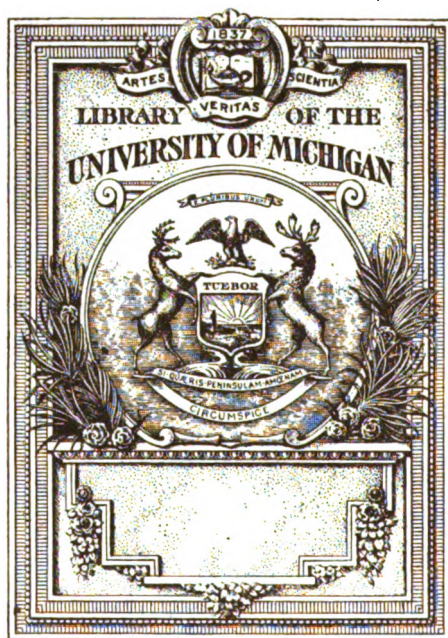
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THE REVELATION OF ST. JOHN
BY
R. H. CHARLES, D.Litt., D.D.
VOLUME II**

THE INTERNATIONAL CRITICAL COMMENTARY
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ST. JOHN**
WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND INDICES
ALSO
THE GREEK TEXT AND ENGLISH TRANSLATION

BY
R. H. CHARLES, D.Litt., D.D.
ARCHDEACON OF WESTMINSTER
FELLOW OF THE BRITISH ACADEMY

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ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

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Page 10, line 1. See Abbott, *Notes on N.T. Criticism*, p. 104, for passages in Origen and Clement of Alex. in which *παρθένοι* are applied to men, and in Ignatius (*Smyrn.* 13) to widows. But nothing that he says can explain the application of *οἱ μετὰ γυναικῶν οὐκ ἐμολύνθησαν* to women.

Page 27, line 9. *For* "Only the faithful . . . fifth seal" *read* "The faithful suffer physical martyrdom, but their prayers become an instrument of wrath in the hands of God." See vol. ii. 403, note 2.

Page 49, line 7 *ab imo*. Transpose the subject-matter of the fifth and sixth beatitudes. See vol. ii. 445, note 1.

Page 72, line 3 *ab imo*. *Delete* "Again we should expect *καθίζα* . . . iii. 21." Our author only uses the participle of *καθῆσθαι*, but his sources (xvii. 9, 15, xviii. 7) use the pres. ind. In the LXX the pres. and imperf. forms of *καθίζω* have disappeared, their place being taken by *κάθημαι*, *ἐκαθήμην*. See Thackeray, *Gram.* 271 sq.

Page 75, line 8. *After* "first" *add* "either in Dan. iv. 34 (LXX), *θεὸς τ. θεῶν καὶ κύριος τ. κυρίων καὶ βασιλεὺς τ. βασιλείων*, or (rather in the pre-Maccabean section of 1 Enoch—see my second edition, p. lii sq.)."

Page 90, lines 25-27. *Delete* "*κάθημαι* . . . iii. 21; and." See note above on p. 72, l. 3.

Page 168. On the twelve precious stones see British Museum *Guide to . . . Minerals mentioned in the Bible*, 1911.

Page 203, line 4 *ab imo*. The line "[*καὶ λέγει . . . εἰσὶν*]" should *not* be bracketed, but read immediately before xxi. 6^b-8. See vol. ii. 379, 444, where it is restored to its right place.

Page 219, line 3 *ab imo*. After "world" add "of the living." Christ judges the living: God Himself judges the dead according to our author's view.

Page 234, line 18. Add "Where no reading of Tyc is quoted, Tyc agrees with vg."

Page 234, line 20. Add "From 20¹ to 21⁵ (nova facio omnia) Pr in his comm. has copied verbatim the work of Augustine (*de Civ. Dei*, xx. 7-17), retaining Augustine's Italian text. In the *App. Crit.* these verses are quoted without any mark of distinction.

Page 240, ver. 11, line 2. After 2020: add ηχουση 181:

" " " 11, „ 11. For post Θυατευ. pon read tr after Θυατευ. Similarly elsewhere.

Page 256, ver. 7, line 30. Delete (+ και ουδεις ανοιξει Or^a), and Or^a in next line. Or^a conflates A 025 and 046 here. See vol. i. p. clxxvi.

Page 279, ver. 2, lines 5, 8, 9. Delete et κ^o. Similarly elsewhere.

Page 288, ver. 12, line 11. Delete Or^a. Or^a conflates 046 al and Aκ 025: and reads και το τριτον αυτησ μη φανη ημερα (so 046 al) και η ημερα μη φανη το τριτον (ρεταρτον A) αυτησ (so Aκ 025).

THE REVELATION OF ST. JOHN.



CHAPTER XIV.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. *Character and Object of this Chapter.*

The entire chapter is *proleptic* in character. That is, the orderly development of future events as set forth in the successive visions is here, as in two sections heretofore, abandoned, and all the coming judgments from xvi. 17 to xx. 7-10, are summarized in xiv. 6-11, 14, 18-20. To this summary is prefixed a short description of the blessed (who are identical with the 144,000 in vii. 4-8) in the Millennial Kingdom established on the earth with Mount Zion as its centre, xiv. 1-5. Thus we have in this chapter a general introduction to xvi. 17-xx. 1-10. It is therefore of the nature of an *intermezzo*.

The object of xiv. is to encourage the faithful to endurance in the face of impending universal martyrdom. Hence in xiv. 1-5 the veil is lifted for a moment from the future and to the Seer is disclosed a vision of the martyrs enjoying the blessedness of the Millennial Kingdom on Mount Zion in attendance on their Lord. We have here a later stage of their blessedness than that depicted in vii. 9-17, where the martyrs are represented as having arrived or arriving in heaven straight from the scene of martyrdom. See Chapter vii., Introduction, § 10.

But the faithful are further encouraged to endurance and loyalty by the proclamation of the doom of the proud anti-christian power, xiv. 8-11, and of all the heathen powers whether confederate with it or not, xiv. 14, 18-20.

This chapter¹ thus contains three visions, which are all *proleptic*.

¹ xiv. 12-13 belong to xiii., and are read immediately after xiii. 18 in this edition. They are from the hand of our author.

1. xiv. 1-5. Vision of the glorified martyrs with the Lamb on Mount Zion during the Millennial reign. Cf. xx. 4. The greater part of xiv. 4-5 is interpolated.

2. xiv. 6-11. Vision of the judgment on the antichristian Roman Empire and its adherents and their everlasting torment. Cf. xvi. 17-xviii.

3. xiv. 14, 18-20. Vision of the judgment executed by the Son of Man on the heathen nations. Cf. xix. 11-21 and xx. 7-10(?). The paragraph xiv. 15-17 is an interpolation. See pp. 19-21.

§ 2. *This chapter, with the exception of certain interpolations* (cf. xiv. 4-5, 15-17), *is from the hand of our author*; for (1) the order of the words is Hebraic: (2) the diction and style are decidedly his.

The first question needs no discussion: the fact is so obvious. Hence we shall limit our consideration to (2).

(2) The diction is that of our author except in xiv. 15-17, which in the first place is a doublet of xiv. 14, 18-20 and in the next exhibits three constructions, which are against the usage of our author (see notes on τῷ καθήμενῳ ἐπὶ τῆς νεφέλης in xiv. 15, ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῆς νεφέλης and ἔβαλεν . . . ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν in xiv. 16). Of xiv. 3-5 only οἱ ἡγορασμένοι ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπαρχὴ τῷ θεῷ ἄμωμοί εἰσιν seems to be original. The interpolations in those verses are, however, in the style of our author, except, perhaps, ὅπου ἂν ὑπάγει in xiv. 4, but the thought conveyed is wholly against the context.

I will now enumerate some of the phrases characteristic of our author, though not, except in a few cases, peculiar to him.

1. καὶ εἶδον καὶ ἰδοῦ. See iv. 1, note. γεγραμμένον ἐπὶ τῶν μετώπων αὐτῶν. See vii. 3, note. 2. φωνὴν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, x. 4, 8, xi. 12, xiv. 13. ὡς φωνὴν ὕδατων πολλῶν; cf. i. 15, xix. 6. φωνὴν κιθαρωδῶν. Cf. xviii. 22. 2-3. Ἐν καθαριζόντων . . . καὶ ᾄδουσιν we have the familiar Hebrew idiom reproduced already in i. 5-6, ii. 2, 9, etc. (see note *in loc.*). ᾄδουσιν ὡς ψῆδην καινὴν; cf. v. 9. ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου; cf. iv. 5, 6, etc. 4. The use of ἀπαρχή = "sacrifice," though not found elsewhere in our author, is in keeping with his frequent use of Greek words in the same sense as in the LXX. 5. The asyndetic addition of the clause ἄμωμοί εἰσιν (cf. xvi. 6). 6. πετόμενον ἐν μεσουρανήματι. Already in viii. 13. With εὐαγγελίσαι ἐπὶ τοῖς κατοικοῦντας (A., καθήμενους, MCPQ); cf. x. 7. The enumeration πᾶν ἔθνος καὶ φυλὴν κτλ. (see note on v. 9) and the grammatical irregularity λέγων in 7 instead of λέγοντα are both characteristic of his style. 7. λέγων ἐν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ. Cf. xiv. 9. ἐν is used also before φωνῇ μεγ. after κηρύσσειν (v. 2), but after κράζειν only in passages from another hand (xiv. 15, xviii. 2). On the other hand it is absent after λέγειν in this phrase (v. 12, viii. 13), after κράζειν (vi. 10, vii. 2, 10, x. 3),

after *φωνεῖν* (xiv. 18). Hence our author varies in his use of this phrase in connection with *λέγειν*. See note on x. 2. *φοβήθητε τὸν θεόν*. So xv. 4, xix. 5 (cf. xi. 18, *φοβουμένους τὸ ὄνομά σου*). *δότε αὐτῷ δόξαν*. Cf. xvi. 9, xix. 7—also in the incorporated source, xi. 13. *ἦλθεν ἡ ὥρα τῆς κρίσεως*. Cf. similar phrases: vi. 17, *ἦλθεν ἡ ἡμέρα . . . τῆς ὀργῆς αὐτῶν*; xi. 18, *ἦλθεν . . . ὁ καιρὸς τῶν νεκρῶν κριθῆναι*; xviii. 10, *ἦλθεν ἡ κρίσις σου*: also in interpolated section, xiv. 15. *προσκυνήσατε*, c. dat. of God: cf. iv. 10, vii. 11, note, xi. 16, xix. 10, xxii. 9, whereas it takes the acc. of τὸ θηρίον in 9—in both respects exhibiting our author's usage. *πηγὰς ὕδατων*: cf. viii. 10, xvi. 4.

8. *οἶνου τοῦ θυμοῦ τῆς πορνείας*. So xviii. 3. See note *in loc.* 9. *προσκυνεῖ τὸ θηρίον*. See note on 7. *λαμβάνει χάραγμα*. Cf. xiv. 11, xix. 20, xx. 4. But we should probably read τὸ χάραγμα. See note *in loc.* *ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου*. We should most probably read *ἐπὶ τὸ μέτωπον*, since the context clearly comes from our author's hand. See note on vii. 3. *κ* reads the dative. *ἐπὶ τὴν χεῖρα*. Cf. xx. 1, 4. See note on xiii. 16. 10. *καὶ αὐτὸς πίεται*. For the use of *καί* see note on xiv. 10. *βασανισθήσεται ἐν πυρὶ καὶ θείῳ*. *βασανίζω* is found four times elsewhere in our author, while *βασανισμός* (see next verse), which occurs four times, is not attested elsewhere in the N.T. With *πυρὶ καὶ θείῳ* cf. xx. 10, xxi. 8, xix. 20. 11. *ὁ καπνὸς . . . ἀναβαίνει*. Cf. viii. 4, ix. 2, xix. 3. *οὐχ ἔχουσιν ἀνάπαυσιν κτλ.* Already in iv. 8. *οἱ προσκυνοῦντες τὸ θηρίον*. Characteristic of our author both as to grammar and diction. 12. *ὅδε ἡ ὑπομονὴ κτλ.* Cf. xiii. 10. *τῶν ἁγίων . . . οἱ τηροῦντες τὰς ἐντολάς*. For the phrase cf. xii. 17. The irregularity is characteristic of our author. 13. *λέγει τὸ πνεῦμα*. Cf. ii. 7, etc., xxii. 17. 14. *καὶ εἶδον καὶ ἰδοῦ*. See iv. 1, note. *ἐπὶ τὴν νεφέλην καθήμενον*. Characteristic of our author: see note on iv. 2, and contrast the non-Johannine constructions of this phrase in 15, 16. *ὅμοιον ὕδιν ἀνθρώπου*. This unique construction is found only in our author. It has already occurred in i. 13, and, as we have seen in the Additional Note on i. 13, vol. i. p. 36, might be regarded as a further development of other linguistic constructions, to which attention is called in that note.

Interpolation—15-17. In this short section there are four constructions which are foreign to our author's use. These are given in the note on 15-17, p. 21. Other grounds for regarding 15-17 as interpolated are given in the note on 14-20, p. 18 sq.

18-20. These verses are in keeping with the diction and style of our author. They contain, it is true, several words not found elsewhere in our author *φωνεῖν*, *τρυγᾶν*, *βότρυς*, *ἀμπέλως*, *ἀκμάζειν*, *σταφυλή*, *χαλινός*, but these help to delineate his subject.

18. ἐφώνησεν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ. Though φωνεῖν is not found elsewhere in our author the construction is always that which he uses with κράζειν, and in two cases out of four with λέγειν. πέμψον σου τὸ δρόπαιον. The vernacular use of the pronoun here is elsewhere in our author not infrequent. 19. ἔβαλεν . . . εἰς τὴν γῆν. See note *in loc.* ληνὸν τοῦ θυμοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ. Cf. xix. 15. ἐπατήθη ὁ ληνός. Cf. xix. 15. ἄχρι τῶν χαλινῶν. ἄχρι occurs six times in our author as a preposition and five times as a conjunction, but not once in the other Johannine writings in the N.T.

§ 3. *Interpolated passages*, 3^c-4^c (ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς . . . ἡγοράσθησαν), 4^c, καὶ τῷ ἀνρίῳ, and probably 5, καὶ ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτῶν οὐχ εὐρέθη ψεύδος. See the grounds for this conclusion *in loc.* 15-17. That these verses are an intrusion is manifest on many grounds. See the general grounds in the note on 14-20, p. 18 sq., and the grammatical grounds in the note on 15-17, p. 21.

XIV. 1-5. A proleptic vision of the 144,000 with the Lamb on Mount Zion—*i.e.* of the risen martyrs with Christ during the Millennial reign. That these are the same as the 144,000 in vii. 4-8, *i.e.* the spiritual Israel, the entire Christian community, alike Jewish and Gentile, which were sealed to protect them from the demonic woes, that are to follow speedily, we hope to prove in the course of our criticism of verses 1-5 (see also vol. i. p. 199 sqq.). In vii. 9-17 this same body of the faithful is represented as arriving in heaven during the great final tribulation, or as already assembled there at its close. Here they are represented as having at a later stage come down to earth for the Millennial reign (cf. xx. 4). The vision is therefore proleptic. There is a progressive note in each vision.

1. καὶ εἶδον καὶ ἰδοῦ. See note in iv. 1.

τὸ ἀρνίον. The Lamb is here set over against the Beast in xiii., and the followers of the Lamb with His name and that of His Father over against the followers of the Beast with his mark on their forehead.

From O.T. times Mount Zion was associated in the minds of the faithful with divine deliverance. Thus Joel ii. 32 (iii. 5) writes: "And it shall come to pass, that whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be delivered; for in Mount Zion and Jerusalem shall be those that escape, as the Lord hath said." In the 8th cent. B.C. there existed for a time the belief that Jerusalem could not be destroyed. In later times it was held that a special blessing attached to residence in Palestine. It alone was to escape the woes that would befall the rest of the earth: cf. 2 Bar. xxix. 2 (where see my note), xl. 2, lxxi. 1; 4 Ezra xiii. 48, 49, vi. 25. This idea was revived in Talmudic literature.

This appearance of the Messiah with a mighty multitude on

Mount Zion was a Jewish expectation, as we see in 4 Ezra xiii. 35, 39, 40, "But he shall stand upon the summit of Mount Zion. . . . And whereas thou didst see that he summoned and gathered to himself another multitude which was peaceable, these are the ten tribes." In 4 Ezra ii. 42 (Christian or Christian recast of Jewish material) we have a close parallel to our text: "I Esdras saw upon Mount Zion a great multitude which I could not (*dst. c.* 'no man could') number, and they all praised the Lord with songs. 43. And in the midst of them there was a young man of high stature, taller than all the rest, and upon every one of their heads he set crowns . . . 44. So I asked the angel and said: Who are these, my Lord? 45. He answered and said unto me: *These be they that have put off the mortal clothing and put on the immortal*, and have confessed the name of God."

This last work was probably written about 200-250 A.D., and therefore forms an early testimony to the right interpretation of the 144,000 on Mount Zion in our text; for it appears to identify the multitude described in vii. 9-17 and that in our text. In accordance with vii. 9-17 the writer of 4 Ezra ii. 42-47 represents them as having confessed and stood out stoutly for the name of God, and so as now clad in the garments of immortality, and in accordance with xiv. 1-5 of our text they stand on Mount Zion with the Messiah.

ἐκατὸν τεσσαράκοντα κτλ. The answer to the question as to the identity of the 144,000 that accompany the Lamb has in part been given in the Introduction to Chap. vii. where we have found them to be the same as the 144,000 in vii. 4-8 and the great multitude in vii. 9-17. But, though the constituents of the multitude are the same, the circumstances are different. In the vision before us the scene is upon earth (*cf.* ver. 2). The blessed faithful follow the Lamb on Mount Zion. And yet they have already passed through the gates of death, and have been presented as an offering (ἀπαρχή) to God (xiv. 4). Hence we have here a momentary vision of the saints, who have returned to earth to share in the Millennial reign. (*Cf.* xx. 4-6.)

But the above identification of the 144,000 in vii. 4-8 and xiv. 1-5 is apparently rejected by every modern scholar, save Alford, who has clung fast to it, although unable to surmount the chief difficulty that stands in its way. A minor difficulty, *i.e.* the absence of the defining article to identify these 144,000 with those spoken of in vii. 4, he treats as negligible on the ground that the reader was meant to identify the two hosts, seeing that they consist of the same number and are both marked on the forehead as God's own possession.

Alford may be right in ignoring the absence of the article (*cf.* xv. 2, where the expected article is missing, ὡς θάλασσαν

instead of τὴν θάλασσαν, and xiv. 9, where τό is wanting before χάραγμα), but the present writer is of opinion that the real explanation is that it was excised by the interpolator of the introductory sentences in xiv. 4-5, who sought by his manipulation of the text to destroy the identity of the 144,000 in vii. 4-8 and the 144,000 in the present passage, and to transform them into a body of monkish celibates. Having thus explained the absence of the article, there is another and greater difficulty, which stands in the way of this identification, and this is that the 144,000 are described as "first-fruits" to God and to the Lamb. If these 144,000, as the present writer holds, are identical with the entire body of Christians living in the last days, who have been sealed with a view to their protection against the demonic woes, how is it that they are designated as "first fruits"? It is the interpretation set on this word ἀπαρχή by all scholars in the past that has misled them into differentiating the 144,000 in vii. 4-8 and in xiv. 1-5. This word has hitherto been taken universally to mean "first fruits" in this passage. That in the Pauline Epistles and in St. James it bears this meaning is indubitable. But this is by no means the case in the LXX, although Grimm's Lexicon and Thayer's enlarged edition of Grimm state that ἀπαρχή is generally the equivalent of ראשית. So far is this from being the case that it is generally *not* the equivalent of this word. Thus whereas ἀπαρχή occurs about 66 times in the LXX, it is a rendering of ראשית only 19 times. In the remaining 47 times, it is once a rendering for the Hebrew word for "tithe," 4 times of חֶלֶב (= "fat," in which case it means "the best of"), and 40 times a rendering of תְּרוּמָה (= "offering" or "oblation"), and once of תְּנוּפָה (= "offering"). Thus we see that in the LXX oftener than twice out of three times it means "an offering." In Sirach it occurs four times, but only once with the meaning of "first fruits," while in the other three passages it signifies either an "offering" or "gift." Hesychius also notes that one of its Greek meanings is προσφορά. It is clear, then, that in the Greek Bible of Judaism ἀπαρχή meant "offering," "sacrifice," or "gift" nearly 3 times out of 4.¹ Now

¹ The above note was written before the publication of Moulton and Milligan's *Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*. Though these editors have not corrected the misstatements in Grimm's and Thayer's lexicons, to which they give their *imprimatur* in their preface, they have shown from the Magnesian inscriptions (ed. Kern. 1900), that ἀπαρχή is very commonly used as a "gift" to a deity, and that this use occurred as early as the 6th cent. B.C. in Athens (*Syll. Inscr. Graec.*², Dittenberger, 1888-1901). They conclude that in the N.T. "we are perhaps at liberty to render 'sacrifice' or 'gift' where it improves the sense," though they do not specify any individual passage save Rom. viii. 23. The Magnesia above referred to was in the neighbourhood of Ephesus. Hence the local and κοινή use of ἀπαρχή confirms the conclusions arrived at above.

it is just this meaning that our text requires. The faithful, whether as martyrs or confessors, are sacrifices to God. As such they are offered on the heavenly altar, vi. 9. A further sacrificial reference is discoverable in the epithet in xiv. 5, where they are said to be ἀμωμοί, that is, "unblemished," sacrificially perfect.

ἐχουσαι τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ κτλ. With this clause we might compare iii. 12, where a threefold inscription on the foreheads of the faithful is mentioned. But, if we compare xxii. 4, where the name is simply said to be that of God, and 4 of the present chapter, where καὶ τῷ ἀρνίῳ appears to be an interpolation, it is possible that αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα is also an interpolation. The seal consists in the name of God inscribed on the brow. This inscription declares that the person so inscribed is God's own possession: it is at the same time evidence that his character is such as befits a servant of God.

2. φωνήν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κτλ. The singers are the angel choirs in heaven and not the 144,000 in Mt. Zion, but the new song is intelligible to the 144,000 and to them alone owing to their fellowship with Christ.

Most of the phrases of this verse occur elsewhere in our author, see p. 2.

κιθαριζῶν κιθαριζόντων . . . 3. καὶ ᾄδουσιν. These words should be rendered: "harpers harping . . . and singing." It is another instance of the literal reproduction in Greek of a familiar Hebrew idiom, which we have found already in i. 5-6, ii. 2, 9, 20, vii. 14, xv. 3. Thus the style is very characteristic of our author. Here the new song is at first sung not by the redeemed (as in xv. 3; 4 Ezra ii. 42), but by angelic choirs before the throne.

3. καὶ ᾄδουσιν = καὶ ᾄδόντων. See preceding note.

ὡς ᾠδὴν καινὴν. See note on v. 9.

ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου. See Introd. to Chap. xiv. § 2.

οὐδεὶς ἐδύνατο κτλ. Only those who are redeemed from the earth can learn the song; for the soul apprehends only that for which it has an affinity. Their spiritual experience won through travail and tears is the mother of understanding. The song is the expression of the inner life, and so in the measure of their spiritual growth is likewise the measure of their spiritual apprehension.

οἱ ἡγορασμένοι ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς. The diction and thought here have already occurred in v. 9, 10. That passage is of supreme importance in dealing with the text immediately before us. Now the leading thought in v. 9, 10 is that the faithful are bought by Christ for God, and consecrated to His service as kings and priests. Here also, whether we retain or omit the disturbing clauses ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ . . . ἡγοράσθησαν, the

idea is of a like nature. The 144,000 have been bought to be an offering or sacrifice (*ἀπαρχή*, xiv. 4: see note on 1) unto God: cf. vi. 9.

This verse, with the exception of the words *ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπαρχὴ τῷ θεῷ* or *ἡγοράσθησαν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπαρχὴ τῷ θεῷ*, seems to be a later addition due to the incorporation of a marginal explanatory gloss. In support of the aorist we might adduce our author's usage elsewhere: see v. 9, *ἡγόρασας τῷ θεῷ . . . ἐκ πάσης φυλῆς κτλ.* If, on the other hand, we adopt the former view, then in *οἱ ἡγορασμένοι . . . καὶ . . . οὐχ εὐρέθη* we have, if the latter clause is original, another instance of our author's reproduction in Greek of a Hebrew idiom: see ii. 2, 9, 20, vii. 14, xiv. 2-3. This combination of the perfect and aorist is found often in our author: cf. ii. 3, 5, iii. 2, 3, 17, xvi. 6. That *καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ* is an addition appears to be clear from the fact that the 144,000 have been bought by the Son for the Father; and not by the Son for the Father and for Himself: cf. v. 9. The Church is the *bride* of the Lamb: cf. xix. 7, 8; Eph. v. 27, not an *offering* presented to Him. If the above clauses are interpolated, the original of 3^c-4 may have run as follows: *οἱ ἡγορασμένοι ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπαρχὴ τῷ θεῷ*. We shall now deal with the clauses, which for the time being we have assumed to be interpolations.

But let us waive for the moment the question of the authenticity of these clauses and study them in themselves and with regard to their immediate context. Now, first of all, it is admitted, so far as I am aware, on all hands that *the 144,000*, whether identical with the 144,000 in vii. 4-8, or representing the élite of the saints composed of Christian ascetics (Bousset, Moffatt), *must embrace both men and women*. That *παρθένοι* can be used of men is of course acknowledged. So far all is clear. But when we start from these premises and try to explain *οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ μετὰ γυναικῶν οὐκ ἐμολύνθησαν* we are plunged into hopeless difficulties. For, if we take these words literally, it is obvious that *they cannot be used of women*. *Nor indeed can they be applied to women in any intelligible sense, whatever the metaphorical meaning may be that we attach to the words*. Had the writer wished, he could easily have found a phrase applicable literally and metaphorically alike to men and women, such as *οἱ ἐν τῇ πορνείᾳ οὐκ ἐμολύνθησαν*. *πορνεία* is used metaphorically in xiv. 8, xvii. 2, 4, xviii. 3, xix. 2, and *πορνείω* in xvii. 2, xviii. 3, 9 in the sense of idolatrous worship. Such a clause could be used both of men and women, in a literal or metaphorical sense, and the same idea could have been expressed in other ways. Hence we conclude either that men alone are referred to in the text, or that this passage is interpolated. Since we cannot accept the

former alternative, we are forced to adopt the latter, and the task devolves upon us to settle, so far as we may, the ground of the interpolation, its extent and meaning.

Now the chief *ground* for this interpolation is most naturally to be discovered in the misunderstanding of the word ἀπαρχή as "first fruits." The monkish interpolator, convinced that the highest type of the Christian life was the celibate, naturally identified the 144,000, who form the "first fruits" (or best portion of the Christian Church), with the celibates. The superiority of the celibate life, though un-Jewish and un-Christian, was early adopted from the Gnostics and other Christian heretics. Thus Saturninus and Basilides declared that "marriage and generation are from Satan" (Iren. *Adv. Haer.* i. 24), while Tatian (Eus. *H.E.* iv. xxix. 3) pronounced marriage to be "corruption and fornication." Marcion (Hipp. *Phil.* vii. 17-19) established churches of celibates, while the Encratites claimed a self-restraint in advance of that of the Christians. Similarly the religions of Isis and Mithra had their celibates throughout the Roman Empire, as Buddhism in the far East, certain orders of the Aztec priesthood in Mexico, the Vestal Virgins in Rome, and the "Virgins of the Sun" in Peru. The pressure of such ideas *from without* early made itself felt, not in the N.T. but in early Christianity, as we see from Polycarp, *Ad Phil.* ii. iv. v.; Hermas, *Vis.* ii. 2, 3, *Sim.* ix. 11 (see Hastings, *Encyc. of Ethics and Religion*, iii. 271-273, from which the above facts are drawn). The interpolation was probably made by John's editor.

It is, of course, possible that the interpolated passage appeared first as a marginal gloss on the passage, and that it was subsequently incorporated into the text with a necessary change or two.

As regards the *extent*, it appears to begin with ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς and end with ἡγοράσθησαν. The repetition of the ἀγοράζω with two different adverbial phrases is remarkable. That ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων is to be preferred to ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς seems clear from v. 9, where we have ἡγόρασας . . . ἐκ πάσης φυλῆς.

The *meaning* of the interpolation we have already gathered from the foregoing criticism of the passage. The glosser or interpolator, as the case may be, took the passage to refer to celibates, and, as the peculiar clause οἱ μετὰ γυναικῶν οὐκ ἐμολύνθησαν) proves, made it refer to male celibates. They were the "first fruits" of the entire Christian Church (for such, of course, he conceived the meaning of ἀπαρχή).

This word as used by the interpolator carries with it the degradation of marriage—an idea inadmissible in the N.T. The use of the aorist here shows that their life on earth regarded as a discipline belongs to the past.

4. **παρθένοι.** The word **παρθένος** was applied to men also: cf. *Life of Asenath*, 3. **ἐστὶν δὲ οὗτος ὁ Ἰωσήφ ἀνὴρ θεοσεβής . . . καὶ παρθένος.** 6. **διότι καὶ αὐτὸς παρθένος.** In Suidas it is applied to Abel: **Ἀβὲλ οὗτος παρθένος καὶ δίκαιος ἐπήρχε.** Cf. also Epiph. j. 385 C. **παρθενεύω** is used of males in Just. *Frag.* 1577 A.

οὗτοι οἱ ἀκολουθοῦντες κτλ. These words can hardly fail to be an echo of our Lord's: cf. Mk. ii. 14, x. 21; Luke ix. 59; John i. 43, xxi. 19. For another echo cf. 1 Pet. ii. 21, **ἵνα ἐπακολουθήσητε τοῖς ἰχνεσιν αὐτοῦ.** In vii. 17 it is said that the Lamb will be the shepherd of the blessed described in vii. 14-15. This means according to oriental conceptions that the blessed follow Him. Thus to follow Christ is characteristic of the faithful, whether on earth, on which they were called to follow Him even unto death (Matt. x. 38, xvi. 24, 25), or in the Millennial kingdom, or in heaven. But it would be possible to take **ἀκολουθοῦντες** as referring to the past, and the subsequent words as implying that in such following of the Lamb they underwent martyrdom. Cf. vii. 14, xii. 11. But the context does not favour this interpretation. **ὅπου ἂν ὑπάγαι.** **ὅπου** elsewhere in the Apocalypse means "where," but with verbs of motion it was used as the equivalent of **ὅπου.** Cf. John viii. 21, 22, xiii. 33, 36. The **ἂν** in this connection is impossible in classical Greek. In viii. 1 we have **ὅταν ἤνοιξεν,** and in Mk. vi. 56 **ἂν** occurs after **ὅπου** with the past imperfect indicative. The construction seems to imply an action of indefinite frequency: cf. Robertson, *Gram.* 958.

ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων. This phrase summarizes the full enumeration given in v. 9. **ἀπαρχή** = "sacrifice" or "offering." See note on 1. [**καὶ τῷ ἀρνίῳ.**] An addition. See note on 4.

5. **καὶ ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτῶν οὐχ εὐρέθη ψεῦδος.** This clause recalls most nearly Zeph. iii. 13, **καὶ οὐ μὴ εὐρεθῇ ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτῶν γλῶσσα δολία,** and Isa. liiii. 9. In 1 Pet. ii. 22 we have the latter reproduced: **οὐδὲ εὐρέθη δόλος ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ.** Cf. John i. 47. It must, however, be confessed that this clause follows weakly after **οἱ ἡγορασμένοι . . . ἀπαρχὴ τῷ θεῷ.**

ἄμωμοί εἰσιν. This sentence introduced *asyndetically* is in the style of our author: cf. xvi. 6. **ἄμωμος** [= **אִמְּוִם**] describes best the character of the **ἀπαρχή**; in the LXX it has three times out of four a sacrificial reference, and affirms the flawlessness of the victim. It is that which is unblemished, sacrificially perfect. In 1 Pet. i. 19 Christ Himself is described as **ἀμνοῦ ἀμώμου**, and in Heb. ix. 14 as offering Himself as an unblemished sacrifice unto God (**ἐαυτὸν προσήνεγκεν ἄμωμον τῷ θεῷ**). In the present context the 144,000 who had been offered in sacrifice to God (**ἀπαρχὴ τῷ θεῷ**) are likewise described as **ἄμωμοι**. In the five other passages, where it occurs in the Pauline Epistles and Jude,

the clause has an ethical meaning and connotes "blamelessness."

Note on xiv. 1-5.—This section has been an occasion of great difficulty to scholars. I have sought to show that much of this difficulty arose from misconception of the word ἀπαρχή. But, as we have seen, there are other difficulties, which cannot be got rid of save by the excision of certain clauses. Völter (iv. 38 sq., 139 sq.) excises xiv. 4-5 and a phrase in xiv. 1, and then identifies the 144,000 here with the 144,000 in vii. 4-8. Weyland excises xiv. 1, 4-5, Erbes xiv. 4^{ab}, and a phrase in 4^d. Spitta is the most drastic of all. He changes τὸ ὄνομα . . . παρὸς αὐτοῦ into τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ ζῶντος: excises 2^c-3 and reduces 4-5 to the following form: οἱ τοὶ ἡγοράσθησαν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπαρχὴ τῷ θεῷ. (See pp. 144 sq., 147 sq., 536.) Wellhausen recognizes the fact that the text shows undoubted signs of interpolation. Bousset admits the possibility of a source underlying xiv. 1-5, but he thinks it impossible to recover it. He therefore takes the text as it stands and interprets the 144,000 to be a body of Christian ascetics and, therefore, different from the 144,000 in vii. 4-8. He thinks, however, that there are signs in the Apocalypse that these two bodies were originally identical.

In the above study of xiv. 1-5 I have attempted to show that xiv. 1-3 comes from the hand of our author (see also Introd. p. 2) save probably one phrase (τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ καὶ) in xiv. 1. As regards xiv. 4-5 the case is different. Here the diction is not much of a guide to us, but the ideas and the irregularity of the order of the sentences are. Thus of the various descriptions of the 144,000 in 4-5 it is clear from the earlier chapters that the essential one is, without doubt, that which describes them as a sacrifice to God.

At the close of 5 this idea recurs in the words, ἄμωμοί εἰσιν, but a purely ethical description intervenes—καὶ ἐν τῷ στόματι . . . ψεῦδος. This appears irregular, but greater difficulties have already emerged in connection with 4^a, where the un-Jewish and un-Christian idea is presented, that the very élite of the blessed consists of ascetics, and that, too, male ascetics. On these and other grounds we have excised certain clauses and concluded that, before the monkish glosser went to work, our author's text read as follows in xiv. 3^c-5, οἱ ἡγορασμένοι ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπαρχὴ τῷ θεῷ ἄμωμοί εἰσιν. But καὶ ἐν τῷ στόματι . . . ψεῦδος may be original. To the interpolator of the above clauses we may owe also the removal of the article before the 144,000, which identified this 144,000 with the 144,000 in vii. 4-8.

6-11. Vision of the judgment to be executed on the Roman Empire and its worshippers, in which three angels make proclamation. The first proclaimed to all men an eternal Gospel, the

burden of which was that all men should worship the one God who had created heaven and earth, for that the hour of judgment had come (6-7). The second announced, as though already accomplished, the fall of Rome, which had made all the nations to drink of the wine of her fornication (8). The third proclaimed that those who submitted to the mandates of Rome would share in the everlasting torment that awaited her (9-11).

6. ἄλλον ἄγγελον. The presence of the ἄλλον occasions some difficulty. It is supported by the best textual authorities. If it is original, we might, perhaps, with Düsterdieck explain the word as used in contradistinction to the angels that had appeared in earlier scenes. He compares x. 1 where ἄλλον ἄγγελον has already been mentioned, who, as in the present instance, proclaims the impending end of the world. Erbes and J. Weiss suppose we have here a reference to viii. 13, where the phraseology is certainly similar: ἑνὸς ἀεροῦ πετομένου ἐν μεσουρανήματι λέγοντος φωνῇ μεγάλῃ. Bousset suggests that in ἄλλον ἄγγελον we have a dittography, and J. Weiss that it is a corruption of ἄλλον αἶτον. Cf. viii. 13. It seems best to explain ἄλλ. ἄγγ. as = "another, an angel." See note on 15 below. The difficulty recurs in 8, 9.

πετόμενον ἐν μεσουρανήματι. Cf. viii. 13, xix. 17. In the O.T. the angels are not represented with wings save in its latest books: cf. Dan. ix. 21.

εὐαγγέλιον αἰώνιον. This phrase is found here only in the Johannine writings, whereas the cognate verb occurs here and in x. 7. εὐαγγέλιον here is not to be translated as if it were τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. Its character is defined by its present context and x. 7. It is a proclamation of the impending end of the world and of the final judgment, which, while it is a message of good tidings to the faithful, constitutes for all nations a last summons to repentance.

In x. 7 it was made known to His servants the prophets, here it is proclaimed to all the world. This gospel is termed αἰώνιον because possibly our author wishes to emphasize its unchangeable validity for all eternity.

τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς (A and some cursives). κCPQ read τ. καθήμενους ἐπὶ τ. γῆς. The textual evidence is here indecisive. Difficulties beset both readings. The second reading is against the normal usage of our author. We should expect ἐπὶ τ. γῆν = after the καθήμενους. But ἐπὶ τ. γῆς is the universal construction in our author after κατοικεῖν. Hence if we could discover any good ground for the change of κατοικοῦντας into καθήμενους, we shall have little hesitation in recognizing A as right. Now, though the scribes of κCPQ were occasionally doubtful as to our author's constructions after ὁ καθήμενος, τοῦ καθήμενου, τῷ

καθημένῃ, they could have had no doubt as to the meaning of the phrase οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς (always so except in xiii. 12, xvii. 1, 2, where these constructions are found in sources) elsewhere in our author, *i.e.* iii. 10, vi. 10, viii. 13, etc. And since this meaning was always bad in all other passages, and since it could not bear such a meaning here, some early scribe may have been led to substitute *καθημένους* for *κατοικοῦντας* and thus give the phrase the neutral colour it required here. But, if this hypothesis of the origin of *καθημένους* is right, its presence here can only call for condemnation. It is against our author's usage wholly in this construction: indeed, according to his usage it could only mean "those who sat on the earth."¹

If, then, we accept the reading of A, we must in this one passage attach a purely neutral or geographical sense to the phrase, such as it bears not infrequently in 1 Enoch (see xxxviii. 5, note). See note on xi. 10.

πάν ἔθνος καὶ φυλὴν κτλ. See note on v. 9.

λέγων. The grammatical irregularity is characteristic of our author. See iv. 1, xi. 1.

7. λέγων ἐν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ. See Introduction to this Chapter, § 2: also note on x. 2.

φοβήθητε τὸν θεὸν κτλ. This gospel is based on a purely theistic foundation. But, when the last hour has come, a man's chief concern is not dogmatic fullness or correctness of creed, but only self-humiliation before and self-surrender to the Lord of all. With this announcement we might compare the gospel as preached by our Lord in Mark i. 15, μετανοεῖτε καὶ πιστεύετε ἐν εὐαγγελίῳ.

But a really excellent parallel is to be found in St. Paul's speech at Lystra, Acts xiv. 15: εὐαγγελιζόμενοι ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν ματαίων ἐπιστρέφειν ἐπὶ θεὸν ζῶντα ὃς ἐποίησεν τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν κτλ. On the creation idea, cf. x. 6 of our text.

The clause φοβ. τ. θεόν is found in Eccles. xii. 13, and δότε αὐτῷ δόξαν in Josh. vii. 19; 1 Sam. vi. 5; Isa. xlii. 12; Jer. xiii. 16, but they both belong to our author's phraseology: see *Introd.* to Chap. xiv., p. 3.

ἦλθεν ἡ ὥρα τῆς κρίσεως αὐτοῦ. The diction and form of this sentence are characteristic of our author, but are of still more frequent occurrence in the Fourth Gospel. Cf. ii. 4, iv. 21, 23,

¹ οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τ. γῆς is a rendering of רַחֵם לַעֲוֵנוֹ, and this is the normal rendering of it in the LXX. In a few cases in the LXX of Jeremiah only do we find οἱ καθημένοι ἐπὶ τ. γῆς or τ. γῆς: cf. xxii. (xxv.) 29, 30. With definite localities it occurs more frequently: cf. Dan. ix. 7, where we have καθημένοι ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ (LXX κατοικοῦσιν ἐν Ἱερο., Theod. (A)). See note on this phrase in xiii., *Introd.* § 4.

v. 25, 28, vii. 30, viii. 20, xii. 23, xiii. 1, xvi. 2, 4, 21, 25, 32, xvii. 1.

προσκυήσατε τῷ ποιήσαντι. This is the usage of our author: contrast 9 where this verb takes the acc. of τὸ θηρίον—also the usage of our author. See note on vii. 11.

προσκυήσατε τῷ ποιήσαντι τὸν οὐρανὸν κτλ. Since God has created the world, man's allegiance is due to God. The fact of God as creator has already been brought forward in iv. 11, x. 6, but in both these passages κτίζειν and not ποιεῖν has been used. References to the creative activity of God are rare in the N.T. but frequent in the O.T. See note on iv. 11.

πηγὰς ὕδατων. The absence of the article is noteworthy, contrast xvi. 4, viii. 10. The phrase is a familiar O.T. one: cf. 1 Kings xviii. 5; 2 Kings iii. 19 (סִיחַ יְיָ), 25; Ex. xv. 27; Num. xxxiii. 9.

8. The second angel proclaims the fall of Rome.

ἄλλος δεύτερος ἄγγελος. So the best MSS. But we should rather expect simply ἄγγελος δεύτερος or ἄλλος ἄγγ. δεύτερ.; for when our author uses another adjective in addition to ἄλλος it is added after the noun: cf. vi. 4, x. 1, xiv. 9, xv. 1: *i.e.* "another angel, a second one."

ἔπεσεν, ἔπεσεν Βαβυλῶν. These words are already found in Isa. xxi. 9. לָבַלְתָּ לְבָבְךָ, LXX, πέπτωκεν πέπτωκεν Βαβυλῶν. Cf. Jer. li. 8. But the two clauses ἔπεσεν . . . τὰ ἔθνη seem to be derived by our author immediately from xviii. 2-3 (a source). To Βαβυλῶν our author always attaches the epithet ἡ μεγάλη, an epithet which goes back to Dan. iv. 27 (בָּבֶל הַגְּדֹלָה); cf. xvi. 19, xvii. 5, xviii. 2, 10, 21. That Babylon was already a synonym for Rome in the first century A.D. is clear from 2 Bar. xi. 1; Sibyl. Or. v. 143, 159; 1 Pet. v. 13 (?). Cf. also xvi. 19, xvii. 5, xviii. 2, 10, 21.

ἡ ἐκ τοῦ οἴνου [τοῦ θυμοῦ] τῆς πορνείας αὐτῆς πεπότικεν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη. This very extraordinary form of speech, which recurs in xviii. 3, can hardly be original. The text as it stands combines two wholly disparate ideas. The first is ἐκ τοῦ οἴνου τῆς πορνείας αὐτῆς—a phrase which occurs in xvii. 2—*i.e.* "the wine of her fornication," which Babylon has made all the nations to drink. This wine symbolizes the intoxicating power, the corrupting influence of Rome. The second is ἐκ τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ θυμοῦ (τοῦ θεοῦ)—a phrase which occurs in xiv. 10—*i.e.* "the wine of the wrath of God," which He will give Babylon to drink. This latter phrase recurs in a fuller form in xvi. 19, xix. 15, τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ θυμοῦ τῆς ὀργῆς αὐτοῦ. But in the O.T. it is God Himself that presents through His prophet this wine of wrath to the nations: cf. Jer. xxv. 15, which seems to have been in the mind of our author, λάβε τὸ ποτήριον τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ ἀκράτου τούτου ἐκ χειρὸς μου

καὶ ποτιεῖς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη. In xxviii. (li.) 7 Babylon is said to be a cup in the hand of the Lord whereof the nations have drunk and become mad: ποτήριον χρυσοῦν Βαβυλῶν ἐν χειρὶ κυρίου μεθύσκον πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν. Ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴνου αὐτῆς ἐπίοσαν ἔθνη. διὰ τοῦτο ἐσαλεύθησαν (ἐβλήθη').

As we study the above facts two ways of dealing with the text appear to be open to us. 1. Excise τοῦ θυμοῦ as an interpolation due to the occurrence of the phrase τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ θυμοῦ in 10. The extraordinary divergence of the MSS in xviii. 3, where the phrase recurs, points either to an interpolated or a very difficult text. 2. Since our author appears to have had Jer. xxv. 15 sq. in his mind, and since the text there has ῥῖη ἡ ῥῖη (= "the wine which is wrath," i.e. wine of wrath), it is possible that he took ῥῖη in the sense of "poison," which it sometimes bears (cf. Deut. xxxii. 24, 33; Ps. lviii. 5, cxl. 4). The fact that it maddens the nations (Jer. xxv. 16, li. 7; Hab. ii. 15) might be taken to favour this meaning. If this be right, then our text would mean "the wine of the poison of her fornication." But it seems best to regard τοῦ θυμοῦ as an interpolation. The nations, having drunk of the wine of the fornication of Babylon, have really therein drunk the wine of the wrath of God.

9. The third angel proclaims a doom of everlasting torment for adherents of the Imperial cult. This forms a counter proclamation to that in xiii. 15, 17.

ἐν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ. See note on x. 2.

προσκυβεῖ τὸ θηρίον. See note on 7.

† λαμβάνει χάραγμα †. Cf. xii. 11, xix. 20, xx. 4. On χάραγμα, see xiii. 16, note. The absence of the article before χάραγμα is suspicious. The context leads us to expect it. First it immediately follows the definite mention of the Beast (τὸ θηρίον), whose mark it is. Next this mark has already been twice mentioned in xiii.—in the first instance in xiii. 16, without the article because mentioned for the first time, and again in xiii. 17 with the article. Finally the angel would not speak in this indefinite way of this brand of hell. Contrast xx. 4. All mankind knew "the mark." We must suppose the angel knew so also. Hence we should read τὸ χάραγμα or excise καὶ λαμβάνει . . . χεῖρα αὐτοῦ as an interpolation.

† ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου †. This construction of ἐπὶ with μετώπου is against our author's usage. We should expect ἐπὶ τὸ μέτωπον. See notes on vii. 3, xiii. 16. When we combine these two irregularities just dealt with, we are forced, it seems, to infer either that the text is corrupt or that we have in καὶ λαμβάνει . . . χεῖρα αὐτοῦ a marginal gloss. The closing words of 11 support the former con-

clusion. Hence we should probably read καὶ λαμβάνει τὸ χάραγμα ἐπὶ τὸ μέτωπον αὐτοῦ ἢ ἐπὶ τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ.

10. καὶ αὐτὸς πίνει, "he too (the man who has received the mark) shall drink." To Rome herself finally this cup is given in xvi. 17. The καὶ introduces the apodosis as in x. 17 (iii. 20 RQ).

ἐκ τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ θυμοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ κεκρασμένου ἀκράτου ἐν τῇ ποτηρίῃ τῆς ὀργῆς. Parallel expressions to ποτήριον τῆς ὀργῆς αὐτοῦ are found in Isa. li. 17, 22; Jer. xxv. 15, and in xviii. 6 in our text. The subject has in part been discussed under ver. 8 above. The only real difficulty lies in the words τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ θυμοῦ . . . τοῦ κεκρασμένου ἀκράτου. The source of the expression appears to be Ps. lxxv. 9, *ὅτι ποτήριον ἐν χειρὶ κυρίου, οἶνον ἀκράτου πλήρες κεράσματος*. Here the Mass. has כסר מלך כסר יין for the last four words. We should also compare Jer. xxxii. 1 (xxv. 15) *τὸ ποτήριον τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ ἀκράτου = חמץ חמץ היין בוס*. We have still another parallel in Pss. Sol. viii. 15, *διὰ τοῦτο ἐκράσεν αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς πνεῦμα πλανήσεως ἐπότισεν αὐτοὺς ποτήριον οἴνου ἀκράτου εἰς μέθην*. From the last passage it follows that there can be no inconsistency between ἐκράσεν and ἀκράτου. The verb refers to the mingling of this wine with elements (as the literal wine with spices) that will not weaken it but render it noxious or poisonous, whereas the adjective (ἀκράτου) states that it is unmixing with water. For this use of ἀκρατος cf. 3 Macc. v. 2; Galen (in Wetstein): *οἶνον ἀκρατον εἶναι λέγομεν, ὃ μὴ μίμικται τὸ ὕδωρ ἢ . . . ὀλίγον μίμικται*. In Ps. lxxv. 9 the same explanation of the LXX would hold good, though in that case we have to read כסר יין. In Jer. xxxii. 1 (xxv. 15) ἀκράτου therefore implies חמץ יין, and not the Massoretic reading given above. On the other hand, it must be stated that modern scholars, though they accept חמץ as the reading in Jer. xxv. 15, do not attribute to it the same meaning either here or in Ps. lxxv. 9 as the LXX.

From the above authorities we conclude that the passage is to be explained "the wine of the wrath of God which is mingled sheer in the cup," etc. But for the close parallels given above we might accept the proposal of Ewald, Alford and others that from the almost universal custom of mixing wine with water the common term for preparing wine came to be *κεράννυμι*. Thus Eustathius says on Od. v. 93 that in *κέρασσε δὲ νέκταρ ἐρυθρόν* the verb *κέρασσε* = *ἐνέχει*. A further suggestion may be offered. Our author, we know, was better acquainted with Hebrew than with Greek. It is possible, therefore, that judging from the LXX he took ἀκρατος to be a right rendering of כסר just as the author of Pss. Sol. xvi. 11 took *ὀλιγοψυχία* (which really means "faintheartedness") to be a right rendering of קצר רוח (= "impatience"), a misrendering that is also found in the LXX. If

this be so, then we might assign to *ἄκρατος* the meaning of *קטר*, and render "the wine of the wrath of God which is mingled foaming in the cup." The "foaming" or "fermentation" is still going on; for God has just mingled this cup of judgment for the nations.

βασανισθήσεται ἐν πυρὶ καὶ θείῳ. The imagery goes back to the torments to be inflicted on Edom: Isa. xxxiv. 8-10. The punishment of brimstone and fire appears first in connection with Sodom and Gomorrah (Gen. xix. 24). As Anderson Scott writes *in loc.*, "it is instructive to trace the development of the symbolism springing from the circumstances of an event in history, providing the traditional features, first of any great judgment, then of the day of the Lord, and, finally, of the judgment of Christ." Our author uses this symbolism again in xix. 20, xx. 10, xxi. 8.

ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀγγέλων. The idea has occurred already in 1 Enoch xlviii. 9 in another form:

"And I will give them over into the hands of Mine elect:

As straw in fire, so shall they burn before the face of the holy:

As lead in water, so shall they sink before the face of the righteous,

And no trace of them shall any more be found."

In 1 Enoch xxvii. 2, 3, xc. 26, 27, 4 Ezra vii. 36, as in the passage before us, the sufferings of the wicked form an ever-present spectacle to the righteous; but not so in the Parables of 1 Enoch. There Gehenna and its victims form only a temporary spectacle. Then they vanish from the presence of the righteous for ever, as in the later sections of the Apocalypse. See 1 Enoch xlviii. 9, note, lxii. 12, 13. This is not due to any moralisation of the idea but to the conception of a new heaven and a new earth, which exclude the possibility of the Gehenna conception. In Luke xii. 9 the wicked are to be disowned by Christ in the presence of His angels. This idea of Gehenna as an ever-present spectacle over against Paradise arose through a mistaken etymology of the phrase *דראן עולם* in Isa. lxvi. 24 and Dan. xii. 2. In the 1st cent. B.C. or as early as the close of the 2nd cent. B.C. Jewish scholars regarded *דראן* as derived from *דא*. Thus the LXX of Isa. lxvi. 24 renders this word *ἵσονται εἰς ὄρασιν*.

καὶ ἐνώπιον τοῦ ἀρνίου. Many critics remove this phrase as a gloss owing to the position after *τῶν ἀγγέλων*. If it is original it is best to render the phrase: "even before the Lamb." Bousset suggests that the phrase "before the angels" is a late Jewish periphrasis for "before God." Cf. Luke xv. 10, xii. 8, 9;

and Bousset's *Rel. des Judéens*, 308, but in the present context this is unlikely.

11. καὶ ὁ καπνὸς τοῦ βασανισμοῦ αὐτῶν . . . ἀναβαίνει. Cf. xviii. 9, xix. 3, xx. 10; Isa. xxiv. 10, ἔσται ἡ γῆ αὐτῆς ὡς πύσσα καιομένη νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, καὶ οὐ σβεσθήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα χρόνον, καὶ ἀναβήσεται ὁ καπνὸς αὐτῆς ἄνω. The word βασανισμός is used here as denoting the condition of those in torment, and similarly in xviii. 7, 10, 15, whereas in the gloss (?) in ix. 5 it has an active meaning. In Luke xvi. 23, 28 (Wisd. iii. 1; 4 Macc. xiii. 15) βασανός is used to denote passive suffering.

οὐχ ἔχουσιν ἀνάπαυσιν κτλ. Cf. iv. 8, where the same Greek clause occurs, but there it means the deliberate and willing surrender on the part of the Cherubim of their entire time to the praise of God, whereas here it denotes the involuntary endurance of ceaseless torment on the part of those who worship the Beast: cf. 1 Enoch lxiii. 6.

“And now we long for a little rest but find it not:
We follow hard upon and obtain it not.”

εἰ τις λαμβάνει = οἱ λαμβάνοντες.

XIV. 12-13. These verses do not belong here but have in this edition been restored to their original position after xiii. 15. Just as at the close of xiii. 10 our author enforced the need of patience and faithfulness under the persecutions described in xiii. 10^{ab}, so after he has foretold universal persecution and martyrdom for the saints in xiii. 15, and in xiv. 12 has enforced the need of patience on the part of the saints, a voice from heaven is heard declaring the blessedness of those who die in the Lord. For a full treatment of these verses see the section that follows immediately after xiii. 15, vol. i. pp. 368-373.

14, 18-20. A proleptic vision of the preliminary Messianic judgment executed by the Son of Man on the heathen nations, which is described in detail in xix. 11-16, and further apparently in xx. 7-10, and under another form in xvii. 14. Although nearly all scholars have taken 14-20 to be the work of one hand, it is clear, as Wellhausen has already recognized, that in 14-20 there are doublets. Wellhausen takes these to be 14-16 and 17-20, but a study of the text and context shows that this analysis of the passage cannot be sustained. No more can that of Bousset, who regards xiv. 14-20 as originally from a foreign source, like xi. 1-13, and considers xiv. 17-18 as the addition of a reviser. For (1) since in xiv. 15-17 there are constructions (see notes on 15-17, p. 21) which are against our author's use, we conclude that these verses are an intrusion here, and that xiv. 14, 18-20 represent the original text. (2) Again the phrase ἄλλος ἄγγελος (15) is noteworthy. It shows

that the interpolator failed to recognize the "One like a Son of Man" in 14 as Christ, and took Him to be simply an angel, and hence assigned a mightier rôle to this second and unnamed angel. But to place beside the Son of Man a second figure, and that merely an angelic one as the judge of the earth, is hardly intelligible from any point of view.

(3) When 15-17 are removed, the text describes the Son of Man reaping the *vintage of the earth* just as in xix. 11-16, where He treads the *winepress of the wrath of God*. This fact is also against Wellhausen's analysis which would connect the Son of Man with the harvesting of the earth and an angel with the gathering in of the vintage of the earth. (4) Again, neither *θερίω* (Matt. xxv. 24, etc.) nor any of its derivatives (Matt. ix. 37 sq., xiii. 30, xxv. 24; Mark iv. 29; John iv. 35 sqq.) is used elsewhere in the Apocalypse in regard to divine judgment, whereas in xix. vintage terms are applied metaphorically as in xiv. 18-20 to this judgment. (5) Again, instead of *τὸ δρέπανόν σου* in 15 we should expect *σου τὸ δρέπανον τὸ δξύ*, as rightly in 18, seeing that the *δρέπανον* is already described as *δξύ* in 14. (6) Finally, when the intrusive doublet (15-17) is removed, we understand why it is that the angel from the altar conveys the command to the Son of Man to gather in the vintage of the earth. The angel of the altar has had to do with the souls of those who had been martyred, and whose souls had cried in vi. 9 from beneath the altar to God for judgment on the inhabitants of the earth. This act of Messianic judgment is thus connected with the prayers of the martyrs: cf. Luke xviii. 7, 8.

14. There can be no question as to the identity of the divine figure seated on the cloud. He is described as "One like a Son of Man." The phrase *ὅμοιον υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου* is a solecism so far as regards form, and is found only in our author here and in i. 13. The O.T. source of this expression is undoubtedly Dan. vii. 13, "I saw in the night visions, and behold, there came with the clouds of heaven one like unto a son of man (LXX, *ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου*)." But the expression, though identical in both works, so far as language goes, is dissimilar in meaning. According to the interpretation of the angel in Dan. vii. 18, 22, 27, the phrase denotes the saints of the Most High. But this is not all. In apocalyptic visions, where men or bodies of men are symbolized by beasts (as in Daniel, 1 Enoch, Testaments of the XII Patriarchs, etc.), angels and supernatural beings are symbolized by men. If, therefore, the expression "Son of Man" is to be taken strictly in Daniel, it undoubtedly suggests a supernatural being or body of such beings—supernatural beings but not angels; for the form of the phrase excludes this possibility. In the

apocalyptic vision an angel is simply designated "a man." Hence the words "like a man" = "like an angel," *i.e.* a being who is of a supernatural character but not an angel. Thus in Daniel we are to infer that the faithful remnant in Israel are to be transformed into supernatural beings as in 1 Enoch xc. 38 (161 B.C.). That this is the meaning of the text is proved by the adjoining clause, "there came with the clouds of heaven." This clause implies beyond question supernatural authority.

Thus in Daniel the phrase is a collective designation of the righteous Israelites after they have undergone a heavenly transformation.

But a further development was necessary before we arrive at the conception conveyed by this phrase in our author, and this development was reached first, so far as existing literature goes, in 1 Enoch xxxvii.-lxxi, the author of which interpreted "one like a son of man" of an individual, *i.e.* the Messiah, and by so doing rose to the conception of a supernatural Messiah. Thus the way was prepared for the N.T. designation "the Son of Man" (ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου) which in the Gospels has thrown off its distinctive apocalyptic form—"like unto a Son of Man" (ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου), a form, however, which has been retained in the Apocalypse. On this use of *ὡς* in apocalyptic see additional note on i. 10, vol. i. p. 35 sq. For a like transition inside our author, cf. xv. 2, where we have first *ὡς θάλασσαν ὑαλίνην* and then *τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν ὑαλίνην*.

In 4 Ezra xiii. 3 (before 70 A.D.?) we find the very same expression. The Latin here is wanting, but the Syriac = *ὡς ὁμοίωμα υἱοῦ ἀνθρώπου*, where, however, the Syriac is only a paraphrastic rendering of *ὅμοιον* as in the Peshitto of Ezek. i. 5, 22, 26, x. 1; and of Rev. i. 13, xiv. 14. See Gwynn, *Apocalypse of St. John*, i. 13, note. Thus the Syriac of the Peshitto in Rev. i. 13, xiv. 14, and 4 Ezra xiii. 3 is exactly the same, and both presuppose *ὅμοιον υἱόν* (*i.e.* *υἱῶ*) *ἀνθρώπου*. Hence 4 Ezra xiii. 3 should be rendered as follows:

"And I beheld and lo! the wind caused to come up out of the heart of the seas one like a son of man. And I beheld and lo! this son of man flew with the clouds of heaven." The Ethiopic version supports this rendering.

ὅμοιον υἱόν. See the last note but one.

ἐπὶ τὴν νεφέλην καθήμενον. Cf. Dan. vii. 13. See note on i. 7.

στέφανον χρυσοῦν. We have here the golden wreath but not the *διαδήματα*, which he wears in xix. 12. Even in the Apocalypse the *στέφανος* has many associations. Probably it carries with it here the idea of victory as in ii. 10, iii. 11, vi. 2.

[15-17. We have seen already in note on p. 18 that these

verses are a doublet of 14, 18-20. We have found that 14, 18-20 come from the hand of our author and form a uniform picture, the unity of which is broken up by the interpolated verses 15-17. This doublet was probably suggested by the poetic parallelism in Joel iii. 13.

"Put ye in the sickle, for the harvest is ripe:
Come, tread ye, for the winepress is full."

In 15-17 the judgment is represented as a harvesting of the earth. This figure is used both in the O.T. and in the Gospels in relation to the last judgment: cf. Matt. xiii. 30, 39, but not in the Apocalypse, save in the present interpolated passage, where the figure is worked out fully and vividly. The interpolator of 15-17 has, of course, imitated the phrasing and diction of the Apocalypse, but he betrays his ignorance in four constructions, *i.e.* in 15, κράζων ἐν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ, whereas our author would have written κράζων φωνῇ μεγάλῃ (see Introd. to this Chap. § 2); τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπὶ τῆς νεφέλης (whereas our author would have written ἐπὶ τῇ νεφέλῃ: see vol. i. p. 112 sq.): in 16, ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῆς νεφέλης (whereas our author would have used ἐπὶ τὴν νεφέλην); and ἔβαλεν . . . ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν (whereas our author would have written ἔβαλεν . . . εἰς τὴν γῆν).

15. ἄλλος ἄγγελος. The attempt to explain the ἄλλος here as looking back to 6 or 9 can hardly be justified, since 6-11 and 14-20 are quite distinct visions. Even the use of καὶ εἶδον καὶ ἰδοῦ in xiv. 14 (see note on iv. 1) is sufficient to prove that this is so.

It is most important to distinguish the different meanings of ἄλλος in xiv. 8, 9, 15, 17, 18. In xiv. 8, 9 there is no difficulty. ἄλλος is used idiomatically as in classical Greek, and the phrase = "another, the second angel," etc. But in xiv. 15, 17, 18 there is this use and another. In 15, 17 we have the ordinary use, where the phrase = "another angel." For the interpolator of xiv. 15-17 regarded the Son of Man in xiv. 14 merely as an angel, since in xiv. 17 he makes an angel hold joint authority with Him in the Messianic Judgment and discharge in xiv. 19-20 the duty assigned to the Messiah in xix. 11-16. Hence in xiv. 15 ἄλλος ἄγγελος = "another angel." But in xiv. 18 the phrase is to be rendered differently. There, on the excision of xiv. 15-17 as an interpolation, the ἄλλος in ἄλλ. ἄγγ. refers back indeed to the Son of Man in xiv. 14, but at the same time it distinguishes this angel from the Son of Man, as a different kind of being; for nowhere throughout our author is the Son of Man conceived of as an angel. Hence ἄλλ. ἄγγ. = "another, an angel." Cf. the use of ἕτερος in Luke xxiii. 32.

ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ. *I.e.* the heavenly temple. See note in vol. i. p. 111 sq.

κράζων ἐν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ. Our author does not insert the ἐν : cf. vi. 10, vii. 2, 10, x. 3, xix. 17, where we have κράζειν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ. It is true that in xviii. 2 we have κράζειν ἐν ἰσχυρᾷ φωνῇ. But this latter passage is from another source.

τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπὶ τῆς νεφέλης. Here and in the next verse the construction is against the usage of our author, though it is the more usual in classical Greek. See note on iv. 2.

In the three lines beginning with πέμψον τὸ δρέπανόν σου we have apparently a paraphrase of Joel iv. 13, כִּי יִשְׁלַח יְהוָה רִיגָו, the first line being an expanded translation of the first two words in Joel, and the second and third lines being probably duplicate paraphrastic renderings of the last three words, though, like the LXX and the Targum, they presuppose a text differing from the Massoretic. Thus line two, ὅτι ἦλθεν ἡ ὥρα θερίσαι, presupposes by ἦλθεν some Hebrew verb = "has come" as also does the LXX by παρέστηκεν (cf. Mark iv. 29, ἀποστέλλει τὸ δρέπανον, ὅτι παρέστηκεν ὁ θερισμός) and the Targum by כְּדִר. In line three, ὅτι † ἐξηράνθη † ὁ θερισμός τῆς γῆς, ἐξηράνθη presupposes שָׁבַי. Is this a corruption of שָׁבַי? ξηραίνω is unexampled in the sense of "to ripen," so far as I am aware, but might be explained as a rendering of a corrupt text. ξηραίνω means "to dry up," as in xvi. 12, or "to wither" when used of plants (cf. Matt. xiii. 6, etc.) or of crops (cf. Joel i. 17, ἐξηράνθη σῖτος), but not "to ripen." It will be observed that the writer of 15-17 uses some form of the Hebrew text and not the LXX.

τὸ δρέπανόν σου. We should observe two things here. First, we should expect the addition of τὸ ὄξύ here, since the epithet is already attached to δρέπανον in 14. In 18, which we hold to be the original sequel to 14, we find, as we should expect, πέμψον σου τὸ δρέπανον τὸ ὄξύ. Next, in 15 we note the position of the σου after its noun, in which case the emphasis is laid on the pronoun, whereas in 18 the σου stands before its noun, in which case the emphasis is laid on τὸ δρέπανον τὸ ὄξύ—a fact which points to the thoroughness with which the vintage is carried out in 19-20.

ὥρα θερίσαι. For the construction cf. v. 5, ix. 10, xi. 6, xvi. 9.

16. This verse is modelled on 19, the judgment being referred to under the figure of a harvest instead of a vintage. But, as I have already pointed out on 15, the construction ὁ καθημένος ἐπὶ τῆς νεφέλης is against the usage of our author. ἔβαλεν . . . ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν is unexampled in our author. In such a construction εἰς not ἐπὶ is always used by him. See note on 19.

17. τοῦ ναοῦ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ. See note in vol. i. p. 111 sq.]

18. We here resume the original vision into which 15-17 were interpolated. In this verse ἄλλος ἄγγελος is to be rendered

“another, an angel.” See note on 15 above. The phrase ὁ ἔχων ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ τοῦ πυρός appears to be interpolated. At all events it makes no contribution to the context. If it had any right to a place in our text it might have been in viii. 3, but even there it would have been meaningless. Lists of angels who were set over the natural elements will be found in 1 Enoch ix. 11–21; Jub. ii. 2. See Bousset, *Religion des Judentums*¹, 317; *Encyc. Bib.* ii. 1258 sqq.; *Jewish Encyc.* i. 589 sqq.

ἄγγελος . . . ἐκ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου. When the disturbing interpolation, 15–17, is removed, the rôle of the angel, who came forth from the altar, is at once intelligible. The number of the martyrs is at last complete, and now their prayer (vi. 10) from beneath the altar can be fulfilled, and so the angel, who has to do with the souls of the martyrs beneath the altar, is entrusted by God with the task of carrying to the Son of Man the command to undertake the judgment of the earth—to thrust in the sickle and reap the vintage and tread the winepress of the wrath of God (cf. xix. 15). This judgment is the Messianic judgment that precedes the Millennial reign of the Messiah. In xvi. 7 the altar itself proclaims the truth and righteousness of God's judgments. In ix. 13 a voice from the altar commands the letting loose of the first demonic woe against those who had not the seal of God in their foreheads. On this—the one heavenly altar—see note in vol. i. p. 224 sq. Only one angel is mentioned here in connection with the righteous martyrs beneath the altar. But in contemporary and earlier apocalyptic many angels were said to keep guard over the souls of the departed righteous: cf. 1 Enoch c. 5; 4 Ezra vii. 85, 95.

ὁ ἔχων ἐξουσίαν κτλ. See note at the beginning of this verse.

ἐφώνησεν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ. φωνεῖν is found only here in our author. For the entire phrase cf. Mark i. 26; Acts xvi. 28.

τὸ δρέπανον τὸ ὀξύ, i.e. the sharp sickle mentioned in 14.

πέμψον σου τὸ δρέπανον. Here (cf. 15) we have a tristich, of which the first and third lines are largely a reproduction of Joel iv. 13. The first line consists simply of the words in Joel, with the addition of the epithet “sharp,” which the context requires (cf. 14 *ad fin.*), while the third line is in part a translation and in part a transformation of the clause in Joel, כִּי בִשָּׁרָה; for ἤκμασαν is a good rendering of בָּשָׁר, whereas αἱ σταφυλαὶ αὐτῆς is simply substituted instead of θερισμός = רָצַר. And yet this tristich gives the impression of the master hand, and drives home in each line with ever-increasing force the thought of the Seer, who does not quote but simply transforms an O.T. couplet to serve his present purpose. What a contrast it presents to the feebleness of the tristich in 15! It should perhaps be mentioned here that some scholars have taken 15–16 to refer to the ingather-

ing of the saints, and 17-20 to the judgment that befalls the wicked, and thought that there is a delicate propriety in the fact that the former is assigned to the Son of Man, and the latter to a nameless angel. But there is no support for this view in our author; for in xix. 11-16 it is this very treading of the winepress of the wrath of God that is especially the rôle of the Son of God. Moreover, in the rest of the N.T. the words *θερίζειν* and *θερισμός* are used of reaping harvests good or bad, alike as regards man (cf. Matt. xxv. 24, 26; Gal. vi. 7, 8; 1 Cor. ix. 11) and the angels, who are termed the *θεριστάς* (see Matt. xiii. 30, 39: cf. Mark iv. 29). As a man sows good or evil, he reaps accordingly. Similarly in the judgment, the angels gather alike the tares and the wheat in the last great harvesting (Matt. xiii. 30, 39). The word *σῖτος*, "wheat," as a symbol of the righteous is not found in our author. Finally—to resume once more—in xiv. 6-20 we have a proleptic summary from the divine standpoint of the Messianic judgments which are represented on a larger canvas in xvi. 18-xviii. and xix. 11-21, xx. 7-10. Thus there is no ground for the attempt to differentiate and justify the occurrence side by side of what are really doublets. 15-17 are, from whatever standpoint we regard them, a disturbing element in the text.

19. *ἔβαλεν . . . εἰς τὴν γῆν*. Our author uses either *ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*, v. 3, 10, 13, vii. 1, x. 2, 5, 8, xvi. 18, xviii. 24, or *εἰς τὴν γῆν*, v. 6, vi. 13, viii. 5, 7, ix. 1, 3, xii. 4, 9, 13, xiii. 13, xvi. 1, 2. *ἔβαλεν . . . ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν* is found only in the interpolated passage, xiv. 15-17. *ἔβαλεν* is here another rendering of *ἤρθε* in Joel iv. 13.

[ὁ ἄγγελος]. An interpolation due to the hand that inserted 15-18. The Son of Man is never described as an angel. See note on 15.

τὴν ληνὸν . . . τὸν μέγαν. This irregularity is probably to be explained by the fact that *ληνός* in classical Greek is sometimes masculine (Winer, § lix. 4, p. 661; cf. Kautzsch's Gesenius' *Heb. Gram.* for similar anomalies in Heb.: § 110 *h*, 135 *o*, 144*a*, 145*p*, *i*, *u*). Analogous solecisms are characteristic of our author: cf. xxi. 14, τὸ τεῖχος . . . ἔχων.

ληνὸν τοῦ θυμοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ. Here and in xix. 15 only in the N.T. The phrase *τοῦ θυμοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ* is rather frequent: cf. xv. 1, 7, xvi. 1, 19, xix. 15.

20. Though the Messianic judgment as executed by the Son of Man is here described in awful terms, it is not the final judgment, which is regarded by our author as the prerogative of the Father: cf. xx. 11 sqq. The diction appears to be influenced by Isa. lxiii. 3, where Yahweh declares, "I have trodden the winepress alone," and in 1 Enoch c. 3, "And the horses shall walk up to the breast in the blood of sinners, And the chariot

shall be submerged to its height." This phraseology reappears in Talmudic writings in connection with the carnage at Bether in the time of Hadrian: see my note in 1 Enoch c. 3; also 4 Ezra xv. 35, erit sanguis a gladio usque ad ventrem equi; 36, et femur hominis et poplites cameli.

ἐξῶθεν τῆς πόλεως. There can be no question as to the identity of "the city." It is not Rome (for its destruction has already been announced in the hearing of the Seer in 9), but Jerusalem. It is, moreover, most probably not the earthly Jerusalem but the heavenly Jerusalem which is to descend from heaven to be the centre of the Kingdom of Christ for the 1000 years. For in the notes on xx. 1-6 we shall see that the heavenly Jerusalem described in xxi. 9-xxii. 2 is in reality the city that is to come down from heaven to take the place of the old Jerusalem and become the capital of Christ's kingdom for the 1000 years. If xiv. 14, 18-20 is a proleptic summary of xix. 11-21 only, then the city referred to might be the historic Jerusalem, or rather its ruined site: but if this is a summary of xix. 11-21 and also xx. 7-10, then the city can be none other than the city that came down from heaven—the seat of the Messianic Kingdom.

Jewish tradition had long associated the neighbourhood of Jerusalem with the scene of the judgment of the Gentiles. According to Joel iii. 2, 12, God was to assemble and judge the Gentiles in "the valley of Jehoshaphat," a phrase which Theodotion renders by τὴν χώραν τῆς κρίσεως. According to the Midrash Mishle, 68^d, God was to judge the whole world in this valley. It is referred to in 1 Enoch liii. 1 (where see my note). Zechariah speaks also of the judgment of the Gentiles, who laid Jerusalem desolate, being executed on the Mount of Olives (xiv. 2 sqq., 12 sq.). In our author it is all the heathen nations that are to be similarly judged.

ἐξῆλθεν αἷμα κτλ. See preceding notes.

ἀπὸ σταδίων κτλ. = "to a distance of 1600 furlongs." This peculiar use of ἀπό is found also in John xi. 18, xxi. 8 (ἀπὸ πηχῶν διακοσίων). Abbott (*Gram.* p. 227) describes it as "a natural transposition arising from the desire to give prominence to the notion 'distant,' as in our 'distant two hundred cubits,' and then illogically allowing the preposition that signifies distance to govern 'cubits.'" Similar transpositions occur in the case of πρό, as in John xii. 1, πρὸ ἐξ ἡμερῶν τοῦ πάσχα; LXX of Amos i. 1, iv. 7, Hippocrates, πρὸ τριῶν ἡμερῶν τῆς τελευτῆς (this last is quoted from Moulton, *Gram.* 101, note): and also in the case of μετά: cf. Test. Reub. i. 2; Test. Zeb. i. 1; Plut. *Coriol.* 11. These idioms are not Latinisms but of Greek origin.

As regards the number itself various explanations have been offered, but none is absolutely convincing. Some have found

in 1600 the idea of completeness, and therefore inferred that the deluge of blood swept over the whole earth (as Victorinus—per omnes mundi quattuor partes), the holy city alone being exempt. Others have conceived that Palestine only was designed by the number, since according to Jerome (Ep. 129, *Ad Dard.*) the length of Palestine from Dan to Beersheba was 160 miles. But 160 miles = only 1280 stades. A nearer approach to the number in our text is to be found in the *Itinerarium* of Antoninus, according to which Palestine was said to be 1664 stades from Tyre to El-Arish.

Of the two above interpretations I am inclined to adopt the former. The more we study xiv. 14, 18–20 the more clear it becomes that it deals with the same subject as xix. 11–21, for xiv. 18–19 clearly state that the judgment is of the whole earth. Hence it is not merely the heathen nations that had submitted to the antichristian empire of Rome that are destroyed in xix. 11–21, but likewise all the remaining heathen nations that rebel against the kingdom of Christ (xx. 7–10) after the lapse of the 1000 years. Hence the slaughter is commensurate with the inhabited world.

ἄχρι τῶν χαλιῶν τῶν ἱππῶν. These words apparently refer to the heavenly horsemen who are mentioned definitely (xix. 14*) in another vision dealing with the same events, i.e. xix. 11–21.

CHAPTER XV.

§ 1. *Character and object of this Chapter.*

The chronological order of events in the Seer's visions of the future is here resumed. In other words, this chapter, so far as chronological order goes, follows immediately on xiii. ; for, as we have seen (see p. 1 : cf. 32), xiv. broke away from this order and was wholly proleptic, passing over as it did the first six Bowls and summarizing the divine judgments from the seventh Bowl (xvi. 17) to xx. 7–10. In order, therefore, to recognize the connection between xiii. and the present chapter, we have only to remember that in xiii. 15 the second Beast caused all that refused to worship the first Beast to be put to death. Thus all the faithful were put to death and the roll of the martyrs was complete with the close of xiii. ; and when we come to xv. we find that xv. 2–4 looks upon the destruction of the entire body of the faithful as already an event of the past (see note on xv. 2–4), and represents the entire martyr host as standing on the sea of glass before God and singing a song of praise to the Lord God of Hosts. xv. 1 is an interpolation (see § 7). In xv. 5–xvi. 1 the Seer has a vision of the appointment of seven angels with seven

Bowls to execute the last series of cosmic woes upon the earth. It is to be observed that in these three series—the Seals, the Trumpets, and the Bowls—there is a distinct development and not a mere recapitulation as has hitherto either wholly or in part been assumed by students of the Apocalypse. This will be clear as we advance.

For *to the first four Seals and the sixth all men—saints and sinners, Christians and heathen alike—are subject.* Only the faithful are the victims of the fifth Seal. The sixth Seal describes in hyperbolic language the signs which precede the end, which, however, is not so near as the unbelievers apprehend. But there are worse things to come, the fifth, sixth and seventh, or rather the first, second, and third, Trumpets,¹ that is, the three demonic Woes, viii.–ix., xi. 14^b, 15, xii.–xiii. In vii. the faithful are sealed in order to secure them from these Woes. *Hence these Woes did not affect the faithful, but only those that were without the seal of God.* When we come to the Bowls we have arrived at a fresh stage of development. Since the martyrdom of the faithful is complete in xiii. and all the martyrs are represented as already in heaven in xv. 2–4, it is clear that only the heathen nations, that form the Roman Empire or hold aloof from it, survive.

On this heathen world, limited in the fifth Bowl to the empire of the Beast, are poured down the plagues of the seven Bowls. Whilst the Seals and the Trumpets or Woes could be regarded as having a disciplining effect on the faithful, however they might affect the unbelievers, the Bowls cannot be regarded in any other light than that of punishments, though such expressions as those in xvi. 9, 11, which refer to the refusal of men to repent notwithstanding these plagues, point to the fact that repentance was still possible for them. That the plagues, which are universal and not local (except the fifth), do not annihilate the heathen nations is clear from the fact that the eternal gospel (xiv. 6) is to be preached to the surviving nations after the close of the seven Bowls and the Messianic judgment (xix. 11–21).

§ 2. *Relation of xv. to xiv. and xvi.–xx.* In xiv. our author has given three proleptic visions—the first portraying the blessedness awaiting the martyrs in the Millennial kingdom, while the second and third describe the judgments about to befall Rome and the heathen nations. Thus xiv. summarized the outstanding events from the close of the universal martyrdom of the faithful to the final judgment. From this prelude the Seer now returns to describe in detail the events thus briefly foreshadowed, and first of all the blessedness into which the martyred faithful enter immediately on death, xv. 2–4, and the subsequent

¹ We have seen that the first four Trumpets are an interpolation in the text (see p. 219 sqq.).

Millennial reign on earth, xx. 4-6 (cf. xiv. 1-5). Next we have the vision of the seven last Plagues, which are to descend on the heathen world, from which all the faithful had already been removed, xv. 5-xviii. (cf. xiv. 6-11). The doom of antichristian Rome, which does not come to pass till the seventh Plague, is portrayed with great fullness in xvii.-xviii. On the destruction of Rome there follow thanksgivings in heaven, xix. 1-8. The next act of judgment is that executed by the Son of Man on the heathen nations, xix. 11-21 (cf. xiv. 14, 18-20).

§ 3. *This chapter consists of two visions.* The first, xv. 2-4, deals with the triumphal song sung by the martyrs as they stand round the sea of glass in heaven. It is a song of unmixed praise and thanksgiving; for the last martyrdom on earth is over and the ranks of the martyrs in heaven are now complete. The second vision relates to the Seven Angels who come forth from the heavenly Temple and are thereupon furnished with the seven Bowls which are full of the wrath of God.

§ 4. *The diction of xv. 2-8 is, except in the case of one phrase in 6, that of our author.* This will be apparent as we proceed.

1. This verse could be assigned to him in point of diction but not the phrase ἀγγέλους ἐπὶ ἔχοντας πληγὰς ἐπτά, because of the context. As I shall show in § 7 *ad fin.*, our author could not use this expression here or in 6. Otherwise the language recalls that of our author, but yet in certain respects with a difference. καὶ εἶδον is, of course, attested throughout the book. σημείον. This word has already been used in a like (and yet not altogether like) connection in xii. 1, 3. A perfect parallel to its present usage would have led us to expect it in viii. 13. μέγα καὶ θαυμαστόν: cf. xv. 3. ἀγγέλους ἐπτά. This is the right order for the numeral in our author. τὰς ἐσχάτας seems borrowed from xxi. 9. ὅτι ἐν αὐταῖς ἐτελέσθη κτλ.: cf. 8. But the subject-matter is open to objection (see note *in loc.*).

2. νικῶντας ἐκ. A pregnant construction. Though νικᾶν is a favourite verb with our author the construction here is unique in Greek. τοῦ θηρίου καὶ . . . τῆς εἰκόνης αὐτοῦ καὶ . . . τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τ. ὀνόματος. Cf. xiii. 17, xiv. 11. ἐστῶτας ἐπὶ τ. θάλασσαν. Our author in x. 5, 8 writes ἐπὶ with the gen. in this phrase. But his usage is not fixed. See note on xv. 2. καθάρας τοῦ θεοῦ—a Hebraism.

3. καὶ ᾄδουσιν. Here, as in xiv. 3, καὶ ᾄδουσιν is to be taken as καὶ ᾄδοντας. In fact this is the reading of \mathfrak{A} Prim. Vg. and S¹. See note on xiv. 3. κύριε ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ. A familiar title of God in our author: cf. i. 8, iv. 8, xi. 17, xvi. 7, xix. 6, xxi. 22. δίκαιαι καὶ ἀληθιναί recurs in converse order in xvi. 7, xix. 2.

4. *δοιος*. Used only in xvi. 5, as here of God, but not in the rest of the N.T. *πάντα τὰ ἔθνη . . . προσκυνήσουσιν*. Cf. xiv. 7, where all the nations are bidden *προσκυνήσατε τῷ ποιήσαντι. ἐφανερώθησαν*. Cf. iii. 18. 5. *καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα εἶδον*. A clause used in our author introducing a new vision: cf. iv. 1 π. Hence 1 cannot be right, since it has already introduced the vision. *ἡνοίγη ὁ ναὸς . . . ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ*. Cf. xi. 19.

6. *ἔχοντες τὰς ἐπτά πληγὰς*. This phrase descriptive of the seven angels, as also in xv. 1, is against the usage of our author as well as against the context. See below, § 7. *ἐνδεδυμένοι λίθον . . . καὶ περιεζωσμένοι . . . ζώνας χρυσαῖς*. Cf. i. 13, xix. 14: 7. *γεμούσας*. Cf. iv. 6, 8, etc. *τοῦ ζῶντος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων*. Cf. iv. 9 π., x. 6. 8. *ἄχρι τελεσθῶσι*. Cf. xvii. 17, xx. 3, for the same clause.

§ 5. *Strongly Hebraic character of xv.*

This chapter is Hebraic in character. 1. The writer translates in xv. 4 the Hebrew of Jer. x. 7, where the LXX is lacking: *ὁ βασιλεὺς . . . τίς οὐ μὴ φοβηθῇ*; Here Theodotion and Aquila render *τίς οὐ μὴ φοβηθήσεται σε βασιλεὺ τῶν ἐθνῶν*; It is true that the words *πάντα τὰ ἔθνη . . . ἐνώπιόν σου* in 4 agree *verbatim* with the LXX of Ps. lxxxvi. 9, save that it omits *δοσά ἐποίησας* after *ἔθνη*. But there is nothing distinctive in the LXX rendering.

2. As regards the order this is also Hebraic. The verb nearly always begins the clause or follows immediately on the subject as in 4, 7, 8. In 4 the position of *ἐφανερώθησαν* serves to give emphasis.

3. There are some Hebraisms. Thus in 2-3 we have *τοὺς νικῶντας = τ. νενικηκότας* . . . after the model of the Hebrew participle: *ἐστῶτας καὶ ἄδουσιν = ἐστῶτας . . . καὶ ᾄδοντας* (see *in loc.*): and *κισθῶρας τοῦ θεοῦ = כִּסְתֹהֲרֵי יְהוָה*. Possibly *νικῶντας ἐκ* may be due to a Hebraism.

4. In 5, 6 there are two phrases which apparently cannot be satisfactorily explained except on the hypothesis that *ὁ ναὸς τῆς σκηπῆς τοῦ μαρτυρίου* in 5 is a translation from a Hebrew text, and that a corrupt one, and that the second phrase in 6 is due to the translator taking *עַץ* to mean *λίθον*, whereas in this context it could only = *βύσσινον*. See text *in locis*.

§ 6. *xv. 2-8 appears to be a translation by our author from a Hebrew source.*

Since xv. 2-8 is from the hand of our author (§ 4), and since, according to § 5, xv. 2-8 is not only strongly Hebraistic but appears to imply a Hebrew source; and, finally, since in xv. 5, 6 the text can be best explained on the hypothesis of a corrupt

Hebrew source, this section appears to be a translation by our author from a Hebrew source.

§ 7. xv. 1 appears to be an interpolation, the chapter having originally begun with xv. 2 : further, for οἱ ἑπτὰ ἄγγελοι οἱ ἔχοντες τὰς ἑπτὰ πληγὰς in 6 we should read simply ἄγγελοι ἑπτὰ. (Cf. xv. 7, xvi. 1.) The question has naturally been asked, how can the Seer have seen the angels in xv. 1, before they came forth from the Temple, which was not opened till xv. 5 ? This fact has caused much difficulty, and, as we should expect, a variety of explanations has been offered. Völter in his last works assigns xv. 5-6 to the Apocalypse of Cerinthus and xv. 1-4, 7 to an editor in Trajan's time. Weyland ascribes xv. 1, 6-8 to an editor and the remaining verses to two different sources. Spitta traces xv. 1 and fragments of 2, 3, 5 and 7 to an editor : Erbes, xv. 1, 5-8 to an editor of the year 80 A.D., and J. Weiss, xv. 1-4, 6-7 to an editor of the year 95 A.D.

None of these solutions of the difficulty has gained acceptance, and so Bousset thinks there is no need to excise any part of the text, and that xv. 1 is simply to be regarded as a superscription. But this explanation is, if anything, less satisfactory than the preceding. For (1) a superscription should not be introduced by the words καὶ εἶδον, but rather be something of the nature of ἡ ὁρασις τῶν ἑπτὰ ἀγγέλων κτλ. (2) If it were a superscription it ought to have been inserted immediately after 4 and not before 2, seeing that 2-4 constitute an independent and absolutely different vision. (3) That a new and important vision is introduced by xv. 5 is shown by the use of the clause μετὰ ταῦτα εἶδον. See iv. 1 n. (4) Again, as I have shown below, the Seven Angels are wrongly described in this verse as "seven angels having seven plagues—the last." Their right description would be "seven angels having seven bowls." (5) The clause ὅτι ἐν αὐταῖς ἐτελέσθη ὁ θυμὸς τοῦ θεοῦ is unjustifiable. The wrath of God cannot be conceived as coming to an end till sin is at an end or adequately punished. And this does not take place till the final judgment. (6) The scene of the Seer's vision is wrongly represented as having been experienced on the earth—εἶδον ἄλλο σημεῖον ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ (cf. xii. 1, 3)—whereas it was undoubtedly in heaven : cf. xv. 5 sqq. Accordingly there appears to be no other way of solving the difficulty than to suppose either that xv. 1 is due to a marginal gloss subsequently incorporated in the text, or that it was an early interpolation by a scribe. Hence the chapter really begins with the vision of the triumphant martyrs in heaven, xv. 2-4, while xv. 5 introduces the vision of seven angels coming forth from the Temple in heaven. In xv. 6 instead of οἱ ἑπτὰ ἄγγελοι οἱ ἔχοντες τὰς ἑπτὰ πληγὰς we should simply read ἄγγελοι ἑπτὰ. The change was

made when xv. 1 was incorporated in the text. The interpolator, moreover, made a very inept addition. He did not know his text. For, as is clear from xv. 7, the Seven Angels did not receive "the bowls full of the wrath of God" till after they had left the Temple, whereas in 6 they are represented as having the plagues before doing so. Again, these Seven Angels, when they are mentioned subsequently, as they are four times, are never described as "the seven angels having the seven plagues," but simply as "the seven angels," xv. 7, xvi. 1, or "the seven angels which had the seven bowls," in xvii. 1, xxi. 9. Each bowl contains a plague, and so the seven plagues, xv. 8, result respectively from the pouring forth in succession of the seven Bowls.

1. This verse cannot be original, as we have already seen in the Intro. to this Chapter, § 7. It is true that the style resembles that of our author, but there are strong grounds against its being from his hand. The first is that the Seer cannot have seen the angels in 1, seeing that the Temple is closed till 5, and the angels do not emerge from it till then. But there are other and more radical grounds for the rejection of this verse. (1) First, as we are aware (see note on iv. 1) the clause *καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα εἶδον* (xv. 5) always introduces a new and important section in the Apocalypse; but, if it had already been introduced in xv. 1, then this clause would be out of place. Moreover, in xv. 1 the clause *καὶ εἶδον* is used by our Seer to introduce the less important sections. The interpolator of xv. 1 does not seem to have been aware of this usage. If we excise xv. 1 and remember that xiv. is wholly proleptic in character, referring as it does to events subsequent to xvi. 17 (see p. 2), then the blessedness of the martyred faithful is set forth in contrast to their terrible plight in xiii. (2) The expression *ἀγγέλους ἑπτὰ ἔχοντας πλῆγὰς ἑπτά* is not that used by our author elsewhere, save in 6 where it appears also to be an interpolation, though it may have been suggested by the last clause in xv. 8. For the last three words we should have *ἔχοντας φιάλας ἑπτὰ*: cf. xv. 7, xvii. 1, xxi. 9. See also 8. The phraseology throughout xvi. also supports this objection. (3) The words *τὰς ἑσχάτας* (probably derived from xxi. 9) are generally explained as the last plagues in contrast to the plagues mentioned in ix. 20; but that this is not the meaning of *the writer of this verse* is clear from the clause which follows, with which we shall now deal. (4) The clause just referred to—*ὅτι ἐν αὐταῖς ἐτελέσθη ὁ θυμὸς τοῦ θεοῦ*—cannot be given any satisfactory explanation. It manifestly states that the wrath of God will be consummated in these seven Bowls, whereas the last and most terrible of the divine judgments do not take place till after their close. The

right expression is found in xv. 8, ἄχρι τελεσθῶσιν αἱ ἐπτά πληγαί, which is probably the source of the interpolator's phrase. These seven Plagues can be described as wholly consummated in xvi.-xviii., but not so the wrath of God.

On the above grounds we cannot but regard xv. 1 as an interpolation. When this interpolation was once effected, ἄγγελοι ἐπτά in 6 was changed into οἱ ἐπτά ἄγγελοι οἱ ἔχοντες τὰς ἐπτά πληγὰς in order to adapt the context to the text thus interpolated. The incongruity of the addition οἱ ἔχοντες τ. ἐπτά πληγὰς is very glaring, seeing that the seven angels do not receive the plague-bearing Bowls till the next verse.

καὶ εἶδον. See notes on iv. 1.

καὶ εἶδον . . . ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ. This clause seems to have been suggested by xii. 1.

ἄλλο σημεῖον ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ. Cf. xii. 1, 3, where this phrase implies that the Seer is on earth. But clearly in the vision of the Seven Angels he is in heaven: see xv. 5, xvi. 1. This fact the interpolator failed to recognize.

μέγα καὶ θαυμαστόν. Suggested (?) by the phrase μεγάλη καὶ θαυμαστά in 3. ἁγγέλους ἐπτά . . . τοῦ θεοῦ. This passage has already been dealt with above. See also note on 7.

2-4. With this vision the march in the development of future events is resumed. The line of advance was abandoned for the time being in xiv., which, as we have seen, is wholly prophetic, and summarized all the coming judgments from the seventh Bowl to the immediate advent of the final judgment. Hence xv. 2-4 is to be taken in close connection with xiii. In xiii. 15 the second Beast is represented as exterminating the entire body of the faithful, and xv. 2-4 looks upon that extermination as already an event of the past. The roll of the martyrs is at last complete, and no longer are any of the faithful to be found on the earth, but only the heathen nations, which are either devoted followers of the Antichrist or occupy a neutral position. xv. 2-4 thus forms a companion picture to vii. 9-16. In both these the roll of the martyrs has just been completed or is on the eve of completion in heaven. The final judgment is still in the distance; for the conversion of the nations (cf. the announcement of the glad tidings in xiv. 6) is foretold (xv. 4) as an event of the future. In xiv. 1-5 and xx. 4, which depict a later stage, the martyrs have descended with Christ to the earth to share with Him the Millennial reign.

2. ὡς (see Additional Note, i. p. 35 sq.) θάλασσαν ὑαλίνην (= יָם כְּזֵיתָן). This sea has already been referred to in iv. 6. The absence of the article is what we expect in this Hebraistic expression, which = "the likeness of a sea of glass."

μεμιγμένην πυρί. This description is not attached to the heavenly sea when it is mentioned in iv. 6. But the difference of context is a sufficient explanation. In iv. 6 the vision is one of peace, whereas here it is one of judgment. This phrase, therefore, may refer either to the sea as glowing with the wrath of God, or as reflecting the lightnings that proceeded from the throne of God, though there is here, it is true, no mention of these lightnings. In 2 Enoch xxix. 1-2 there is a passage that may be quoted, though it does not throw any real light on the text. "From the gleam of My eye the lightning received its wonderful nature, which is both fire in water, and water in fire."

τοὺς νικῶντας ἐκ τοῦ θηρίου. This is a very difficult phrase. There is no difficulty with the participle. Here νικῶντας = νενικηκότας. The great tribulation is over, and the martyrs have triumphed over the Beast by proving faithful unto death. As our author thinks in Hebrew, his use of the Greek participle reflects that of the Hebrew participle, which, as we are aware, can = νικῶντας, νενικηκότας or νικησομένους according to the context. Here νικῶντας is to be taken as a perfect participle. The roll of the martyrs is at last complete, but it has only just been completed. The Antichristian powers have not yet been judged, nor has the Millennial Kingdom been as yet established. When this kingdom is established the martyrs shall descend and reign (v. 10) with Christ for 1000 years (xiv. 1-5, xx. 4), and all the nations of the earth, which had not been leagued with Rome, shall come and worship before God (xv. 4, xxi. 24-26).

νικῶντας ἐκ. The use of ἐκ after νικῶντας is very difficult. Winer (p. 460) quotes this passage in connection with a number of other passages where ἐκ is found, but not one of them has the same source as ἐκ here. He compares the Latin expression "victoriam ferre ex aliquo," Livy, viii. 8, etc. But it would be difficult to justify the occurrence of a Latinism in our text. There is just the possibility that our author was here reproducing the Hebrew idiom הנברים מן החיה (cf. 2 Sam. i. 23; Ps. lxx. 3) = "those who had been stronger than the beast." But no adequate explanation has as yet been offered.

As Swete (*in loc.*) has pointed out, the martyrs show themselves as conquerors up to the moment of death: cf. *Ep. Smyrn.* 19, διὰ τῆς ὑπομονῆς καταγωνισάμενος τὸν ἄδικον ἄρχοντα καὶ οὕτως τὸν τῆς ἀφθαρσίας στέφανον ἀπολαβών. *Passio S. Perpetuae*, 18, "illuxit dies victoriae illorum, et processerunt de carcere in amphitheatrum quasi in caelum, hilares et vultu decori." But our Seer follows them into the life beyond and sees the exultant host celebrating not their own victory but the praises of God.

ἐκ τοῦ θηρίου καὶ ἐκ τῆς εἰκόνης κτλ. Cf. xiii. 1, 14, 17, xiv. 9, 11, xix. 20, xx. 4.

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ἑστῶτας ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν. This phrase could mean "standing on" (cf. x. 5, 8, xii. 18, xiv. 1) or "standing by" (cf. iii. 20). This scene of the victors standing on the heavenly sea with harps in their hands and praising God recalls Israel's song of triumph over Egypt on the shore of the Red Sea. The phraseology is unusual. In x. 5, 8 ἵστημι is used with ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης. Further, our author prefers generally the phrase ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης to ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν: cf. vii. 1^b, x. 2, 5, 8. But the fact that ἵστημι ἐπὶ is in the case of all other nouns followed by the accusative (iii. 20, vii. 1^a, viii. 3, xi. 11, xii. 18, xiv. 1) may have led to the use of the accusative (instead of the gen.) of θάλασσα in the present instance after ἑστῶτας ἐπὶ.

κιθάρας τοῦ θεοῦ = "harps belonging to the service of God." The omission of the article before κιθάρας is a Hebraism. On this idea cf. v. 8, xiv. 2. With this phrase we might compare 1 Thess. iv. 16, ἐν σάλπιγγι θεοῦ, and 1 Chron. xvi. 42; 2 Chron. vii. 6, כִּי־הָאֵלֹהִים יִשְׁמְרֵנוּ = "instruments to accompany the songs of God."

8. καὶ ᾄδουσιν. These words are to be taken as = καὶ ᾄδοντας and the passage to be rendered: "I saw . . . standing on the sea . . . and singing." This Hebraism has occurred several times already: see note on xiv. 2-3.

[τὴν ψῆδὴν Μωυσέως τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ] τὴν ψῆδὴν τοῦ ἀρνίου. Now that the martyr host is completed, and are already standing before God, they sing a song of praise to God, but not one of triumph over their enemies—a fact which differentiates this song from that in Ex. xv. The first words, "the song of Moses the servant of God," recall Ex. xiv. 31, xv. 1, where Moses and the children of Israel sang a song of thanksgiving to God, but still more a paean of triumph over the Egyptians and of joy at their destruction (Ex. xv. 2-19).

As that song was sung on earth, on the shore of the Red Sea by Israel after the flesh, so this song is sung in heaven by the Sea of Glass before God by the spiritual Israel.

The expression τὴν ψῆδὴν Μωυσέως . . . καὶ τ. ψῆδὴν τοῦ ἀρνίου creates insuperable difficulties. To excise (as most editors have done) καὶ τ. ψῆδὴν τοῦ ἀρνίου as an interpolation would only aggravate the difficulty in the present context. For, since it was through the Lamb that the Christian martyrs triumphed, if the song that followed was associated with any name, that name must have been that of the Lamb. Hence the difficulty does not originate in connection with this phrase, but rather with τ. ψῆδὴν Μωυσέως. How then are we to explain the collocation of the two phrases? Bousset is of opinion that the repetition of the phrase suggests that the victors sang first the old Song of Moses (Ex. xv. 2-19) and then a new song—that of the Lamb, which is then given. This apparently is the view of Swete.

"St. John does not write τ. ψῆδην Μωυσέως καὶ τοῦ ἀρνίου, for the notes are distinct though they form a harmony." This view can hardly be regarded as satisfactory. That the old dispensation is superseded is the *essential* belief of our author, and it can no less have been his conviction that in heaven the faithful members of the old dispensation would accept the teaching of the new. Moreover, if our author deliberately omits all reference to the Law throughout the Apocalypse, it would be surprising if he referred here to its author Moses, and placed him before the Lamb. This being so, we can hardly suppose that our author implies that the song of Moses, given in Ex. xv. 2-19, was actually sung by a body of Christian martyrs before the throne. We, therefore, expect that, *if the text is original*, the song given in our text, which makes no definite mention of either Moses or of the Lamb, was sung alike by the martyred faithful of Judaism and Christianity, and that too led by the Lamb, as the song in Ex. xv. was led by Moses. But the form of the text is against this conclusion, and implies that the song or songs are led by Moses and the Lamb.

Thus there seems to be no way out of the difficulty save by assuming that the words τ. ψῆδην Μωυσέως τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ originated in a marginal gloss, which was subsequently incorporated in the text. Moreover, the nature of the song supports this assumption, since it is not a song of triumph, but simply a paean of thanksgiving, which the martyrs sing, when in the first perfect unclouded vision of God they wholly forget themselves and burst forth into praise of the Lord God of Hosts, who alone is holy, whose works are great and marvellous, whose ways are righteousness and truth, and to whom all the nations shall do homage, because of the coming manifestation of God's righteous judgments.

Not until this stage does the Seer behold the complete spiritual transformation of the faithful in heaven. At the same time by its mention of divine judgments to come, it prepares the way for the advent of the Seven Angels with their plagues. This song, therefore, though sung by the victorious Christian host of martyrs, could not be more fittingly conceived. Its sole theme is God; for, in the perfect vision of God, self is wholly forgotten, and so far as there is a reference to the earth from which they have been delivered, it is one of hopefulness: "the nations shall come and worship before Thee."

The gloss τ. ψῆδην Μωυσέως κτλ. in this context is probably due to the fact that the triumph of the actual Israel over the Egyptians at the Red Sea was certainly regarded by the Christians of the first century as prefiguring the triumphs of the spiritual Israel, as we see from the Pauline Epistles.

This song of Moses in Ex. xv. had already been incorporated in the Temple Services. Thus it was sung at the evening sacrifice on the Sabbath (Edersheim, *The Temple*, p. 188), and in the benediction that followed the Shema there is a reference to it: "A new song did they that were delivered sing to Thy name by the seashore" (*Encyc. Bib.* iv. 4954). According to Philo (*De Vita Contempl.* xi.) this song was sung by the Therapeutae, the men forming one chorus and the women the other, while in the *De Agricultura*, xvii., he writes: "the chorus of men will have Moses for their leader and that of the women will be under the guidance of Miriam. . . . Accordingly all the men sing the song on the seashore. . . . Moses being the leader of their song; and the women sing—Miriam being their leader."

The Martyrs' Song is formed almost wholly of O.T. expressions.

μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστά τὰ ἔργα σου. The first epithet as describing the works of God is found in Ps. xcii. 5, cxi. 2, and the second in Ps. xcvi. 1, cxxxix. 14; 1 Chron. xvi. 9.

κύριε, ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ. See Amos iv. 13, but the phrase occurs several times elsewhere in our text (see note on i. 8).

δίκαιαι καὶ ἀληθιναὶ αἱ ὁδοὶ σου. Cf. xvi. 7, xix. 2; Ps. cxlv. 17, δίκαιος κύριος ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτοῦ: Deut. xxxii. 4, ἀληθινὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ.

ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν ἐθνῶν. 4. τίς οὐ μὴ φοβηθῇ. These clauses are a rendering of Jer. x. 7, which, though present in Aquila and Theodotion, are wanting in the LXX. The title "king of the nations" is here peculiarly appropriate, since it is God's dealings with the nations alike in the way of condemnation and of mercy that is the theme of this song and of the chapters that follow.

καὶ δοξάσει τὸ ὄνομά σου. Cf. Ps. lxxxvi. 9, δοξάσουσιν τὸ ὄνομά σου; see also 12; Mal. i. 11, τὸ ὄνομά σου δεδόξασται ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν. μόνος ὁσιος. Cf. 1 Sam. ii. 2, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἅγιος ὡς κύριος. With the expression μόνος ὁσιος cf. Rom. xvi. 27, μόνῳ σοφῷ.

ὅτι πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἤξουσιν . . . ἐνώπιόν σου. From Ps. lxxxvi. 9. τὰ δικαιώματα κτλ. Cf. Ps. xcvi. 2. δικαιώματα here means the judicial sentences of God in relation to the nations either in the way of mercy or condemnation. On Rome and all the adherents of the Empire will be manifested the judgments of God; whereas during the Millennial period the rest of the nations will experience His mercy. Cf. xiv. 6-7, which refer to the Millennial period. On the other hand, some scholars take δικαιώματα in the sense of "righteous deeds"—a meaning which it undoubtedly possesses in the gloss in xix. 9. But xvi. 1, φιάλας τοῦ θυμοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ, xvi. 7, δίκαιαι αἱ κρίσεις σου, and

other analogous expressions are in favour of the interpretation given above.

πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἡξουσιν κτλ. These words point forward to the conversion of the nations during the Millennial reign: cf. xxi. 24 sq., xxii. 2. In xiv. 7 the nations are exhorted to repent and worship God. Of course it is only the nations that survive the judgments in xvi.-xix. that are so converted.

ὅτι . . . ἐφανερώθησαν. This clause gives the ground for the clause that immediately precedes: "for Thy righteous judgments shall have been made manifest."

XV. 5-XVI. 1. The commission of the Seven Angels with the Bowls.

δ. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα εἶδον. As has been shown on iv. 1, this phrase is never used except at the beginning of an important section. Thus the insertion of xv. 1, which already deals with this subject, is wholly against the usage of our author. See also above on 1.

ἡτοίγη ὁ ναὸς . . . ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ. So in xi. 19.

ὁ ναὸς † τῆς σκηνῆς τοῦ μαρτυρίου †.

This designation of the heavenly Temple is certainly strange—"the temple of the tabernacle of the testimony." It appears either to be an interpolation or the rendering of a corrupt Hebrew source. If we translate the phrase into Hebrew it is clear that ναὸς must be rendered by הֵיכָל, σκηνή generally by אֹהֶל (occasionally by מִשְׁכָּן), and μαρτύριον by מוֹעֵד (or possibly by עֵדוּת). But it must certainly be confessed that הֵיכָל אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד is an absolutely unexampled designation, and difficult to justify.

The phrase in the text cannot be a rendering of מִשְׁכַּן אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד (cf. Ex. xl. 2, 6, 29, since ναὸς is never used to translate מִשְׁכַּן).

Züllig thinks that this expression is used in order to recall the fact that, when the Tabernacle with all its holy vessels was brought up to Jerusalem by the order of Solomon, the Ark was removed from it and set up in the most holy place in the Temple (2 Chron. v. 5; 1 Kings viii. 4), and that from that time forward the temple could also bear the name of the Tabernacle, and that in fact it is called *mishkkan* (מִשְׁכַּן) in Ps. lxxxiv. 2, cxxxii. 5, and *ohel* (אֹהֶל) in Ezek. xli. 1. Hence he would, as Bousset, render the entire phrase as "the temple, that is, the tabernacle of the testimony." The genitive would in this case be one of apposition. But against the identification of the ναὸς and σκηνή in our text there is the very great objection, that in Apocalyptic, from the vision in Isa. vi. to the latest times, it is *the Temple*, whether in heaven or on earth, and *not the Tabernacle*, that is referred to as the scene of apocalyptic vision. See note

on viii. 3. Hence, since throughout the rest of the Apocalypse this usage is followed, the natural inference is that it is followed here. If this be so, then it is to be concluded that τῆς σκηνης τοῦ μαρτυρίου is an addition. If we might here assume a Hebrew original, we could dispose of the difficulty. Thus ὁ ναὸς τῆς σκηνης τοῦ μαρτυρίου ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ = מִזְבֵּחַ שְׂכֵן הַמִּקְדָּשׁ, which might easily be a corruption of מִזְבֵּחַ שְׂכֵן הַמִּקְדָּשׁ = ὁ ναὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ—the very phrase that is found in xi. 19, with the same verb in both cases, i.e. ἡνοίγη.

6. οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄγγ. οἱ ἔχ. τ. ἐπὶ πληγὰς. As we have already seen on 1, we should excise οἱ ἔχ. τ. ἐπὶ πληγὰς as an addition from the hand that added 1 and read simply ἄγγελοι ἐπὶ τὰ.

ἐνδεδυμένοι † λίθον † . . . περιεζωσμένοι . . . ζώνας χρυσᾶς. See note on the diction in i. 13.

ἐνδεδυμένοι † λίθον † καθαρὸν λαμπρόν. AC, a few Cursives, and the MSS of the Vulg. read λίθον for λίνον, which is found in the lesser authorities. That λίθον would more readily be changed into λίνον and not *vice versa* is evident in itself. Besides, though the best Codd. of the Vulg. have *lapide* the official text has *linteo*. WH adduce Ezek. xxviii. 13, πάντα λίθον χρηστὸν ἐνδίδεσαι in support of λίθον. Further, λίνον (= flax) is not used as the equivalent of λινοῦν (= a garment made of flax) except in a few passages throughout Greek literature: cf. Homer, *Il.* ix. 661, *Od.* xiii. 73, 118; Aesch. *Suppl.* 120, 132, Etym. Magn. The evidence, therefore, is strongly in favour of λίθον. But, notwithstanding the advocacy of WH, λίθον cannot be right. We must, therefore, assume either that, despite the very great improbability, λίθον is a primitive corruption of the all but unexampled word λίνον (= "linen garment"—a most unusual meaning), or that we have here a mistranslation from the Hebrew. ἐνδεδυμένοι λίθον = עֲשֵׂי מַעֲשֵׂי. But עֲשֵׂי, as we know, means either βύσσινος, Gen. xli. 42; Ex. xxviii. 35 (39), or λίθος (cf. Esth. i. 6) or μάρμαρος (Cant. v. 15). In fact, in later Hebrew it generally means "alabaster" or "marble." In the Epistle of Jeremy 71 the same mistranslation, as Ball has shown, occurs: "Ye shall know them to be no gods by the purple and the marble (τῆς μαρμάρου) which rotteth upon them." Here μάρμαρος = עֲשֵׂי, which should have been rendered by τοῦ βύσσινου = "fine linen." "Marble doesn't rot," as Ball remarks. Now returning to our text, if we may assume a Hebrew original, then instead of ἐνδεδυμένοι λίθον καθαρὸν λαμπρόν we should read ἐνδεδυμένοι βύσσινον καθαρὸν λαμπρόν. To confirm this conclusion we have only to turn to xix. 8, where we find περιβᾶλγται βύσσινον λαμπρόν καθαρόν, or to xix. 14, where we have the clause that should be in our text, ἐνδεδυμένοι

βύσσινον λευκὸν καθαρὸν. Hence we render "clothed in fine linen pure bright." On the significance of this expression see note on iii. 5.

περιεβυσμένοι κτλ. Cf. i. 13.

7. ἐν ἑκ τῶν τεσσάρων ζώων, *i.e.* one of the Cherubim. See note on iv. 6. The Cherubim in the Apocalyptic of the 1st cent. A.D. have come to be the chief order of angels. It is fitting therefore that one of them should act as an intermediary between God and the Seven Angels of the Bowls. Even in Ezek. x. 7 it is one of the Cherubim that hands over to one of the seven angels of judgment coals of fire to be sprinkled on the earth.

ἐπὶ φιάλας χρυσῆς. On the position of ἐπὶ before its noun see note on viii. 2.

φιάλας . . . γεμούσας τοῦ θυμοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ. It is highly probable that the Greek word φιάλη was adopted into both Hebrew and Aramaic as early as the beginning of the Christian era: see Levi's two Lexicons *in loc.* It is noteworthy that it is used in connection with the same idea as in our text in the Targum on Isa. li. 17, where the Hebrew כוס חמתו (= "the cup of His wrath") is explained by כסא דלומא פ"י and in 22 כוס חמתי by פ"י כסא דחמתי. Again in the Targum of Jon. on Gen. xl. 12 we have כוס דרנניא פ"י = "the bowl of wrath" (*i.e.* of the divine wrath). The word thus appears to have had the same idea associated with it as in our text. With the present passage cf. xiv. 8, 10.

τοῦ ζῶντος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. See note on iv. 9.

8. ἐγεμίσθη ὁ ναὸς καπνοῦ ἐκ τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ. γεμίζω belongs to the vocabulary of our author but is not used in this connection in the LXX. The first four words recall the statement in Isa. vi. 4, where in connection with the great vision of Isaiah it is said that "the house (*i.e.* the Temple) was filled with smoke" (ὁ οἶκος ἐνεπλήσθη καπνοῦ—LXX). The combined ideas of the Temple being filled with smoke and with the glory of the Lord are found in Ezek. x. 4, "The house (*i.e.* the Temple) was filled with the cloud, and the court was full of the brightness of the Lord's glory": Ex. xl. 35, "Moses was not able to enter into the tent of meeting because the cloud abode thereon, and the glory of the Lord filled the tabernacle." See also 1 Kings viii. 10. The glory of God is spoken of as filling the temple in Ezek. xlv. 4; 2 Chron. vii. 2-3. During such manifestations of God's presence no one could enter the earthly temple. In all the O.T. passages above cited the presence of God is a mark of His gracious purposes. Hence the inability of humanity to approach God in these passages was due to the infinite transcendence of God and His unapproachableness by merely finite

creatures. But that cannot be the meaning of the clause in our text.

ἐκ τῆς δυνάμεως. This attribute of God is here set parallel with His glory. It is to be manifested in the plagues that follow.

οὐδεὶς ἐδύνατο εἰσελθεῖν κτλ. As we have seen in the first note on this verse, none could enter the earthly Temple in the O.T. during special manifestations of God's presence therein. But, since this cannot hold of the heavenly Temple, inasmuch as in heaven the heavenly hosts are constantly represented as standing in God's immediate presence, it seems necessary to attach a figurative meaning to the clause οὐδεὶς ἐδύνατο εἰσελθεῖν κτλ., and to interpret these words as meaning that, until the plagues were accomplished, none could avert by prayer the doom about to befall the earth through these plagues. At the close of these judgments God's gracious purposes with regard to the nations would take effect: see xiv. 6, xxi. 24, 26.

CHAPTER XVI.

§ 1. *The object of this Chapter.*

The object of this chapter is to set forth the last series of plagues that are to befall the earth. These plagues are symbolized under the seven Bowls which are poured forth by Seven Angels.

In these seven Bowls we have no mere repetition of the divine visitations in the Seals and Woes. Not only are they different in themselves from the Seals and Woes, but they differ further in respect of time and the people affected by them. Although these facts have been brought forward in the Introduction to xv., it is necessary here to emphasize them anew, since the prevailing view is that in the Bowls we have not advanced chronologically, but that in the Seals, Trumpets (Woes), and Bowls the same great principles of God's government are displayed under different aspects. Even scholars, like Bousset, who are opposed to the Recapitulation Theory, are disposed to acknowledge in some degree its validity in regard to the Seals, Trumpets, and Bowls. Though the reader should consult the Introduction to xv., I will here repeat the two chief *differentiae* between the Bowls and the Seals and Woes. These are that the people affected in each series is different and that their order is alike logical and chronological. Under the Seals (save the fifth to which only the Christians were subject) Christian and heathen alike suffer. Then after the sealing of the faithful takes place, all those who had not been so sealed are exposed to the three

demonic Woes. In the course of the third Woe the last of the faithful are martyred, and at its close the world is inhabited only by the heathen nations. Then follows the last series of cosmic and other plagues, which are all embracing in their incidence with the exception of the fifth Bowl, which is confined to the kingdom of the Beast, just as the fifth Seal affected only the faithful.

§ 2. *State of the Text.*

The text of this chapter has suffered much through faulty transcription and deliberate alteration. xvi. 1 has *μεγάλης φωνῆς*—an abnormal order of words in our author. Both the context and the diction of xvi. 2^c, and certain clauses in 13-14 are against their authenticity, as is shown in the notes on these passages. The apparently meaningless interchange of *εἰς* and *ἐπὶ* after *ἐκχέω* is strange. xvi. 10 has sustained the loss of several clauses. xvi. 5^{b-7}, which belongs to xix., has been restored in this edition to its original position after xix. 4; xvi. 15, which belongs to iii., has been restored after iii. 3^a.

§ 3. *Diction and Idiom.*

When the interpolated clauses in xvi. 2, 13-14 are removed, the entire phraseology and constructions are those of our author, with the exception of xvi. 1. There are, as was to be expected, phrases not found elsewhere in our author, but these are not against any established usage on his part.

(a) *Diction.*

1. *ἤκουσα* . . . *φωνῆς ἐκ*: cf. iii. 20, xiv. 13, xxi. 3. Elsewhere in our author *φωνήν* after *ἠκούειν*. *τοῖς ἐπὶ ἀγγέλοις*: cf. xv. 6, 8, xvii. 1, xxi. 9. *ὑπάγετε κ. ἐκχέετε*: cf. x. 8, *ὑπάγε λάβε*. *ἐκχέετε* . . . *εἰς*: cf. 2, 3, 4, but *ἐκχ.* . . . *ἐπὶ* in 8, 10, 12, 17. *τοῦ θυμοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ*: cf. xiv. 10, 19, xv. 7.

2. *ἀπῆλθεν* . . . *καὶ ἐξέχεεν*: cf. v. 7, *ἦλθεν καὶ εἰληφεν*: xvii. 1, xxi. 9 (a Hebraism). Cf. John v. 15, ix. 7, 11, xii. 36. *ἐγένετο ἔλκος* . . . *ἐπὶ*. Here only in our author. On the interpolation *τοὺς ἔχοντας* . . . *αὐτοῦ*, see note *in loc.*

5^{b-7}. See *Intro.* to xvi. 5^{b-7} on p. 120 sqq.

9. *καῦμα*: cf. vii. 16. *ἐβλασφήμησαν τὸ ὄνομα*: cf. xiii. 6. *δοῦναι αὐτῷ δόξαν*: cf. iv. 9, xi. 13, xiv. 7, xix. 7.

10. *τὸν θρόνον τοῦ θηρίου*: cf. xiii. 2. *ἐσκοτωμένη*: cf. ix. 2, where the word refers to the same phenomenon. *ἐκ τοῦ πόνου*: cf. 11, xxi. 4. Only once elsewhere in N.T., *i.e.* Col. iv. 13.

11. *τὸν θεὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*: cf. xi. 13 (a source). *οὐ μετενόησαν ἐκ τ. ἔργων αὐτῶν*: cf. ii. 21, 22, ix. 20, 21.

12. *ἐτοιμασθῇ*. A frequent word in our author. *ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν ἡλίου*: cf. vii. 2.

13. *τοῦ δράκοντος* . . . *τοῦ θηρίου*: cf. xiii. 4. *τοῦ ψευδοπρο-*

φήτου : cf. xix. 20, xx. 10. πνεύματα τρία : such is our author's order : see note on viii. 2.

14. τῆς οἰκουμένης δλης : cf. iii. 10, xii. 9. συναγαγεῖν αὐτοὺς εἰς τ. πόλεμον : cf. xx. 8, where the same words recur : see also xix. 19. τῆς ἡμέρας τ. μεγάλης : cf. vi. 17. τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ παντοκράτορος : cf. i. 8, iv. 8 π., xi. 17, xv. 3, etc.

15. This verse should be read after iii. 3^a. Every phrase of it has its parallel in iii. See notes *in loc*.

16. τὸν καλούμενον : cf. i. 9, xi. 8, xii. 9, xix. 11. Ἑβραῖστί : cf. ix. 11.

17. φωνή . . . ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου : cf. xx. 2, 10 for this combination of prepositions. Elsewhere we have φωνὴ ἀπὸ τ. θρόνου in xix. 5 and φ. ἐκ τ. θρ. in xxi. 3 and ἐκ τ. θρ. with other nouns iv. 5, xxii. 1. γέγονεν : cf. xxi. 6.

18. ἀστραπαὶ καὶ φωναὶ καὶ βρονταί : cf. viii. 5, xi. 19. σεισμὸς . . . μέγας. Cf. vi. 12, viii. 5, xi. 19, xvi. 18.

19. τὸ ποτήριον τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ θυμοῦ τῆς ὀργῆς : cf. xiv. 8, 10, xix. 15.

20. ἔφυγεν, καὶ . . . οὐχ εὐρέθησαν : cf. xx. 11.

21. χαλάζα μεγάλη : cf. xi. 19. ἐβλασφήμησαν : see above on 9. (b) *Idiom*.

1. μεγάλης φωνῆς : the order of the words in this phrase is unique in our author. It is certainly abnormal and is corrected in KP into φωνῆς μεγάλης. But there are a few instances where the adjective precedes its noun in our author : cf. i. 10, iii. 12 (in both passages, however, between art. and noun), and ὀλίγος in three cases.

2. ἐγένετο . . . ἐπὶ : unique in our author.

3. αἷμα ὡς νεκροῦ, *i.e.* αἷμα ὡς αἷμα νεκροῦ : see Additional Note in vol. i. p. 35.

8. ἰδὲθι αὐτῷ *cum inf.* : cf. vi. 4, vii. 2, etc.

9. ἔχοντος τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ : cf. note on ii. 26 on this idiomatic use of art. with ἐξουσίαν. οὐ μετενόησαν . . . δοῦναι : cf. xi. 18, ἦλθεν . . . ὁ καιρὸς . . . δοῦναι, xvi. 19, ἐμνήσθη . . . δοῦναι.

1. μεγάλης φωνῆς. In every other instance of this phrase, in the Apocalypse, i. 10, v. 2, 12, vi. 10, vii. 2, 10, viii. 13, x. 3, xi. 12, 15, xii. 10, xiv. 7, 9, 15, 18, xvi. 17, xix. 1, 17, xxi. 3, the noun φωνή precedes the adjective. This "great voice," as that in 17, seems to be that of God Himself and not of an angel. According to xv. 8 none could enter the Temple till the plagues were accomplished. But it is possible that it is the voice of the angel of the altar, as in xiv. 18.

ἐκχέετε τὰς ἐπὶ τὰς φιάλας κτλ. Cf. Dan. ix. 11, Jer. x. 25, xlii. 18, xliv. 6, on this Semitic use of the verb *קח* or *קחש*. ἐκχέω occurs repeatedly in this chapter and not elsewhere in the Apocalypse.

ἐκχέετε (see Winer, § 13, 23. Blass, p. 41, would read ἐκχέετε) . . . εἰς τ. γῆν. So also in 2. Cf. ἐξέχεεν εἰς τ. θάλασσαν in 3, and the same verb with εἰς τοὺς ποταμούς in 4. On the other hand, we have the same verb with ἐπὶ τ. ποταμόν in 12, and with ἐπὶ τ. ἥλιον (8), ἐπὶ τ. θρόνον (10), and ἐπὶ τ. αἶρα (17).

τὰς ἐπιτὰ φιδάλας τοῦ θυμοῦ. On the first four Trumpets, which can hardly on any hypothesis be regarded as the work of our author, see *Introd.* to viii., vol. i. p. 219 sq.

2. This plague recalls the sixth Egyptian plague: Ex. ix. 10-11; Deut. xxviii. 35.

ἐγένετο ὄλκος . . . ποτηρόν. The first two words we have in Ex. ix. 10, רַחֵץ יְהִי, and the two latter in Deut. xxviii. 35 and Job ii. 7, שָׁרַף רַחֵץ. In the last two passages the LXX renders ἔλκει ποτηρόν.

ἐγένετο . . . ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. In Ex. ix. 10 we have ἐγένετο . . . ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις (*i.e.* אָדָם). Thus our author is independent of the LXX. For the construction, Luke i. 65, iii. 2 are generally quoted. ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, "upon men," *i.e.* on all mankind: cf. xvi. 8, 21.

[τ. ἔχοντας τὸ χάραγμα τοῦ θηρίου καὶ τοὺς προσκυνούντας τῇ εἰκόνι αὐτοῦ.] Cf. xiii. 17, xiv. 9, 11, xix. 20.

This clause has been assigned by Spitta (p. 163) to the final editor of the Book, though he does not specify the grounds. There are, however, good reasons for regarding them as a gloss. 1. The fourth Plague is universal in its incidence as regards the sun, and also the second so far as those on the sea are concerned. That the third is so likewise as regards all fresh waters is clear. Such also is the sixth and the seventh as regards the Euphrates and the air. Hence it is natural to expect that the first Plague is of the same character as in the second, third, and fourth, *i.e.* universal in its incidence. 2. The construction τοὺς προσκυνούντας τῇ εἰκόνι αὐτοῦ is against our author's usage. See note on vii. 11.

If the above conclusion is not valid, then we must assume that only the adherents of the Roman Empire, and not the rest of the heathen, are affected by the first Plague. In this respect the first and fifth Plagues would have the same incidence. But not only are the followers of the Beast subject to certain physical evils, but they alone are susceptible to the deceitful signs wrought by the false prophet (xix. 20). With this susceptibility to evil influence we should contrast the security against demonic influences enjoyed by those who were sealed by God in vii. 4-8, ix. 4. But all the faithful have already been removed from the earth (see *Introd.* to xv. p. 26).

3. This Plague recalls the first Egyptian plague, Ex. vii. 17-21, though in the latter the Nile alone is smitten.

ἐγένετο αἷμα. Cf. Ex. vii. 19, מִיָּה הָיָה.
 πᾶσα ψυχὴ ζωῆς. (Cf. מִיָּה הָיָה שְׁבַב, Gen. i. 21, or מִיָּה שְׁבַב, i. 30.)
 τὰ ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ. In viii. 9 only a third of the things in the sea
 perished. Here the destruction is complete.

4. εἰς τ. ποταμούς καὶ τ. πηγὰς τῶν ὕδατων. See note on viii. 10.
 ἐγένετο αἷμα, i.e. the fresh waters became blood.

5^a. [καὶ ἤκουσα τοῦ ἀγγέλου τῶν ὕδατων λέγοντος.] An inter-
 polation to introduce xvi. 5^b-7, which originally followed after
 xix. 4, and to which context it is restored in this edition. Cf.
 1 Enoch lxvi. 2. "Those angels were over the powers of the
 waters." In vii. 1 of our text the angels who had control of the
 winds are referred to, and in xiv. 18 the angel over fire, though
 the latter appears to be a gloss. On the various classes of angels
 see the Index to Charles' *The Apocr. and Pseudep.* vol. ii.;
 Bousset, *Rel. des Judenthums*, 317, also *Jewish Encyc.*, art.
 "Angelology."

5^b-7. This passage has been restored after xix. 4, where the
 grounds are fully stated for this restoration.

8. The fourth Bowl takes effect on the sun, and causes a
 plague of excessive heat.

ἐξέχεεν . . . ἐπὶ τὸν ἥλιον. On the use of ἐπὶ here instead of
 εἰς as in the preceding verses, see note on 1. The construction
 ἐδόθη αὐτῷ is a frequent one in our author: see Introd. to Chap.
 vii., vol. i. p. 191.

9. ἐκαυματίσθησαν . . . καῦμα. (See Blass, *Gr.* p. 91 sq.)
 Contrast vii. 16, οὐδὲ μὴ πάσις ἐτι (emended) αὐτοὺς ὁ ἥλιος οὐδὲ
 τῶν καῦμα.

ἐβλασφήμησαν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ. Cf. xiii. 6; Isa. lii. 5; Rom.
 ii. 24; 1 Tim. vi. 1; Jas. ii. 7.

ἔχοντος τὴν ἐξουσίαν. See note on ii. 26 on the significance
 of the article with ἐξουσίαν. Bousset brackets here with the
 inferior MSS the article. This is strange, since he is aware that
 when ἐξουσία is accompanied by the art. it connotes full
 authority or power, and this is certainly the meaning in the
 present passage.

οὐ μετενόησαν. Cf. ix. 20, 21, xvi. 11. In xi. 13 the Jews
 repent owing to the earthquake.

δοῦναι αὐτῷ δόξαν. Cf. xi. 13, xiv. 7, xix. 7.

10-11. The fifth Bowl. If we compare this Bowl with the
 first Woe it is clear that they are developments of the same
 tradition, though they refer to different periods, the Christians
 being still upon the earth during the Woes, but not during the
 Bowls. Thus both affect only the adherents of the beast (xvi. 10:
 cf. ix. 4). In xvi. 10 the kingdom of the beast is darkened; in
 ix. 2 the sun is darkened by the smoke issuing from the pit, and
 from this smoke issued the demonic locusts. In xvi. 10-11

men gnawed their tongues through pain and blasphemed the God of heaven ; in ix. 5-6 men were tormented by the locusts and sought death but could not find it.

Similarly we shall find that the sixth Bowl agrees closely with the second Woe (see note on xvi. 12-16), and the seventh Bowl with the third Woe (see note on xvi. 17-21). These facts will help us in the elucidation of the difficulties affecting the fifth Bowl.

But there is another point worthy of consideration. If we compare the seven Bowls with the Seven Seals, we find that, whereas only the faithful were the victims of the fifth Seal, only the followers of the beast are affected by the fifth Bowl.

10. The visitation on the kingdom of the Antichrist.

τὸν θρόνον τοῦ θηρίου, *i.e.* Rome. Cf. xiii. 2, ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ (*i.e.* τῷ θηρίῳ) ὁ δράκων . . . τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ. The first four Bowls had affected the world at large ; the fifth assails only the kingdom of the Beast.

ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ ἔσκοτωμένη. Owing to this clause the fifth Plague has been taken to be one of darkness recalling the Egyptian one, Ex. x. 21 sqq. But this interpretation cannot be upheld. A plague of darkness would be wholly insufficient to explain the agony experienced by the adherents of the Beast after the pouring out of the fifth Bowl. Hence something else than the darkness that ensued on the pouring out of the fifth Bowl must be presupposed as the cause of this agony. Now, if we turn to the first Woe of which the fifth Bowl is in some sense an abbreviation, we can explain both these statements. There we find that the sun was *darkened* by the smoke that issued from the pit (ix. 2). There is every reason for supposing that we have here the true explanation of the darkening of the kingdom of the Beast. Further, the cause of the torments endured by the adherents of the Beast (xvi. 10, ἐμασῶντο τὰς γλώσσας αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ πόνου) is to be traced to the demonic locusts which issued from the smoke that ascended from the pit. Men were so tortured by the scorpion-like stings of these locusts (ix. 10) that they longed for death to end their agony (ix. 5-6). Hence we infer that after ἔσκοτωμένη several clauses have been lost, in which the causes of the darkness and the sufferings of mankind were given. The hypothesis that certain clauses of the nature suggested originally stood after ἔσκοτωμένη is established by a clause in 11, *i.e.* καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἰλκῶν αὐτῶν. These sores could not have been caused by the darkness. Spitta and, so far as I am aware, Spitta alone (p. 171) has recognized this fact that the fifth Bowl originally treated of demonic locusts as the first Woe does. But he rejects (171, 576) τὸν θρόνον τοῦ θηρίου καὶ ἐγένετο ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ ἔσκοτωμένη as an addition from the hand of the final editor on the ground that

the throne of the beast is not to be identified with Rome but with the abyss as in ix. 11, and that accordingly the place on which the fifth Bowl is to be poured should be named, where the plague in question is to be developed, analogously with the rest of the plagues (xvi. 2, 3, 4, 8, 12, 17). He also excises the clause *καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἑλκῶν αὐτῶν* to the weakening of his own hypothesis. But I have already shown above that *ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ σκοτωμένη* can be fully justified. Nor can any valid objection be taken to *τὸν θρόνον τοῦ θηρίου*, seeing that already in xiii. 2 the Dragon had given his throne to the Beast. Thus it is only necessary here to suppose a lacuna in the text.

ἐμασῶντο κτλ. In the LXX only in Job xxx. 5.

11. Their sufferings drove the followers of the beast to fresh blasphemy instead of to repentance.

τὸν θεὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. See xi. 13.

καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἑλκῶν αὐτῶν. This phrase proves that the sufferings of the subjects of the Beast are not intelligible from the text as it stands after the loss of the clauses referred to in the note on 10. Some scholars explain it as referring to the phrase *ἄλκος κακόν* in 2.

οὐ μετενόησαν ἐκ τῶν ἔργων. So already in ii. 21, ix. 20.

12-16. The sixth Bowl—at all events xvi. 12—is related to the second Woe, ix. 13-21. In the latter passage we have an account of the demonic horsemen from the Euphrates, whose objective is the heathen unbelieving world. In the present context the river Euphrates is dried up in order that the way may be prepared for the kings coming from the East under Nero *redivivus*, and their objective is Rome, the throne of the Beast. This forecast reappears in xvii. 12-13, 17, 16. The powers of the Beast are therefore at variance. On the other hand, the gathering together of the kings of the earth to Armageddon is a distant echo of the onslaught of the forces of Gog in Ezekiel on Jerusalem. This expectation has undergone many developments in the interval, and reappears in a duplicated form under the actual designation of Gog and Magog in xx. 7-10, where it represents the last uprising of the powers of evil before their final destruction by fire from heaven. But the present context (xvi. 13-16) reproduces an earlier form of this expectation, and this form of it is referred to twice elsewhere in the book—in xiv. 14, 18-20, and xix. 11-21. In these three passages, which refer to a universal insurrection of the heathen nations at the instigation of the demons and the Beast and the False Prophet, *before the Messianic Kingdom*, the forces of evil are destroyed by the Messiah, and the Beast and the False Prophet cast into the lake of fire, whereas in the final insurrection of the heathen nations due to the direct instigation of Satan *at the close of the Messianic Kingdom* they are annihilated.

by fire from heaven, and Satan himself cast into the lake of fire, where already were the Beast and the False Prophet.

Further, it is to be observed that the uprising of the kings of the East against Rome is only the preparatory step to their conflict with the Lamb, as we see in xvii. 12-17. Hence their combination here (xvi. 12) with the kings of the whole earth (xvii. 14) to resist the Lamb.

12. The march of the kings of the East against Rome, which is described more fully in xvii. 12-13, 17, 16.

τὸν ποταμὸν . . . Εὐφράτην. Cf. ix. 14.

ἐξηράνθη τὸ ὕδωρ αὐτοῦ. For the idea cf. Ex. xiv. 21; Josh. iii. 13-17; Isa. xi. 15 sq., xlv. 27, li. 10; Jer. xxviii. (li.) 36; Zech. x. 11; 4 Ezra xiii. 43-47.

ἐτοιμασθή. Cf. Isa. xl. 3, ἐτοιμάσατε τὴν ὁδόν. For the use of this verb in the second Woe, cf. ix. 15. It is a favourite with our author: cf. viii. 6, ix. 7, xii. 6, xix. 7, xxi. 2.

13, 14^b, 16. The gathering together of all the kings of the earth to war against God and Christ. Cf. Ps. ii. 2. See note above on 12-16.

13. Three unclean spirits from the Dragon (*i.e.* Satan: cf. xii. 3, 9), the Beast, and the False Prophet (*i.e.* the second Beast) go forth to call together the kings of the earth. Cf. 1 Kings xxii. 22. Contrast the three angels in xiv. 6 sqq.

τοῦ ψευδοπροφήτου. Here for the first time the second Beast (xiii. 11 sqq) is so designated.

πνεύματα . . . ἀκάθαρτα. Cf. Matt. x. 1; Mark i. 23, etc.

[ὡς βάτραχοι.] First we observe that the construction is *unigue* in the Apocalypse. According to the universal usage outside the present passage we should here have ὡς βατράχους, as indeed κ* and many cursives actually do read. But the best authorities support the abnormal text. However, as we shall see on the next verse, the context requires the excision of ὡς βάτραχοι . . . σημεία as a marginal gloss subsequently incorporated in the text. As regards the use of the phrase, it may be observed that frogs were regarded in the Zend religion (see *S.B.E.* iv. 171, note) as the source of plagues and death. In *Hermas, Vis.* iv. 1. 6, locusts of a fiery colour are seen by the Seer coming forth from the mouth of a great monster: ἰδοὺ βλέπω θηρίον μέγιστον . . . καὶ ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ ἀκριδες πύριμαι ἐξεπορεύοντο. This conception combines the ideas underlying ix. 3 and xvi. 13. Frogs were regarded as the agents of Ahriman: cf. *Plut. de Iside*, 46 (Moffatt).

14. [εἰσὶν γὰρ πνεύματα δαιμονίων ποιοῦντα σημεία.] There are difficulties attaching to this clause. 1. It has been taken parenthetically by Bousset and Holtzmann as an explanatory remark of our author: "there are, to wit, demonic spirits, sign workers" (as

their masters, xiii. 13, 14). The phrase πνεύματα δαιμονίων should be rendered "spirits, that is, demons," i.e. "demonic spirits," as in Luke iv. 33, πνεῦμα δαιμονίου ἀκαθάρτου = "a spirit, that is, an unclean demon." The genitive is one of apposition or definition: cf. ii. 10, ὁ στέφανος τῆς ζωῆς. Demons have no spirits, but are themselves spirits. According to 1 Enoch xv. 8, 9, 11, xvi. 1, xix., xcix. 7, the demons were the spirits which went forth from the antediluvian giants on their destruction, these giants being the children of the fallen angels and the daughters of men (cf. Gen. vi. 1). These demons were not to incur punishment till the final judgment: cf. Matt. viii. 29; 1 Enoch xvi. 1; Jubilees x. 5-11. They were subject to Satan as in our text: cf. Matt. xii. 24-28. 2. Or it may be rendered: "they are, to wit, demonic spirits, sign workers." But however we take this clause it is of the nature of a gloss.

† ἃ ἐκπορεύεται †.—This—the best attested text—is wholly unsatisfactory. κ* and several cursives read ἐκπορεύεσθαι. Though this is less unsatisfactory it is against our author's usage as well as against Greek idiom. The context undoubtedly requires ἐκπορευόμενα, since without this participle the construction and meaning are both defective. For the preceding words εἶδον ἐκ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ δράκοντος . . . πνεύματα τρία are incomplete in both respects without the participle ἐκπορευόμενα. The phrase ἐκ τ. στόματος . . . ἐκπορεύεσθαι is of frequent occurrence in our text: cf. i. 16, ix. 17, 18, xi. 5, xix. 15, 21. Thus we should read εἶδον ἐκ τ. στόματος τ. δράκοντος . . . πνεύματα τρία . . . ἐκπορευόμενα (cf. i. 16 for the same separation of ἐκ τ. στόματος and the verb), and translate: "and I saw from the mouth of the dragon . . . three unclean spirits going forth." The present text εἶδον ἐκ τ. στόματος . . . πνεύματα τρία without a participle, which at once explains the ἐκ and completes the sentence, is, so far as I am aware, unexampled, and yet it has been thoughtlessly accepted by every grammarian and student of the Apocalypse, perhaps in many cases from the idea that any construction is possible in this Book.

Hence, since for ἃ ἐκπορεύεται we must read ἐκπορευόμενα and connect it with εἶδον ἐκ κτλ., we conclude that εἰσὶν γὰρ . . . σημεῖα is a marginal gloss, and likewise ὡς βάτραχοι if this is the earliest form of this phrase. Thus ὡς βάτραχοι . . . σημεῖα was originally a marginal gloss which on its incorporation into the text brought about the change of ἐκπορευόμενα into ἃ ἐκπορεύεται.

τῆς οἰκουμένης ὅλης. Cf. iii. 10, xii. 9, for the same phrase and the same thought connection.

συναγαγεῖν αὐτοὺς κτλ. Cf. xx. 8.

τῆς ἡμέρας τῆς μεγάλης τοῦ θεοῦ. This is the great day of Yahweh's reckoning with the ungodly nations. Cf. 2 Pet. iii. 12,

ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμέρα. See Charles' *Eschatology*² (see Index), also the authorities quoted in the note of vi. 17 of our text.

τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ παντοκράτορος. A divine title frequently found in our author: cf. i. 8, iv. 8 (note), xi. 17, xv. 3, xvi. 7, xix. 6, 15, xxi. 22.

15. With Könncke (*Emendationen zu Stellen NT.* 35-37, whose work I have not seen; the reference I owe to Moffatt) this verse is to be taken as an intrusion here. Originally either it stood between iii. 3^a and 3^b, where it would complete the ἰδοὺ series of ii. 22, iii. 9, 20, or it should with Beza be transposed before iii. 18. I therefore bracket it with most modern critics in its present context.

What Könncke's arguments are I do not know, but the cogency of his suggestion manifests itself on a comparison of 15 with iii. 2-4. To see how fitly it comes in after iii. 3^a we have only to compare ἰδοὺ ἔρχομαι with the series of verbs so introduced in ii. 22, iii. 9, 20: ὡς κλέπτης· μακάριος ὁ γρηγορῶν καὶ τηρῶν τὰ ἡμέτια αὐτοῦ (xvi. 15^{ab}) with γίνου γρηγορῶν in iii. 2 and εἰαν οὖν μὴ γρηγορήσῃς, ἦξω ὡς κλέπτης in iii. 3^b (observe also the use of τηρεῖν though without an expressed object in iii. 3^a and οὐκ ἐμόλυναν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν in iii. 4): ἵνα μὴ γυμνὸς περιπατῇ (xvi. 15) with περιπατήσουσιν μετ' ἐμοῦ ἐν λευκοῖς in iii. 4, and the remaining words καὶ βλέπωσιν τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην αὐτοῦ with ἵνα . . . μὴ φανερωθῇ ἡ αἰσχύνῃ τῆς γυμνότητός σου, iii. 18. κλέπτης and γρηγορεῖν occur only in xvi. 15 and iii. 2-3 in our author.

This verse implies that the sixth Bowl will take the world by surprise. But it is hard to see how the elaborate preparations of the kings of the East followed by those of all the kings of the world could do so. Finally, the utter inappropriateness of 15 in its present context is further evident from the fact that all the faithful have already been removed from the earth.

This verse forms one of the seven beatitudes in the Apocalypse: i. 3 (iii. 3) (xiv. 13), xix. 9, xx. 6, xxii. 14, 7. When xvi. 15 is restored to its original context, we find a special appositeness in their order: first beatitude (i. 3) deals with those who read the prophecy; the second (iii. 3, *i.e.* xvi. 15) with those who watch and keep their garments clean: the third, xiv. 12-13 (to be read after xiii. 15), with those who die in the Lord in the last persecution: the fourth, xix. 9, with those who are invited to the marriage supper of the Lamb: the fifth, xx. 6, with those who share in the first resurrection: the sixth, xxii. 14, with those who had washed their garments and had permission to eat of the tree of life during the Millennial Kingdom: the seventh, xxii. 7, with those who keep the words of this Book.

16. This verse should follow immediately on 14, and 15 be transferred to its original context between iii. 3^a and iii. 3^b.

συνήγαγεν. Neuter nouns in the plural are followed either by the singular (viii. 3, xiii. 14, xiv. 13, xvi. 14, etc.) or plural verb in the Apocalypse, but mostly by the latter.

τὸν καλούμενον. Cf. i. 9, xi. 8, xii. 9.

Ἐβραϊστί. See ix. 11.

**Ap Μαγεδών*. No convincing interpretation has as yet been given of this phrase, which should probably be translated "the mountains of Megiddo." The city Megiddo was notable as the scene where Barak and Deborah overthrew the forces of Sisera by "the waters of Megiddo" (Judg. v. 19-21), and Pharaoh Necho defeated and slew Josiah, *i.e.*, in "the plain of Megiddo" (2 Kings xxiii. 29, 30; 2 Chron. xxxv. 22; Herod. ii. 159). But the phrase "mountains of Megiddo" is not found elsewhere. Owing to this fact it has been proposed by Hilgenfeld to take **Ap Μαγεδών* as = ער מנרן, where, ער = עיר = "city of Megiddo." Völter regards **Ap* as = ארץ, "land." But both these conjectures have failed to meet with acceptance. It is best at present to regard the first element in the phrase as = "mountains"; for the final conflict in Ezek. xxxviii. 8, 21, xxxix. 2, 4, 17—a passage which influenced our author in xx. 8-11—was to take place on "the mountains of Israel." In Dan. xi. 45 the writer expected that Antiochus would meet his end "between the sea and the glorious holy mountain." Since Megiddo is not associated with any eschatological expectation, it is possible some corruption underlies this word. Hence the phrase in Daniel, "glorious holy mountain" (= Mt. Zion), as well as the expression in Ezekiel, "mountains of Israel," may give some support to the conjecture cited by Cheyne (*Encyc. Bib.* i. 311) that **Ap Μαγεδών* = הר מנדרו, his "fruitful mountain." This would associate the battle scene with Jerusalem as in Joel iii. 2; Zech. xiv. 2 sqq.; 1 Enoch lvi. 7, xc. 13-19. As Rome was to be laid desolate by the kings of the East, xvi. 12, xvii. 16-17, so (after the destruction of the kings of the East—see xix. 13 *n.*) the kings of the whole earth were to be destroyed in the neighbourhood of Zion. Now, since xvi. 14, 16 and xx. 8-10 are both ultimately derived from Ezek. xxxviii.-xxxix., and since in xx. 8-10 the scene of the last great struggle at the close of the Millennial Kingdom is placed in the neighbourhood of the Heavenly Jerusalem (which has taken the place of the Old), it is possible that **Ap Μαγεδών* may be a corruption either for הר מנדרו = "his fruitful mountain," as above suggested, or for ער חסדה, "the desirable city" (*i.e.* Jerusalem: cf. ארץ חסדה, "the desirable land," *i.e.* Palestine, Jer. iii. 19; Zech. vii. 14). The latter suggestion derives some countenance from xx. 9, τὴν πόλιν τὴν ὑπαγμένην, which is there surrounded by the hostile armies

of Gog and Magog. But everything connected with the text and meaning of the phrase is uncertain. Hence Gunkel, followed by Cheyne and Bousset, conjectures in his *Schöpfung und Chaos*, 263-266, that we have in this mysterious phrase a survival of some ancient myth—no longer intelligible to our author—which associated the final conflict of the gods with some ancient mountain. Hommel's suggestion that the phrase goes back to *הר מועד* (Isa. xiv. 13) = "the mountain in the north where the gods meet," springs from the same view of the passage. Hence Bousset concludes that the context here goes back to an ancient myth which described the assault on the holy mountain of the gods by an army of demons mustered by certain evil spirits. To this myth our author in Bousset's opinion gave an historical character by connecting it with the Parthians. See Nestle's art. in Hastings' *D.B.* ii. 304 sq.

17-21. The seventh Bowl. Just as the fifth and sixth Bowls showed undeniable affinities with the first and second Woes, so the seventh Bowl appears to be slightly related to the third Woe, xi. 14-19. In xvi. 17 a voice from heaven declares that the punishment of the heathen and of the great city of Rome is now completed in the pouring out of the seventh Bowl with the results about to be recounted. In xi. 18^b it is said that the time has come for "destroying those who destroy the earth": cf. xix. 2. This connection is indeed slight in itself, but there are others, for the "earthquake and great hail" in xi. 19 are described at some length in xvi. 18-21.

ἐξέχεον . . . ἐπὶ τὸν ἀέρα. On this visitation on the air cf. ix. 2. The construction with ἐπὶ here is extraordinary: see note on i.

ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου. A divine voice was heard coming from the Temple in xvi. 1. Here the place whence it comes is more nearly defined. Throughout the Apocalypse the throne is connected with the Temple, though at times it is impossible to visualize the vision. But, as we have seen in the note on iv. 2, the combination of the Temple and throne scenery goes far back into Judaism.

φωνή . . . ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου. So also in xix. 5. It is noteworthy that in exactly a similar connection our author uses ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου in xxi. 3.

γέγονεν. Cf. xxi. 6. The great voice from the throne, which had commanded these plagues, xvi. 1, now proclaims that they are at an end.

18. δατραπεαὶ καὶ φωναὶ καὶ βροταί. See notes on iv. 5, viii. 5.

σεισμὸς . . . μέγας. Cf. viii. 5, xi. 19.

ὅλος οὐκ ἐγένετο ἀφ' οὗ ἄνθρωποι ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. The

phraseology is borrowed from Dan. xii. 1. Cf. Theod. *θλάμεις, οἷα οὐ γέγονεν ἀφ' ἧς γεγένηται ἔθνος ἐν τῇ γῇ* (ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, AQ), and the LXX *οἷα οὐκ ἐγενήθη ἀφ' οὗ ἐγενήθησαν*. Here the *ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς* is found both in our text and Theod.—a fact which may point to the presence of *יָמַל* in the text of Daniel in the 1st cent. A.D. Our text is clearly an independent rendering of Dan. xii. 1. Cf. Ass. Mos. viii. 1, “*ira quae talis non fuit in illis*.”

19. [καὶ ἐγένετο . . . εἰς τρία μέρη] καὶ οἱ πόλεις τῶν ἐθνῶν *ἔπασαν*. I have bracketed the first clause; for *εἰς τρία μέρη* is against the usage of our author, who would have written *εἰς μέρη τρία*: cf. xvi. 13, xxi. 13 (four times). Moreover, there is no hint in xvii.-xviii. that Rome had suffered from a violent earthquake. Rome is dealt with in the words which follow—καὶ Βαβυλῶν κτλ. These words prepare the reader for xvii.-xviii.

ἐγένετο . . . εἰς. Cf. Acts v. 36. In viii. 11 of our author the text is corrupt.

ἡ πόλις ἡ μεγάλη. Here as in xiv. 8 (see note) it is Rome, not Jerusalem, that is designated as “Babylon the Great.” Jerusalem had already been in part overthrown by an earthquake in xi. 13: 7000 of its inhabitants had been thereby destroyed and the rest had repented. Here, according to the interpolator, it is Rome that is visited by an earthquake, and that an earthquake such as had never yet been experienced on earth, and yet in xvii. 3-4 Rome appears not to have suffered in this earthquake in the least degree. Its final overthrow and destruction are yet to come in xvii.-xviii. This judgment and that of the great hail do not lead men to repent: rather they blaspheme the more: cf. ver. 21. To identify Babylon here with Jerusalem, as is done by J. Weiss, Moffatt, and some other scholars, is against the whole context and the right conception of xvii.-xviii.

ἐμνήσθη δοῦναι. The passive use of *μνησθῆναι* is found in Ezek. iii. 20 (οὐ μὴ μνησθῶσιν αἱ δικαιοσύναι αὐτοῦ), xviii. 22, 24. It is found also in Acts x. 31 and elsewhere. As regards the construction we should compare xi. 18, *ἦλθεν ὁ καιρὸς . . . δοῦναι*, xvi. 9, *οὐ μετενόησαν δοῦναι*. In Ps. cix. 16 and ciii. 18 we find the infinitive in Hebrew after *כִּי*.

τὸ ποτήριον τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ θυμοῦ τῆς ὀργῆς αὐτοῦ. See notes on xiv. 8, 10. The expression *τοῦ θυμοῦ τῆς ὀργῆς* recurs in xix. 15. In Isa. vii. 4; Jer. iv. 26, xxv. 16 (xlix. 37), xxxii. 23 (xxv. 37); Lam. i. 12, ii. 3, iv. 11; Ezek. xxiii. 25; Hos. xi. 9; Nah. i. 6, we find the combination *ὀργὴ θυμοῦ* (= *הַמַּחַד הַזֶּה*). The order *θυμὸς ὀργῆς* is infrequent in the LXX but it is found: cf. Isa. ix. 18.

20. *πᾶσα νῆσος ἔφυγεν*. Cf. vi. 14, *πᾶν ὄρος καὶ νῆσος . . . ἐκινήθησαν*.

οὐχ εὐρέθησαν. Cf. v. 4, xii. 8, xiv. 5, xviii. 21, xx. 11 (ἔφυγεν ἡ γῆ . . . καὶ τόπος οὐχ εὐρέθη)—a familiar Hebrew expression (יָצַד מָצָא): cf. Ps. xxxvi. (xxxvii.) 36.

ὄρη οὐχ εὐρέθησαν. This disappearance of the mountains is one of the signs of the end of the world: cf. vi. 14; also Ass. Mos. x. 4, "And the high mountains shall be made low, and the hills shall be shaken and fall," also 1 Enoch i. 6. In later Christian Apocalyptic this idea is found not unfrequently: cf. Sibyl. Or. viii. 234, 236, ὑψώσει δὲ φάραγγας, ὁλεῖ δ' ὑψώματα βουνῶν, ὕψος δ' οὐκέτι λοιπὸν (so Hase) ἐν ἀνθρώποισι φανεῖται. Ἰσα δ' ὄρη πεδίοις ἴσται καὶ πᾶσα θάλασσα οὐκέτι πλοῦν ἔξει.

A Latin translation of viii. 217-250 is given in Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, xviii. 23:

"Dejiciet colles, valles extollet ab imo.
Non erit in rebus hominum sublime vel altum.
Tam aequantur campis montes et coerula ponti
Omnia cessabunt."

Lactantius, *Div. Instit.* vii. 16, 11, "Montes quoque altissimi decident et planis aequabuntur, mare innavigabile constituetur."

The idea underlying these passages is to be carefully distinguished from that which appears in the Zend religion to the effect that the mountains, being the work of the evil spirit Ahriman, would disappear with him, and the new earth would be "an iceless, slopeless plain; even the mountain whose summit is the support of the Kinvat bridge they keep down, and it will not exist," Bund. xxx. 33 (*S.B.E.* v. 129 sq.). The object of the earth being made a smooth plain was, as Böklen states (*Eschatologie*, p. 133), to make intercourse easy for the renewed humanity. In this connection, cf. Sib. Or. iii. 776 sqq.

Yet another idea underlies the use of analogous phrases in Isa. xl. 4; 1 Bar. v. 5-9; Pss. Sol. xi. 5.

21. χάλαια μεγάλη. So also in xi. 19. Probably the 777 of Ex. ix. 24—the seventh of the Egyptian plagues.

ὡς ταλαντία. A talent (τάλαντον = 777) weighed something between 108 and 130 lbs. The word ταλαντιαῖος is found in Polybius and Josephus, as Swete points out.

ἐβλασφήμησαν . . . τὸν θεόν. As in xvi. 9, 11 so here the effect of the judgment is only to harden the hearts of the heathen nations. This attitude of theirs stands in contrast with that of the Jews in xi. 13.

σφόδρα. Here only in our author. It stands last like 777 in Hebrew, not only here but elsewhere in the N.T. Cf. Matt. ii. 10, xxvi. 22; Mark xvi. 4, etc. But in all such cases σφόδρα

follows immediately after the adjective it qualifies, whereas here, as occasionally in the case of the Hebrew רַבָּא, the adjective and adverb are sundered.

CHAPTER XVII.

§ 1. *Contents and Authorship.*

This chapter begins with a promise on the part of an angel to the Seer to show him "the judgment of the Great Harlot," but throughout the chapter this subject is not referred to save once (in xvii. 16), and alike the vision in xvii. 3^b-6 and its interpretation by the angel are concerned with the Beast, which according to the present form of the text symbolizes the demonic Nero, or Nero returning from the abyss to lead the Parthian powers against Rome. The judgment of the Great Harlot is given at length in xviii.

But if we are to give the subject the fuller treatment it demands, we soon recognize that xvii. cannot be treated apart from xviii. Thus in xvii. 1 an angel summoned the Seer to show him "the judgment of the Great Harlot," and transported him in the spirit (xvii. 3) to the wilderness, where he had a vision of the woman and of the scarlet Beast, whereon she sat, with its seven heads and ten horns. Now the woman was magnificently arrayed in purple and scarlet and adorned with gold and precious stones, and on her forehead she bore the name of Babylon, the mother of fornication and abomination, and she was drunken with the blood of Christian martyrs (xvii. 4-6). And when the Seer was filled with amazement at what he saw, the angel turned aside from his original purpose of showing him the judgment of the Great Harlot, and proceeded to explain the hidden meaning of the woman and the Beast with the seven heads and ten horns. The Beast, said the angel, "was and is not and is about to come up out of the abyss and goeth to destruction," and all the faithless upon earth shall marvel at his return after his death (xvii. 7-8), but they that are wise will not do so; for they will see that the seven heads are seven kings, of whom the sixth is at present reigning. This sixth would in due course be succeeded by the seventh, who would reign but a short time. And on the death of the seventh king would follow an eighth, who was in reality the Beast—and yet he would not be the eighth king, since he was actually one of the seven (xvii. 9-11). (The Beast is clearly here the demonic Nero returning to earth from the abyss.)

So much for the seven heads. As for the ten horns, these are ten subordinate kings who will shortly come into their royal authority, and with one accord will, through the ordinance of

God, place all their power at the disposal of the Beast, and the Beast and these kings will hate the Harlot, and destroy her by fire (xvii. 12-13, 17, 16). And having destroyed the Harlot they will go to war with the Lamb, but they will be overcome by the Lamb and His followers (xvii. 14, a conquest implied by xix. 13). Now the Harlot is none other than the city Rome (xvii. 18), whose doom is described in the vision that follows.

So much for the thought of the chapter as it stands. But the order of events is strange and unexpected. Though the Seer has promised in xvii. 1 a vision of the judgment of the Great Harlot, in all the verses that follow there is not a reference to this subject save in xvii. 16. The promise, in fact, is not redeemed till xviii., for the single mention of this judgment in xvii. 16 cannot be regarded as a fulfilment of it. xviii. is necessarily introduced by the technical phrase *μετὰ ταῦτα εἶδον*, since other weighty subjects have intervened between xvii. 1 and its fulfilment in xviii.

The irregular character of this chapter prepares us for the conclusion which a detailed study of it makes manifest, *i.e.* that our author is here using sources which for convenience' sake are here designated as A and B. A = 1^c-2, 3^b-6^a, 7, 18, and some clauses in 8-10. B is fragmentary: 11-13, 17, 16 (see § 5). The order of the words in A is Semitic, but not in B, and whereas the diction and idiom in both show indubitable traces of our author's hand, they just as indubitably contain idioms which are against his usage (§ 3). Again, though the thought underlying the *present* form of the chapter is that of our author, even the most superficial criticism makes it clear that this thought is superinduced, and that the meaning of the symbol "the Beast" has been transformed by additions to the text. Thus in A the Beast symbolized the Roman Empire, a meaning which still survives in xvii. 3, whereas in B it symbolized the living Nero returning from the East at the head of the Parthian kings in order to destroy Rome (§ 4). By certain additions in xvii. 8, 11 the Beast has come to symbolize Nero *redivivus* or the demonic Nero coming up from the abyss—an expectation prevalent from 90 A.D. onwards in many Christian communities.

There are certain dislocations of the text. Thus xvii. 17 should be transposed before xvii. 16, and xvii. 14—an addition of our author—should be placed after xvii. 16, since it deals with the destruction of the Beast and his Parthian allies, who in xvii. 17, 16 have already destroyed Rome. There are two glosses, one in xvii. 9, which gives an alternative and wrong interpretation of the seven heads in xvii. 9, and another in xvii. 15, which was originally a marginal gloss on ἐν ὑδάτων in xvii. 1 and has got wrongly thrust into its present position (§ 4).

In the Introd. to xviii. we shall find grounds for regarding A and xviii. as derived from one and the same source.

§ 2. *The order of the Words.*

So far as the order of the words goes, this chapter falls into two parts. xvii. 1-10 is Hebraic as to order. Thus the verb precedes the object three times in xvii. 7, twice in xvii. 3, and once in xvii. 1, 6. In xvii. 8 the verb precedes the subject twice, and once in xvii. 1 and 2. In xvii. 4-5 there are only substantive sentences.

In xvii. 11-17 the order is decidedly non-Semitic. Only once, *i.e.* in xvii. 17, does the verb precede the subject, whereas the object, and also the subject where expressed, precede the verb twice in each of the verses xvii. 12, 13, 16 (*i.e.* six times in three verses). Again, in each of xvii. 14, 16, 17 the order subj. vb. obj. occurs once, and in each of xvii. 14, 15 the order subj. and vb. It is true that in some of these cases the order is quite good Semitic, inasmuch as its unusualness serves to mark emphasis, opposition, or the like: but in respect of order xvii. 11-17 is, as a whole, non-Semitic and differs in this respect from xvii. 1-10. Such a fact can hardly be accidental, and must be accounted for. The linguistic character of xvii. 11-17 is almost without parallel in the rest of the book save in xi. 1-13, which on these and other grounds we were obliged to attribute to a Greek or Aramaic source (see i. p. 270 sqq.). *Any theory as to the authorship of xvii. should account for these facts.* So far as these facts go we are predisposed to assign xvii. 1-10 and xvii. 11-17 (or the original forms of these; for they exhibit undoubted marks of revision, as we shall see presently) to different sources, the latter apparently to a Greek source.

§ 3. *The diction and idiom of this Chapter show manifest traces of the hand of our author (in the way of revision, as we shall see later), but they are frequently against his usage.*

(a) *Traces of the hand of our author, especially in xvii. 1-9, 14 (which verse is wholly from his hand).—*καὶ ἦλθεν . . . δείξω in xvii. 1, recurs in xxi. 9: indeed every word and phrase of xvii. 1 are from our author. Thus εἰς ἐκ is his universal usage. On ἐλάλησεν . . . λέγων and δείξω σοι see iv. 1 n. In xvii. 3, ἀπήνεγκεν . . . ἐν πνεύματι recurs in xxi. 10. The constructions καθημένης ἐπὶ ὁδῶν, xvii. 1¹ and καθημένην ἐπὶ θηρίων in xvii. 3

¹ If, as we shall seek to prove, part of xvii. 1 has come from a source, then the form of the phrase καθημένης ἐπὶ ὁδῶν πολλῶν seems to come from our author; for the phrase is clearly derived from Jer. li. (xxviii.) 13, and since καθίσθαι is never used as a translation of יָשָׁב which is in the original here,

are also his idiom (see iv. 2, note). περιβεβλημένη c. acc. xvii. 4 (see iii. 5, note); also ἐπὶ τὸ μέτωπον αὐτῆς, xvii. 5 (see vii. 3 n.); also οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, xvii. 8¹ (see i. p. 336, and contrast οἱ κατοικοῦντες τὴν γῆν, xvii. 2); also ἦν καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν καὶ μᾶλλον ἀναβαίνειν . . . ὑπάγει and ὅτι ἦν . . . πάρεσται in xvii. 8; ὅδε . . . σοφίαν (cf. xiii. 18) in xvii. 9; ὁ ἦν . . . ἔστιν and καὶ εἰς ἀπώλειαν ὑπάγει in xvii. 11, and οἵτινες (= οἱ) in xvii. 12. xvii. 14 is wholly from his hand: with οἱτοὶ . . . νικήσει αὐτοὺς cf. xiii. 7, which is his; with κύριος . . . βασιλέων cf. xix. 16—while πιστός is often used by him. In xvii. 16 we have an instance of an idiom used by our author; i.e. ἡρμημένην ποιήσουσιν αὐτήν: cf. xii. 15, xxi. 5. In xvii. 17 with τελεσθήσονται cf. x. 7, xv. 8, xx. 3, 5, 7.

(b) *Idiom and diction against his usage.*—In xvii. 2, οἱ κατοικοῦντες τὴν γῆν conflicts with the universal usage of our author: see vol. i. p. 336, and note on xi. 10. γέμοντα ὀνόματα, xvii. 3 (3^b)—elsewhere c. gen. See n. on xvii. 3. In xvii. 8 γέγραπται ἐπὶ τὸ βιβλίον is against his usage; for in this phrase we have always γράφεσθαι ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ elsewhere: cf. (i. 3) xiii. 8, xx. 12, xxi. 27 [xxii. 18, 19]. In different phrases γράφειν ἐπὶ *cum acc.* is found: cf. ii. 17, ἐπὶ τὴν ψῆφον . . . γεγραμμένον: iii. 12, γράψω ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὸ ὄνομα: cf. also xix. 16. The order in αὐτὸν δεῖ is against his usage, xvii. 10—elsewhere δεῖ precedes: cf. x. 11, xx. 3, xi. 5: ἐκ τῶν ἐπτά, xvii. 11—elsewhere in Apoc. always εἰς ἐκ: cf. v. 5, vi. 1 (*his*), vii. 13, ix. 13, xiii. 3, xv. 7, xvii. 1, xxi. 9.

In xvii. 8, which like xiii. 8 is a rendering of the same Hebrew source, the split relative is not reproduced in the Greek, though it is in xiii. 8. In xvii. 15 ὃδ is used, though our author uses ὅπου always elsewhere (but this verse is a gloss on xvii. 1). γνώμη in xvii. 13, 17 is not found elsewhere in the Apoc., and the form of the enumeration in xvii. 15 is not that of our author. Here ὄχλοι is substituted for λαοί: see note *in loc.* Finally, in xvii. 17 ἄχρη is followed by the indicative (by the subjunctive in inferior MSS) but elsewhere in our author by the subjunctive: see ii. 25, note.

From (b) we see that this chapter exhibits many constructions, which are against our author's usage elsewhere in the Apocalypse.

On the other hand, (a) just as decidedly exhibits his handiwork. Since the thought underlying the *present* form of the text is that of our author, the obvious hypothesis is that he is making use of sources, which he revises and recasts to suit his

κατασκηροῦσι (as in the LXX) would be the natural rendering. But our author could not use this latter participle, since it is reserved by him for dwellers in heaven; see note on xvii. 1. Hence we have *καθήμενι ἐπὶ ὕδατων* instead possibly of *κατασκηροῦσι ἐπὶ ὕδατων*.

¹ Since this verse has been recast by our author, this form of this phrase instead of that in xvii. 2 may be due to him.

own purpose. In other words, *the evidence of this section tends to prove that not only is xvii. 11-17 based on a source, as we inferred in § 2, but also xvii. 1-10, 18.*

Further research will define more closely the extent and character of these sources. But first of all we must show that the conclusions provisionally arrived at from the form of the text are confirmed by the subject-matter. Hence we shall now proceed to prove that the chapter as it stands is of a composite nature.

§ 4. *The text is deranged and composite—being based on two Sources.*

The text is deranged, however we may account for it. For whereas in xvii. 7 the angel promises to disclose the mystery of the woman and the Beast (which the Seer had already seen in xvii. 3) and in this order, he at once proceeds to tell the mystery of the Beast, and there is no mention of the woman till xvii. 18. Hence the natural position of xvii. 18 is immediately after xvii. 7. Again, xvii. 17, which gives the explanation of xvii. 13, can hardly have been read unless in immediate connection with xvii. 13: *i.e.* 13, "These have one mind, and they give their power and authority unto the beast. 17. For God did put into their hearts to do His mind [and to come to one mind], and to give their kingdom unto the beast," etc.

The chapter is also composite. We have already seen in § 3 that whereas certain parts of the chapter show clear traces of the hand of John, the phraseology of certain other parts is decidedly against his usage. We have also seen in § 2 that the order of the words in xvii. 1-10 is Semitic, whereas that in xvii. 11-17 is not so. Now, if with these facts we combine the further one that, whereas xvii. 1-10 culminates in a prediction of the death of Titus (xvii. 10), the other (xvii. 11-17) culminates in a prediction of the destruction of the Harlot City (xvii. 16), we can hardly evade the conclusion that behind these two sections there were two independent sources.¹ But there is another indication of the independence of these two sections. In xvii. 3, 7 the Beast can only be the Roman Empire, whereas originally in xvii. 11-13, 17, 16 the Beast was not the Roman Empire (as originally in xvii. 3-10), but the living Nero returning from the East at the head of the Parthian kings.

That our author, therefore, has laid two sources under contribution is to be concluded from the above phenomena, in the first of which the Beast represented the Roman Empire,

¹ I have thus on largely independent grounds arrived at the same conclusions as Wellhausen (*Analyse*, 26-29) on the original sources of this chapter.

whereas in the second it represented the living Nero returning from the East at the head of the Parthian hosts (cf. xvi. 12).

To the above evidence of the compositeness of this chapter we might add the twofold explanation of the seven heads in xvii. 9-10 as symbolizing seven hills and seven kings: the glaring contradiction between xvii. 16, where the ten horns are represented as God's agents in destroying Rome, although they had themselves been *already* destroyed by the Lamb and His followers in xvii. 14,¹ and the belated gloss in xvii. 15, which has no *raison d'être* in its present position but was obviously added by a stupid scribe originally in the margin opposite xvii. 1 as an explanation of τῆς πόρνῆς . . . τῆς καθημένης ἐπὶ ὕδατων.

§ 5. *The two Sources A and B, and their dates.*

In the determination of these two sources I agree on the whole with Wellhausen.² A consists, according to this scholar, of 3 (with the exception of the phrase "and ten horns")-4, 6^b-7 (with the exception of "and the ten horns"), 9 (excluding all but the words "the seven heads"), 10 (omitting the initial "and"). He thinks that 18 may have originally stood after 7 but was omitted by the redactor, who, however, out of a feeling of conscientiousness added it at the close of B! B consists, he holds, of 11-13, 16 (omitting "and the ten horns which thou sawest and the beast"), 17. A and B were bound together by a redactor and revised. In A, 6 is a Christian addition, and in B 14. xvii. 1-3 may, with the exception of xvii. 1^a, have belonged either to A or B.

I am unable to accept Wellhausen's hypothesis in all its details, but, as we have already seen (§§ 2, 3), the evidence of the order of the words and to some extent the idioms point to two sources, and these, like Wellhausen, I designate as A and B.

(a) A consisted originally of 1^a (beginning with τὸ κρίμα τῆς πόρνῆς . . .)-2, 3^b (καὶ εἶδον . . .)-6 (om. καὶ ἐκ. . . Ἰησοῦ), 7, 18, 8 (om. ἦν καὶ οὐκ . . . ὑπάγει which addition has displaced a clause: om. also ὅτι ἦν . . . πάρεσται), 9 (om. ὧδε . . . σοφίαν and ἐπὶ τὰ . . . αὐτῶν), 10 (om. the first καί).

In this oracle the beast is the Roman Empire, its seven heads are the Roman emperors, five of whom belong to the past, one is, *i.e.*, Vespasian, whereas the seventh, Titus, as the

¹ This, however, is no doubt due to an accidental displacement. When it is read after 11-13, 17, 16 this contradiction disappears. In the text as it stands the demonic Nero returning from the abyss is the Antichrist, and therefore must be destroyed by the Christ.

² Bousset regards xvii. 1-7, 9-11, 15-18 as an original Jewish source of Vespasian's time, while he assigns xvii. 8, 12-14 and certain clauses in 6, 9, 11 to the last editor of the Apocalypse.

destroyer of Jerusalem, would speedily perish. The date is thus fixed and the authorship may have been Jewish Christian.

(b) B = 11 (om. *ὁ ἦν καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν καὶ καὶ εἰς ἀπώλειαν ὑπάγει*), 12-13, 17, 16. In this second oracle the Beast is Nero returning from the East, and not the Roman Empire as in A. The order of the words, as we have shown (§ 2), differs in B from that in A. This source is fragmentary. Preceding ver. 11 there must have been some account of the seven heads, but not that in A, since it identified the Beast with the Roman Empire and not with Nero.¹ Since the eighth is spoken of, *i.e.* Nero returning from the East, we may conclude with great probability that it was written during the reign of Titus. The oracle may be regarded as written by a Jew; for whereas the hatred of the Jews was fierce against Rome in the time of Vespasian and Titus, it was not so on the part of the Christians. The Christians, moreover, could not have had any sympathy with Nero. Their expectation is best expressed in the addition of John, *i.e.* ver. 14, where Nero and his allies attack the Lamb.

We have already observed that 15 was originally a marginal gloss on ver. 1, *τῆς πόρνῃς . . . ἐπὶ ὕδατων*. Ver. 14 is clearly from the hand of John, 16 manifestly stood originally after 17.

§ 6. *Our author's editing of A and B and the new meaning given thereby to the whole.*

Now that we have determined the extent of A and B, we have next to show the use our author made of them. First of all, the introductory words in xvii. 1, *καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς ἐκ . . . Δεῦρο δείξω σοι*, are clearly from his hand. Then follow the words from A, *τὸ κρίμα . . . τῆς πορνείας αὐτῆς*, which form the title of xviii. But though *πόρνῃς* is preceded by the article—another fact pointing to a source—the Harlot has not been mentioned as yet. The original vision of the Harlot consisted of the source A, in which the Beast was the Roman Empire on which the woman (Rome) was seated. This source our author introduces by 3^a *καὶ ἀπήνεγκέν με εἰς ἔρημον ἐν πνεύματι*. In 3^b-7 he makes no change save by the insertion (?) of *καὶ κέρατα δέκα* in 3, in order to prepare for B (*i.e.* 11-13, 17, 16), and by the addition of the clause 6^b *καὶ ἐκ τοῦ αἵματος . . . Ἰησοῦ*. In 8-10 he has recast the text. For the original form of 8 see the note *in loc.* (p. 67 sq.). His additions, *ἦν καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν . . . ὑπάγει* and *ὅτι ἦν . . . πᾶρεσται*, transform the meaning of the verse, which, though it originally identified the Beast with the Roman Empire, signifies in its present form the demonic Nero returning from the abyss.

¹ The Beast is the supporter of the woman, *i.e.* Rome (xvii. 3), in A, whereas in B the Beast is the destroyer of Rome, xvii. 12, 16.

In 9, ὡς δὲ οὐὸς . . . σοφίαν is from his hand, while ἐπὶ αὐτῶν καὶ is clearly the gloss of an ignorant scribe. Ver. 18, which originally stood in A after 7, was transposed to its present position in order to introduce the great chapter xviii. on the doom of Rome.

Having utilized A our author now proceeds to incorporate B of which only 11-13, 17, 16 survives in our author's work. The introduction, as we have already pointed out (§ 5 (b)), has been omitted and its place is now taken by 10, which belongs to A. Two clauses have been introduced by our author into 11, *i.e.* δὲ ἦν καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν and καὶ εἰς ἀπώλειαν ἰπάγει. By their introduction the expectation of a living Nero returning from the East at the head of the Parthians is transformed into an expectation of a demonic Nero, as in xvii. 8. 12-13 are apparently as they stood in the original oracle, but 14-15 had no place there. 15 is, as we have elsewhere observed, a gloss, which stood originally in the margin opposite ver. 1 (τῆς πορνῆς . . . ἐπὶ ἰδαίων), while 14 comes from our author's hand; but, since it could only properly follow 16, as it deals with the destruction of the Beast and his Parthian allies, who in 16 destroy Rome, it has most probably got displaced. Thus 11-17 should be read in the following order: 11-13, 17, 16, 14.

Thus by his editorial changes and additions our author has transformed the original meaning of his sources except in ver. 3, where the Beast is still the Roman Empire. Throughout the rest of the chapter, however, the Beast has become none other than the demonic Nero.

§ 7. A (= xvii. 1^a-2, 3^b-6^a, 7, 18, and certain clauses in 8-10) *was probably derived from the same source as xviii.*

See Intro. to xviii. § 7.

§ 8. A, *though found by our author in a Greek form, was most probably translated from a Hebrew source.*

In §§ 6, 3 I have shown that, although there are indubitable signs of our author's revision of A, yet some idioms and constructions survive, which are contrary to his usage—such as οἱ κατοικοῦντες τὴν γῆν (xvii. 2), γέμοντα δνόματα (xvii. 3), γέγραπται ἐπὶ τὸ βιβλίον (xvii. 8). It thus appears that the Greek form of A is not due to our author.

But, further, there are signs that A was originally written in Hebrew. Thus, if πορνῶν is the original text in xvii. 5, the context (βδελυγμάτων) suggests that we should here have not "harlots" but "harlotry." This, as I have shown in the note

in loc., could have arisen from a misreading of $\mu\upsilon\eta$? (= harlotry) as $\mu\upsilon\eta\varsigma$ = "harlots."

But the strongest evidence is that found in ver. 8, which is a doublet of xiii. 3^o, 8. These two passages cannot, so far as I can discover, be explained except as independent Greek renderings of one and the same Hebrew original, the Greek rendering of xiii. 3^o, 8 being that of our author and the Greek of xviii. 8 being that of some unknown scholar. This question is fully dealt with in the Introd. to xiii. § 4, vol. i. p. 337.

1. καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς ἐκ τῶν ἐπτά ἀγγέλων τῶν ἔχοντων τὰς ἐπὶ φιάλας, καὶ ἐλάλησεν μετ' ἐμοῦ λέγων· Δεῦρο, δείξω σοι τὸ κρίμα τῆς πόρνῃς τῆς μεγάλης τῆς καθημένης ἐπὶ ὕδατων πολλῶν,

2. μεθ' ἧς ἐπόρνευσαν οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἐμεθύσθησαν οἱ κατοικοῦντες τὴν γῆν ἐκ τοῦ οἴνου τῆς πορνείας αὐτῆς.

1. εἰς . . . ἀγγέλων. One of the angels of the Bowls acts as the angel of interpretation. The words καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς . . . δείξω σοι recur in xxi. 9. On ἐλάλησε μετ' ἐμοῦ λέγων see iv. 1 π. δείξω σοι has already occurred in iv. 1; δεῦρο, as we have seen, recurs in xxi. 9.

τὸ κρίμα τῆς πόρνῃς . . . πορνείας αὐτῆς. These words form the title that should be prefixed to chap. xviii. They prepare us for a *vision* of the judgment of the Great Harlot, but there is none such in xvii. 3-18: only a prediction of it in xvii. 16. But in xviii. we have an elaborate vision of this judgment, and it is therefore to this chapter that these words form a title. And lest there should be any doubt on this head we find that the greater part of the title xvii. 2 is repeated in xviii. 3, though the order of the clauses is reversed and the diction slightly changed, and that the words τὸ κρίμα reappear as ἡ κρίσις in reference to her in xviii. 10. Cf. also xviii. 8, 20. But since the Great Harlot has not hitherto been mentioned, another vision is necessary to her identification. In this vision (xvii. 3-6) she appears riding the Beast with seven heads and ten horns—elements which are duly interpreted in xvii. 9, 12.

τὸ κρίμα τῆς πόρνῃς. The Harlot is the city of Rome. This word is applied to Nineveh by Nahum (iii. 4), and to Tyre by Isaiah (xxiii. 16, 17). In 5 it is named Babylon. The doom of Babylon has already been pronounced twice, xiv. 8, xvi. 19. Rome is already known by this name in 1 Pet. v. 13; 2 Bar. lxvii. 7, "The King of Babylon will arise who has now destroyed Zion"; and the Sibylline Oracles, v. 143, 159.

τῆς καθημένης ἐπὶ ὕδατων πολλῶν. This is an independent translation of Jer. li. (LXX—xxviii.) 13, עַל מַיִם רַבִּים כְּנַחֲשׁ. The LXX has here κατασκηνοῦντας (κατασκηνοῦσα, Q) ἐφ' ὕδασι πολλοῖς. κατασκηνοῦν or σκηνοῦν is the natural rendering of כָּן here, but our author reserves this word for dwellers in heaven: cf. vii. 15, xii. 12,

xiii. 6. Rome cannot be rightly described as "sitting on many waters," but the description of Babylon, which stood for the personification of wickedness in the O.T., is here simply taken over. The idea of security may underlie the phrase: Babylon felt safe owing to the many waters on which it was situated—the Euphrates which flowed through it and the morasses and canals by which it was surrounded (see Cornill on Jer. li. 13). Yet this fact that Rome did not sit on many waters was a difficulty to a later writer and led to the gloss in xvii. 15, that the many waters are many peoples. Bousset thinks that a still older tradition lies behind this figure of a woman seated on many waters, and compares Sibyll. Or. iii. 75-77, v. 18, viii. 200. Gunkel (*Schöpfung*, 361) finds in the "many waters" a reference to the abyss which was the dwelling of Tiamat. But, however this may be, there was no consciousness of the Babylonian myth in the mind of the writer.

2. ἐπόρνευσαν οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς. Cf. xviii. 3, 9 for the recurrence of this diction. The πορνεία of which the kings of the earth are guilty is set down to the account of all the nations in xiv. 8. They have all shared in the vices and idolatries of Rome. With ἐμεθύσθησαν cf. Jer. xxviii. (li.) 7, ποτήριον χρυσοῦν Βαβυλῶν ἐν χειρὶ κυρίου, μεθύσκον πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν. It points to the result of πεπότικεν in xiv. 8: cf. also xviii. 3. οἱ κατοικοῦντες τὴν γῆν. On this construction, found here only, see note on xi. 10, and § 4 of the Introd. to xiii., vol. i. p. 336. On οἶνου πορνείας cf. xiv. 8, xviii. 3. We should observe that the relative construction is broken off in the sentence, καὶ ἐμεθύσθησαν . . . αὐτῆς. This is good Hebrew. It is also good Greek: see W.-M. sect. xxii. p. 186.

It is noteworthy that in the two clauses μεθ' ἧς ἐπόρνευσαν . . . γῆς and καὶ ἐμεθύσθησαν . . . αὐτῆς of this verse and in xviii. 3, the same thought and largely the same language recur, but in the reverse order.

3. καὶ ἀπήνεγκέν με εἰς ἔρημον ἐν πνεύματι. καὶ εἶδον γυναῖκα καθημένην ἐπὶ θηρίον κόκκινον, γέμοντα ὀνόματα βλασφημίας, ἔχων κεφαλὰς ἑπτὰ καὶ κέρατα δέκα.

This clause introduces a new vision. See note on iv. 2. The Seer has the vision of Babylon in the wilderness: of the Heavenly Jerusalem from a lofty mountain top, xxi. 10, where see note. The contrast is significant. Many scholars think that the wilderness as the scene of the vision was suggested by Isa. xxi. 1, where to the vision of the fall of Babylon is affixed the heading, "The oracle of the wilderness of the sea" (אִתְּרֵי שָׁמַיִם). Here the LXX has simply τὸ ὄραμα τῆς ἐρήμου.

γυναῖκα . . . ἐπὶ θηρίον κόκκινον. The omission of the article before θηρίον points to an independent vision here. The Beast

is undoubtedly the Roman Empire. On its power the Harlot reposes. The scarlet colour indicates the luxury and ostentatious magnificence of the empire, and refers probably not to the Beast itself but to its covering. Swete quotes Juv. iii. 283 sq., "Cavet hunc, quem coccina laena Vitari iubet et comitum longissimus ordo." The word is a rendering in the LXX of *עֲלֵה, עֲלֵה, עֲלֵה*, שֵׁנִי חֹלְעָה שֵׁנִי, כְּרִמִּי.

In this vision of the Harlot we may have an indirect contrast to the woman clothed with the sun in xii. 1-6. There is no real contradiction between the description of the woman in 1 as sitting on many waters and here sitting on the beast. The former is a traditional epithet of Babylon used descriptively by the angel, the latter represents the actual appearance in the vision.

γέμοντα δνόματα βλασφημίας. The construction is *κατὰ σύνεσιν*. In xiii. 1 names of blasphemy are only on the seven heads, i.e. the seven deified emperors. Here they cover the entire body, and may refer to the innumerable deities of her own and subject countries which Rome recognized. *γέμειν* c. acc. once in xvii. 4^d, but always elsewhere in Apoc. c. gen. iv. 6, 8, v. 8, xv. 7, xvii. 4^d, xxi. 9.

ἔχων κεφαλὰς ἑπτὰ. Probably the original text. On the *κεφαλὰς ἑπτὰ* see note on xiii. 1.

4. *περιβεβλημένη . . . μαργαρίταις.* Almost the same phrase recurs in xviii. 16.

πορφυροῦν καὶ κόκκινον. "Purple and scarlet." These colours symbolize the luxury and splendour of imperial Rome. The two colours are nearly allied, for the *χλαμύδα κοκκίνην* of Matt. xxvii. 28 is called *πορφύρα* in Mark xv. 17, 20, and *ἱμάτιον πορφυροῦν* in John xix. 2, 5. But the colours are distinct. See Ex. xxv. 4, xxvi. 1.

κεχρυσωμένη χρυσίῳ καὶ λίθῳ τιμίῳ. *λίθῳ τιμίῳ* is generally said to depend on *κεχρυσωμένη* by a *zeugma*, "from which the reader must mentally supply some such participle as *κεκοσμημένη*" (Swete). But *χρυσοῦν* appears to be used in a loose way in the LXX as "to cover or adorn"; for *χρυσοῦν χρυσίῳ* (2 Chron. iii. 10), *καταχρυσοῦν χρυσίῳ* (Ex. xxv. 11, 13; 2 Chron. iii. 4. ix. 17), *περιχρυσοῦν χρυσίῳ* (1 Kings x. 18) are renderings of *הִכָּס* (=to overlay) when followed by *כֶּהָן*. Similarly *χρυσοῦν χρυσίῳ* of *הִכָּס* followed by *כֶּהָן* in 2 Chron. iii. 7, 8. When followed by *כֶּהָן* it is actually rendered *καταχλωμένα χαλκῷ* in 2 Chron. iv. 9, and when followed immediately by *כֶּהָן* *כֶּהָן* in 2 Chron. iii. 6, by *κοσμεῖν*. Hence we should render *κεχρυσωμένη* here by "covered."

χρυσίῳ . . . καὶ μαργαρίταις. Cf. T. Jud. xiii. 5, *καὶ ἐκού*

μησεν αὐτὴν ἐν χρυσίῳ καὶ μαργαρίταις. These words are said of the father of Bathshua who so adorned her in order to seduce Judah.

ἔχουσα ποτήριον χρυσοῦν ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτῆς. These words are modelled on Jer. xxviii. (li.) 7, ποτήριον χρυσοῦν Βαβυλὼν ἐν χειρὶ κυρίου, μεθύσκον πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν· ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴνου αὐτῆς ἐπίοσαν ἔθνη.

γέμον βδελυγμάτων καὶ τὰ ἀκάθαρτα. Here καὶ τὰ ἀκάθαρτα is either to be taken with R.V. as "even the unclean things of her fornication," or as governed by ἔχουσα, just as the words that follow—καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ μέτωπον—are dependent on this participle. Cf. Cebes, *Tab.* v., ὁρᾷς οὖν παρὰ τὴν πύλην θρόνον τινα κείμενον κατὰ τὸν τόπον . . . ἐφ' οὗ κάθηται γυνή, πεπλασμένη τῇ ἡβῇ καὶ πιθανῇ φαινομένη, ἣ ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ἔχει ποτήριόν τι; ὁρῶ, ἀλλὰ τίς ἐστιν αὕτη; ἔφην· Ἀπάτη καλεῖται, φησὶν, ἣ πάντας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πλανῶσα. εἰτα τί πράττει αὕτη; τοὺς εἰσπορευομένους εἰς τὸν βίον ποτίζει τὴν αὐτῆς δύναμιν. τοῦτο δὲ τί ἐστι τὸ ποτόν; πλάνος, ἔφη, καὶ ἄγνοια (from Jerram's text).

Β. καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ μέτωπον αὐτῆς ὄνομα γεγραμμένον. Roman harlots wore a label with their names on their brows: cf. Seneca, *Controv.* i. 2 (quoted by Wetstein), "Stetisti puella in lupanari . . . stetit cum meretricibus . . . nomen tuum pendit a fronte"; Juv. vi. 122 sq., "Tunc nuda papillis Constitit auratis titulum mentita Lyciscae."

μυστήριον. This word indicates that the following name is not to be taken literally, but to be interpreted πνευματικῶς (xi. 8). This can be done only by the initiated. Babylon is the mystical name for Rome. Many scholars take it as part of the inscription.

ἡ μήτηρ τῶν πορνῶν †. As we see from the critical note, the Vg. and Prim. read πορνιῶν, i.e. πορνειῶν. This is not improbably the original reading. At all events it forms an excellent parallel to βδελυγμάτων. If the text is derived from a Hebrew source, then πορνῶν = רִמָּה, which is a wrong punctuation for רַמָּה = πορνείας.¹ Thus Rome is the mother of harlotry and the world's idolatries. With this statement we might compare Tacitus, *Ann.* xv. 44, where he speaks of Rome as the city "quo cuncta undique atrocitas aut pudenda confluent celebranturque."

Β. καὶ εἶδον τὴν γυναῖκα μεθύουσαν ἐκ τοῦ αἵματος τῶν ἁγίων καὶ ἐκ τοῦ αἵματος τῶν μαρτύρων Ἰησοῦ.

The text refers to the Neronian persecution described so vividly by Tac. *Ann.* xv. 44, "Igitur primum correpti qui fatebantur, deinde indicio eorum multitudo ingens haud perinde in crimine incendii quam odio humani generis convicti sunt. Et pereuntibus addita ludibria, ut ferarum tergis contexti laniatu canum

¹ It is noteworthy that Wellhausen mistranslates πορνῶν as "harlotries." It was a right instinct, however, that led him to this mistranslation.

interirent aut crucibus affixi, aut flammandi, atque ubi defecisset dies, in usum nocturni luminis urerentur." This verse, either in part or as a whole, is from the hand of our author, who thus gives a Christian character to an originally Jewish source and transforms an oracle of Vespasian's date into a prophecy of the destruction of Rome in the last days (see *Introd.* § 5).

μεθύουσιν ἐκ τοῦ αἵματος. This conception of a nation drunk, not with wine but with blood, was familiar to the literature of the ancient world. Thus Josephus (*Bell.* v. 8. 2) writes of his infatuated countrymen besieged by the Romans: ἔτι γὰρ παρὴν ἐσθίειν ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων κακῶν καὶ τὸ τῆς πόλεως αἷμα πίνειν. The metaphor is also found in a fragment of Euripides preserved in Philo, *Leg. Alleg.* iii. 71, ἐμπλήσθητί μου | πίνουσα κελαινὸν αἷμα: in Cic. *Phil.* ii. 29, "gustaras civilem sanguinem vel potius exorbueras"; Suet. *Tib.* 59, "Fastidit vinum quia jam sitit iste cruorem: Tam bibit nunc avidè quam bibit ante merum," and in a form more closely related to our text in Plin. *H.N.* xiv. 22, 28, "(Antonius) ebrius jam sanguine civium." But in the LXX we find the best analogies: cf. Isa. xxxiv. 5, ἐμεθύσθη . . . ἡ μάχαιρά μου, xxxiv. 7, μεθυσθήσεται ἡ γῆ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος: also li. 21; Jer. xxvi. 10.

καὶ ἐκ τοῦ αἵματος τῶν μαρτύρων Ἰησοῦ. This clause is regarded by the majority of critics as an addition to the original Jewish source. If it is from the hand of our author, his intention seems to have been to give his source a Christian character, though this was hardly necessary when once the source was incorporated in his work. If the ἅγιοι are Christian saints, the two clauses are tautologous. The ἅγιος who is martyred is of necessity a μάρτυς. On this word see note on ii. 13. It is possible, but improbable, that the ἅγιοι represent the Jewish martyrs who fell in the war of 66-70. This was the meaning of the clause in the original source.

7. καὶ ἐθαύμασα ἰδὼν αὐτὴν θαῦμα μέγα. καὶ εἶπέν μοι ὁ ἄγγελος Διὰ τί ἐθαύμασας; ἐγὼ ἐρῶ σοὶ τὸ μυστήριον τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ τοῦ θηρίου τοῦ βαστάζοντος αὐτήν, τοῦ ἔχοντος τὰς ἐπὶ κεφαλῇ καὶ τὰ δέκα κέρατα. The Seer is naturally astonished at the fearful vision he has just seen, just as the inhabitants of the earth will be astonished when they see the reality, xvii. 8. In xvii. 1-2 he was promised a vision of the *judgment* of the Great Harlot. This vision is given in xviii., but since the Great Harlot had not heretofore been mentioned, the mystery of the Great Harlot is beheld by the Seer in a vision, xvii. 3-6, and interpreted in xvii. 18, which originally followed on xvii. 7. See *Introd.* to this Chap. § 6.

For a linguistic parallel to τὸ μυστήριον τῆς γυναικὸς cf. i. 20; and for a like dialogue between the angel and the Seer, cf. vii.

13-14. We should observe here that the angel promises an interpretation of the woman and the Beast with seven heads and ten horns, and in this order. But the mystery of the woman is not explained till xvii. 18, and the angel at once proceeds to set forth the meaning of the Beast. Our author is here using sources, and has freely recast them to suit his own purpose. In our text the Beast is Nero *redivivus*, but in the sources used by our author we have seen that this was not so (see *Intro.* § 4). In the source behind xvii. 3-10 the Beast was originally the Roman Empire, as it still is in xvii. 3 (see note *in loc.*). In the second source, xvii. 11-17, the Beast was obviously Nero returning from the East at the head of the Parthian kings in order to destroy Rome. But our text as it stands represents the expectation of Nero returning as a demonic king from the abyss. This interpretation is indubitably set forth in xvii. 8, which is a recast of the older tradition identifying the Beast with the Empire, and in xvii. 14 which comes directly from our author.

8-18. An interpretation of the vision, in the course of which the older materials of the source are recast with additions in order to depict the expectation of the Neronic Antichrist who was to come up from the abyss.

8. τὸ θηρίον δ' εἶδες ἦν καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν καὶ μέλλει ἀναβαίνειν ἐκ τῆς ἀβύσσου, καὶ εἰς ἀπώλειαν ὑπάγει· καὶ θαυμασθήσονται οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ὧν οὐ γέγραπται τὸ ὄνομα ἐπὶ τὸ βιβλίον τῆς ζωῆς ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου, βλέπόντων τὸ θηρίον ὅτι ἦν καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν καὶ πάρεσται.

Thus the verse ran originally : τὸ θηρίον δ' εἶδες . . . (original lost) καὶ θαυμασθήσονται οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ὧν οὐ γέγραπται τὸ ὄνομα ἐπὶ τὸ βιβλίον τῆς ζωῆς ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου, βλέπόντων τὸ θηρίον. In the original form of this verse the Beast symbolized the Empire, as it still does in xvii. 3, and in xiii. 3-10 originally. But here our author has omitted the description of the Beast which came after εἶδες, and substituted ἦν καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν . . . ὑπάγει, and again after βλέπόντων τὸ θηρίον added ὅτι ἦν . . . πάρεσται in the place of quite a different clause that stood in the source, as we shall see presently.

But not only has some description of the Beast at the beginning of this verse been displaced by the additions of our author, but something has also been lost or displaced at the close of the verse by another of his additions. For, as it stands, 8 simply states that the faithless inhabitants of the earth shall marvel when they behold the Beast. But there is nothing surprising in this fact; for the Seer marvels in the preceding verse. Hence, since the context implies that they will do something which would be the natural outcome of their ungodliness, we conclude that a clause to the effect that they would worship

him has been dislodged by the addition "which was and is not and shall come." Now, if we turn to xiii. 3°, 8 we find the very clause we are in search of, καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν αὐτὸν πάντες. When this clause is restored, the mystery of the beast in the source is sufficiently disclosed. The Beast is clearly the Roman Empire. It is on the Beast, *i.e.* the Empire, that the woman, *i.e.* Rome, is seated. But the changes introduced by our author have transformed the significance of the Beast. The Beast now means the demonic Nero returning from the abyss, and it is clearly the intention of our author that 11 should be taken in this sense.

The Beast is now the Neronic Antichrist coming up from the abyss, as in xiii. 3, 12, 14. In these passages he is represented as the hellish antitype of Christ. In ὅτι ἦν καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν καὶ πάλαισται there is a parody of the divine name ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος in i. 4, 8, iv. 8, while the οὐκ ἔστιν and the parallel descriptions, ὡς ἐσφαγμένην εἰς θάνατον, xiii. 3, and ὃς ἔχει τὴν πληγὴν τῆς μαχαίρας, xiii. 14, are intended to allude to the death of Christ.

In the Introd. to xiii., vol. i. p. 337, I have, I think, proved that this verse is a doublet of xiii. 3°, 8—and that both are Greek versions of the same Hebrew original. Since xvii. 8 in some form belonged to xvii. 3-10, it is from this Hebrew source that xiii. 3°, 8 is derived. When our author incorporated his Greek version of this source in xiii. 3°, 8 he added τοῦ ἀρνίου τοῦ ἐσφαγμένου. Bousset is of opinion that a redactor in close dependence on xiii. 8, or the same writer who wrote xiii. (in the opinion of Bousset our author), composed xvii. 8; but all the evidence when closely examined points in a different direction.

βλεπόντων where we expect βλέποντες may be due to ὢν, or to a not unnatural rendering of דַּהֲרִיזָּה.

9-10. ὃδε ὁ νοῦς ὁ ἔχων σοφίαν· αἱ ἑπτὰ κεφαλὰι ἑπτὰ [ὄρη] εἰσὶν, ὅπου ἡ γυνὴ κάθηται ἐπ' αὐτῶν. 10. καὶ βασιλεῖς [ἑπτὰ] εἰσὶν· οἱ πάντες ἔπεσαν, ὁ εἰς ἔστιν, ὁ ἄλλος οὕτω ἦλθεν, καὶ ὅταν ἔλθῃ ὀλίγον αὐτὸν δεῖ μῆραι.

9. ὃδε ὁ νοῦς κτλ. = "here is needed the intelligence which is wisdom." It relates to what follows, as in xiii. 18, and comes from the hand of our author.

ὄρη . . . αὐτῶν καί. This is an obvious addition to the text, but it appears to be a very ancient one and may have gone back to the Johannine school, as its Hebraic character shows: *i.e.* ὅπου . . . αὐτῶν. Bousset (p. 416) suggests that our author himself made this addition, when he found that he could discover no historical interpretation of xvii. 10-11. This addition, however, is wholly unsuitable; for the seven heads do not belong to the woman (*i.e.* Rome) but to the Beast. But the gloss *interprets*

the heads as if they were an adjunct of the woman, whereas they belong to the Beast. This absolute misconception of the text is fatal to the genuineness of these words. Again our author in the genuine sections uses καθῆσθαι only in the participle (see note on iii. 21) and καθίζειν in the finite tenses and infinitive. But there is another objection; for it is clear that, of the two conflicting explanations given in immediate connection, only one can stand—in this case the latter. The idea conveyed of the gloss was a familiar one. "The city of seven hills" was a familiar expression in classical writers: cf. Horace, *Carm. Sec.* 7, "Di, quibus septem placuere colles"; Virg. *Aen.* vi. 782, "Septemque una sibi muro circumdabit arces," *Georg.* ii. 534; Martial, iv. 64, "septem dominos montes"; Cicero, *Ad Att.* vi. 5, ἐξ ὅσπερος ἐπταλόφου: Propertius, iii. 10. See Wetstein *in loc.*

10. βασιλεῖς [ἐπτά¹] κτλ. For βασιλεῖς as applied to Roman emperors see 1 Pet. ii. 13, 17; 1 Tim. ii. 2. We have here a very clear intimation of the date of this source. Five emperors have already fallen, one is, and another is yet to come. This source was probably written, therefore, under the sixth emperor. Before we can ascertain who this emperor was, we must decide whether we shall include or exclude in our reckoning Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, and with what emperor we shall begin. First of all we may safely exclude the above three emperors from our consideration. Suetonius (*Vesp.* i.) describes their reigns as "rebellio trium principum." Next, though Suetonius, Josephus, and 4 Ezra xi. 12, 13, xii. 14, 15 (see Box, p. 262 sq.), begin with Cæsar, it seems clear here that our text begins with Augustus, as does Tacitus. The first five emperors are Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero. The emperor who "is" is Vespasian, 69-79 A.D., and the one who "is not yet come," Titus, 79-81. Titus thus fulfilled the prediction, ὅταν ἔλθῃ ὀλίγον κτλ.

ὅταν ἔλθῃ ὀλίγον κτλ. The ground for this expectation is most probably that assigned by Wellhausen (*Analyse*, 28). "Titus is assumed to be the coming seventh and last: he as the destroyer of Jerusalem will be overtaken by vengeance after a short reign."²

But what are we to make of this reckoning in its present

¹ On the order of the numerals see note on viii. 2. When the gloss ὅρη . . . ἐπ' αὐτῶν καὶ was incorporated in the text, ἐπτά was of necessity added after βασιλεῖς.

² Another explanation of this prophecy is that the writer of this source knew of the hopeless condition of Titus' health: cf. Suetonius, *Titus*, 7; Dio Cassius, lxi. 26. 2; Plutarch, *De tuenda sanitate praecepta*, c. 3, p. 123 D (quoted from Bousset). Another is that there was a traditional view that the empire must have seven emperors before its destruction. As the sixth was now living, the Seer necessarily predicts a seventh.

context? Our author has taken over this source and that which follows, but he is writing in the reign of Domitian. If he took xvii. 10 seriously, Domitian must have been for him the sixth emperor, and he could only have justified this view, as Bousset points out (p. 416), by a very artificial method of reckoning, *i.e.* by beginning with Galba, the successor of Nero: Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian, Titus, Domitian. But we may safely reject this reckoning as impossible, and assume that here, as frequently elsewhere, our author has taken over material that in some one or more respects served his purpose, though in others it was unsuitable. Owing to its unintelligibility from the historic point of view, some scribe added a geographical explanation in xvii. 9.

11-17. On the source behind these verses see Introd. § 5.

11. καὶ τὸ θηρίον, ὃ ἦν καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν, καὶ αὐτὸς ὄγδοός ἐστιν καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἑπτὰ ἐστιν, καὶ εἰς ἀπώλειαν ὑπάγει.

This verse presents some difficulty. We have already sought to show (Introd. § 4-5) that xvii. 11-17 is a new source used by our author, referring to the return of Nero from the East at the head of the Parthian kings. Only the latter part of this source is preserved in our text, and this is edited and brought up to date by the addition of ὃ ἦν καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν and καὶ εἰς ἀπώλειαν ὑπάγει in xvii. 11 (see similar addition in xvii. 8), and other changes subsequently. In the original source the Beast was the living Nero returning from the East: in our text the Beast has become Nero *redivivus*, as in xvii. 8. This is the view accepted by such scholars as Ewald, De Wette, Hilgenfeld, Vischer, Völter, Spitta, Holtzmann, Weizsäcker, Bousset. On the other hand, it has been maintained recently by J. Weiss and Swete and Moffatt that the Beast is to be identified with Domitian. Moffatt regards this verse as "a parenthesis added by John to bring the source up to date . . . since the death of Titus had not been followed by the appearance of the Nero-antichrist" . . . "Domitian, the eighth emperor, under whom he writes, is identified with the true Neronic genius of the empire." (Cf. Eus. *H.E.* iii. 20; Tert. *Apol.* 5: "portio Neronis de crudelitate." *De Pallio*, 4, Subneronem. To these we might add Juv. iv. 37 sq., "Calvo serviret Roma Neroni"; Mart. xi. 33, etc. Moffatt seeks to explain the words ἐκ τῶν ἑπτὰ by showing that Domitian was closely associated with the imperial power already (Tac. *Hist.* iii. 84, iv. 2, 3; cf. Jos. *Bell.* iv. 11. 4, etc.), and points out that whereas it was said of the Neronic Antichrist in xvii. 8, ἀναβαίνειν ἐκ τῆς ἀβύσσου, no such expression is used here. Thus Moffatt recognizes the true Nero *redivivus* in xvii. 8, 14, and a second Nero in the person of Domitian in xvii. 11, and maintains that they are not to be identified. That the juxta-

position of Domitian as a second Nero and Nero *redivivus* is awkward, Moffatt admits, but says it is "inevitable under the circumstances." But his arguments are unconvincing. The *ὁ ἦν καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν* taken together with *ἐκ τῶν ἐπτά* admits of only one interpretation. The person so described "was and is not" (*ἦν καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν*). But Domitian *ἔστιν*. Of him our author cannot say *οὐκ ἔστιν*. Moreover, the pre-existence ascribed to Domitian in *ὁ ἦν* is also inexplicable. Nor can he in any intelligible sense be described as *ἐκ τῶν ἐπτά*. Finally, if we interpret xvii. 12-17 of the Parthian invasion, there is no ground in comparative religion or history for representing Domitian as in any sense its leader. The addition of *καὶ μέλλει ἀναβαίνειν ἐκ τῆς ἀβύσσου* is here wholly unnecessary. *ὁ ἦν καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν* has the same force as the like expressions in xiii. 3, 12, 14.

εἰς ἀπώλειαν ὑπάγει. The issue of the impending conflict is certain. The Antichrist, though he thinks he is accomplishing his own purposes, is accomplishing the purposes of God, and is all the time marching to his own destruction, which is also the purpose of God.

12-18, 17-18, 14. The destruction of Rome by Nero *redivivus* and his Parthian allies (12-13, 17, 16), and the destruction of the latter by the Lamb (14).

12. *καὶ τὰ δέκα κέρατα ἃ εἶδες δέκα βασιλεῖς εἰσὶν, οἵτινες βασιλείαν οὕτω ἔλαβον, ἀλλὰ ἐξουσίαν ὡς βασιλεῖς μίαν ὥραν λαμβάνουσιν μετὰ τοῦ θηρίου*.

The kings are symbolized by the horns, and are thus differentiated from the emperors who are symbolized by the heads of the Beast. Who are these kings? Various answers have been given. 1. They are said to be unknown powers belonging to the future which as confederates of the returning emperor will arise and overthrow Rome (Weizsäcker and Holtzmann). Swete's interpretation belongs partly to this class. "The ten kings . . . represent forces which arising out of the empire itself . . . would turn their arms against Rome and bring about her downfall." 2. The governors of the senatorial provinces who held office for a year (*μίαν ὥραν*). So Ewald, Volkmar, Hilgenfeld, Hausrath, Mommsen, B. Weiss, Briggs, Selwyn. Bousset states that the expressions *τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτῶν τῷ θηρίῳ δίδουσιν*, xvii. 13, and the parallels in xvii. 17 are against this view; but this is not necessarily so. These governors possessed a certain delegated authority (*ὡς βασιλεῖς*), and only for a year (*μίαν ὥραν*). But again this interpretation has not the support of xvi. 12 or of the universal expectation that was then current in the East and in the Roman Empire. The phrase *δοῦναι τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτῶν τῷ θηρίῳ* shows that these have actual kingdoms, and so the text could not apply to Roman officials. 3. The

Parthian satraps (Eichhorn, De Wette, Bleek, Bousset, J. Weiss, Wellhausen, Scott, Moffatt). According to xvi. 12, the Parthians had several kings or satraps. It is stated that there were as many as fourteen, but the number ten here is not to be pressed. According to the current belief of the generation that followed the death of Nero, it was held that Nero had escaped to the East, and that he would return against Rome at the head of the Parthian hosts. That this belief was taken seriously is proved by the fact that three pretenders appeared between 69-88 A.D. under Nero's name as claimants of the imperial throne. For the evidence see App. to this chapter (p. 80). Since this belief had firmly established itself both in the Gentile and Hellenistic Jewish worlds within the first decade after Nero's death, since, further, it is attested actually in our text in xvi. 12, there can be little doubt that the source in xvii. 12-17 is to be explained thereby. But in the present context, in which Nero is a demon from the abyss, it is possible that these kings are, as Bousset suggests, regarded by our Seer as demonic powers.

δέκα βασιλεῖς. Cf. Dan. vii. 24, καὶ τὰ δέκα κέρατα αὐτοῦ δέκα βασιλεῖς ἀναστήσονται (Theod.).

βασιλείαν οὕτω ἔλαβον. These words referring to the Parthian satraps are intelligible from the standpoint of the world empire of Rome. They hold a quasi-kingly power (ὡς βασιλεῖς) for a brief span (μίαν ὥραν), since the Antichrist's power will speedily be brought to an end.

13. οὗτοι μίαν γνώμην ἔχουσιν, καὶ τὴν δύναμιν καὶ ἐξουσίαν αὐτῶν τῷ θηρίῳ διδόασιν. The Greek structure of this verse is still more manifest than that which precedes.

μίαν γνώμην ἔχουσιν—a good Greek idiom. Cf. Thuc. ii. 86, γνώμην ἔχοντες . . . μὴ ἐκλιπεῖν, Herod. i. 207 ; ii. 56, etc.

The unanimity of the Parthian kings is explained in xvii. 17.

15. [καὶ εἶπεν μοι τὰ ὕδατα ἃ εἶδες, οὗ ἡ πόρνη κάθηται, λαοὶ καὶ ὄχλοι εἰσὶν καὶ ἔθνη καὶ γλῶσσαι.]

This is a gloss explanatory of xvii. 1, where the Harlot City is said to sit ἐπὶ ὕδατων πολλῶν. But since it was not Rome but the literal Babylon that was so situated, the glosser, after the analogy of Isa. viii. 7, Jer. xlvii. 2, interprets the many waters here as referring to the peoples over which Rome ruled. In xvii. 1 the phrase ἐπὶ ὕδατων πολλῶν is simply taken over from Jer. See note *in loc.* The style is not that of our author. He never uses οὐ but ὅπου: cf. ii. 13 (*his*), xi. 8, xii. 6, 14, xx. 10. Nor is the enumeration λαοὶ καὶ ἔθνη that of our author. See note on v. 9. He uses φυλαί instead of ὄχλοι. Again we should expect καθίζει in our author and not κάθηται. See note on 9 and on iii. 21.

17. ὁ γὰρ θεὸς ἔδωκεν εἰς τὰς καρδίας αὐτῶν ποιῆσαι τὴν γνώμην αὐτοῦ, [καὶ ποιῆσαι μίαν γνώμην] καὶ δοῦναι τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτῶν τῷ θηρίῳ, ἄχρι τελεσθήσονται οἱ λόγοι τοῦ θεοῦ.

This verse explains the remarkable unanimity of these kings. It was due to God, not to any mere earthly policy, and it would last till the oracles of the prophets regarding Rome were accomplished, and the Antichrist and the kings met in the last great battle with the Lamb, xvii. 14. Even the wrath of men is made to praise Him. There is no real dualism in the universe. The very powers of evil ultimately subserve the purposes of God and are then destroyed. (Cf. xvii. 14.) Since the Beast, which in the source meant the living Nero returning from the East at the head of the Parthians, has become in our author the demonic Nero, it is probable that his attendant hosts are also to be regarded as of demonic origin.

ἔδωκεν εἰς τὰς καρδίας αὐτῶν. For this Hebraism (= 777 777) cf. Neh. vii. 5. There is a closely related idiom in Jer. xxxi. (xxxviii.) 33; 1 Thess. iv. 8; Heb. viii. 10.

[καὶ ποιῆσαι μίαν γνώμην.] I have, with Alford, bracketed this clause as an early gloss from xvii. 13. It is superfluous after ποιῆσαι τὴν γνώμην αὐτοῦ, which is really explained by καὶ δοῦναι κτλ.

τελεσθήσονται οἱ λόγοι τοῦ θεοῦ. In their present context these prophecies must relate not only to the destruction of Rome by Nero and the Parthians as in the source, but to the overthrow of the power of the Beast and his Parthian allies.

18. καὶ τὰ δέκα κέρατα ἃ εἶδες καὶ τὸ θηρίον, οὗτοι μυσήσουσιν τὴν πόρνην, καὶ ἡρημωμένην ποιήσουσιν αὐτήν καὶ γυμνήν, καὶ τὰς σάρκας αὐτῆς φάγονται, καὶ αὐτὴν κατακαύσουσιν ἐν πυρί.

I have restored this verse to the place which it had originally in the source and in our author, i.e. after xvii. 17, which in its turn followed immediately on xvii. 13. The Harlot City was to be destroyed by the forces of evil themselves. As the Beast is demonic and the horns are conceived as part of him, these kings appear also to have a demonic character in their present context.

The author of this source must have had Ezek. xxiii. 25-29 before him, but not the LXX. He reproduces the thought but not the form of the Hebrew. Thus μυσήσουσιν τὴν πόρνην is a free rendering of xxiii. 29, וְשָׂמוּ אֹתָהּ בְּשָׁמֶיךָ, which the LXX translates literally. Next with ἡρημωμένην ποιήσουσιν αὐτήν καὶ γυμνήν cf. xxiii. 26, וְהַשְׁמִיטוּ אֶת־בְּגָדֶיהָ (ἐκδύσουσιν σε τὸν ἱματισμόν σου, and xxiii. 29, וְלָקְחוּ כָל־יָנִיעַךְ וְעֹבוֹךְ עִם, With αὐτὴν κατακαύσουσιν ἐν πυρί cf. xxiii. 25, תֹּאכַל בָּאֵשׁ. All these statements are made by Ezekiel with regard to Jerusalem, which at one moment is spoken of as a woman stripped of her garments

and left naked, and at another as a city burnt with fire. The writer here uses the same figures of Rome.

ἡρημωμένην ποιήσουσιν. For construction, see *Intro.* § 3, p. 67.

τὰς σάρκας αὐτῆς φάγονται: cf. xix. 18, Ps. xxvii. 2, τοῦ φαγεῖν τὰς σάρκας μου. Mic. iii. 3, κατέφαγον τὰς σάρκας τοῦ λαοῦ μου: 2 Kings ix. 36, καταφάγονται οἱ κύνες τὰς σάρκας 'Ιεζάβελ' σάρκες denotes the fleshy parts of the body.

κατακαύσουσιν ἐν πυρί: cf. xviii. 8; Jer. vii. 31; Nah. iii. 15. These words can only refer to the city whom the woman represents. Death by fire was not the punishment of the harlot, unless she were a priest's daughter: cf. Lev. xxi. 9.

14. οὗτοι μετὰ τοῦ ἄρνιου πολεμήσουσιν,
καὶ τὸ ἄρνιον νικήσει αὐτούς,
ὅτι κύριος κυρίων ἐστὶν καὶ βασιλεὺς βασιλέων,
καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ κλητοὶ καὶ ἐκλεκτοὶ καὶ πιστοί.

This verse is manifestly added by our author to the source he is using. But this verse could not have been inserted in its present position by our author; for it treats of the destruction of the forces appointed by God for Rome's destruction, which they effect in 16. In xvii. 17, 16, according to the MSS text, the ten horns and the Beast are represented as executing a divine judgment on the Harlot City and as destroying Rome after they had already themselves been destroyed (xvii. 14). Hence this verse belongs rightly after 16. I have restored it accordingly. With μετὰ τοῦ ἄρνιου πολεμήσουσιν . . . νικήσει αὐτούς compare xiii. 7, which is from his hand. For κύριος . . . βασιλέων cf. xix. 16. The subject of this vision, *i.e.* the Parthian kings and their destruction (12-13, 17, 16, 14), has been in part referred to in xvi. 12, and is regarded as already accomplished in xix. 13, where the words περιβεβλημένος ἱμάτιον βεβαμμένον αἵματι speak of the vesture of the Divine Warrior as already dipped in blood (*i.e.* in that of the Parthian kings) before the Messianic campaign against the kings of the earth in xix. 11-21.

The concluding line describes the armies who followed the Lamb, *i.e.* "the called, elect, and faithful." That these should crush hostile nations we learn from ii. 26, 27, and their descent from heaven to do so is seen in a vision in xix. 14. Hence they are a martyr host of warriors. It was a well-known Jewish expectation that the righteous would take part in the destruction of the wicked: cf. 1 Enoch xxxviii. 5, xc. 19, xci. 12 for the period of the sword, when the wicked are given into the hands of the righteous, *op. cit.* xcv. 7, xcvi. 1, xcvi. 12, xcix. 4, 6; Wisd. iii. 8. The martyrs are not here engaged on a mission of revenge, but in the fulfilment of a righteous retribution.

In xv. 4 the vision—which is in reality a prophecy—shows that the thought of revenge has wholly passed from the minds of the glorified martyrs. But the nations there referred to are those that are contemporary with the Millennial Reign. See the third note further on.

κύριος κυρίων . . . βασιλέων. This title recurs in xix. 16. In both instances it is used of the Son. The combination of these titles as applied to God is found first in 1 Enoch ix. 4, ὁ θεὸς τῶν θεῶν καὶ (ὁ) κύριος τῶν κυρίων καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν βασιλευόντων. (So the two Greek versions in Syncellus, whereas the Ethiopic implies βασιλέων for βασιλευόντων.) It is worth observing that 1 Tim. vi. 15 has βασιλεὺς τῶν βασιλευόντων. These titles occur often separately as applied to God, κύριος τῶν κυρίων, Deut. x. 17 ; ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν βασιλέων : 1 Enoch lxiii. 4, lxxiv. 2 ; 2 Macc. xiii. 4. See Bousset's *Rel. d. Judenthums*, 306.

The use of such titles in reference to Marduk in Babylonian literature is noted by Zimmern, *K.A.T.*³ 373 sq., 390. Marduk is actually named "Lord of Lords, King of Kings." "King of Kings" was a designation of the Babylonian and Persian kings : cf. Ezek. xxvi. 7 ; Ezra vii. 12 ; Dan. ii. 37 : of the Egyptian kings, Diod. Sic. i. 55. 7, βασιλεὺς βασιλέων καὶ δεσπότης δεσποτῶν Σασώσις. But this title is far outbid by those given to Domitian : "Dominus et deus noster." Suet. *Domit.* 13 : cf. Mart. v. 8.

οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ κλητοὶ κτλ. κλητοὶ and ἐκλεκτοὶ occur only here in the Apocalypse. We are to understand πολεμήσουσιν and νικήσουσιν from what precedes. The followers of the Lamb who have been called and chosen will manifest their loyalty and share in the Lamb's victory (cf. xii. 11). According to this context those who answer the call are elected and prove their loyalty : cf. 2 Pet. i. 10, σπουδάσατε βεβαίαν ὑμῶν τὴν κλῆσιν καὶ ἐκλογὴν ποιῆσθαι. But these loyal followers of the Lamb belong already to the heavenly hosts ; for they accompany Him from heaven : cf. xix. 14. They are called πιστοὶ as their Leader is called πιστός (i. 5).

18. καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἣν εἶδες ἔστιν ἡ πόλις ἡ μεγάλη ἡ ἔχουσα βασιλείαν ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλέων τῆς γῆς.

Our author knows at last the interpretation of the chief figure in the vision. The woman is the city Rome, the empress of the entire world.

This verse belonged to the source A : see *Introd. to Chap.*, § 5, and had its place immediately after xvii. 7, but was transferred to its present position in order to introduce the great chapter of the downfall of Rome.

On the phrase ἡ πόλις ἡ μεγάλη, see note on xi. 8.

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON XVII.

The Antichrist, Beliar,¹ and Neronic Myths, and their ultimate Fusion in early Christian Literature.

This question bristles with problems. Many of these, it is true, have been solved and others are on the way to solution. Nevertheless, many lie still in the background and have not as yet yielded up their secret to research. The chief workers in this field have been Gunkel and Bousset. While the services of the former have been at times brilliant, they have at the same time showed a lack of sound judgment. In the latter respect Bousset in his *Antichrist Legend* (translated from the German, 1896) and in the *Offenbarung Johannis*⁵, 1906, has made an admirable contribution, and proved that outside Daniel and Revelation there was an independent tradition of the Antichrist myth coming down from ancient times and diffused through many lands. A study of such articles as Creation, Dragon, Leviathan, Serpent in the *Encyc. Biblica* will show that the Creation Story passed through a long development within the domain of Hebrew and Jewish thought, and further study proves that such an expression as "the great dragon, the ancient serpent, who is called the Devil and Satan" (Rev. xii. 9), finds one of its sources ultimately in the myth that underlies the Creation story. But the present study cannot take account of the manifold traces of this development discoverable in the O.T. (see Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*—a book full of suggestion, but in many of its conclusions, especially as regards Revelation, demonstrably wrong). It must be strictly limited to the ideas of the Antichrist and kindred conceptions that prevailed within Judaism and Christianity from 200 B.C. to 100 A.D. or thereabouts.

In a study of the present subject in 1900 (see *Ascension of Isaiah*, pp. li–lxxiii) I pointed out that, whilst Bousset's and Gunkel's works (above cited) were most helpful and stimulating in many directions, they did not deal satisfactorily with the relations of Beliar and the Antichrist, and that their account of the fusion of the latter with the Neronic legend was wanting in lucidity and consistency. This defect Bousset has from his own standpoint partially remedied in *Rel. d. Judentums im Neutest. Zeitalter*², 1906, and his article on "Antichrist" in Hastings' *Encyc. of Religion and Ethics*, i. 578 sqq. Here he has vastly improved on his earlier studies, and removed many of the defects to which I took objection in 1900. But, notwithstanding these advances on Bousset's part, I feel constrained to republish here the main part

¹ This is the form that Belial takes in Jubilees, Testaments XII Patriarchs, the Sibylline Oracles, Martyrdom of Isaiah.

of my study of 1900 with such additions and improvements as the work of the intervening years has naturally brought with them.

If we can succeed in establishing with approximate accuracy the dates when the Antichrist, Beliar, and Neronic myths originated and became fused together, we acquire means for determining the dates of the fragments of such myths as have secured an entrance into the work of our author.

The aim, therefore, of the present note is to touch briefly on the history of the Antichrist, Beliar, and Neronic myths, before the fusion of any one of them with another, or of each with all: and next to give the passages from Jewish and Christian literature where such fusion is attested and their approximate dates. Thus I shall deal with—

- I. *The independent development of the Antichrist, Beliar, and Neronic myths.*
- II. *The fusion of the Antichrist myth with that of Beliar, and subsequently and independently with the Neronic myth.*
- III. *The fusion of all these myths together.*

I. *The independent development of the Antichrist, Beliar, and Neronic myths.*

i. *The Antichrist myth.*—The term "Antichrist" is comparatively late though the idea signified by it is early. Thus it is not attested till far on in the first century of our era; for it is found in the N.T. only in the Johannine Epistles—1 John ii. 18, 22, iv. 3; 2 John 7. The idea, however, can be traced back to the second century B.C., and appears first in the Book of Daniel. This conception takes two forms: (a) the individual Antichrist, and (b) the collective Antichrist.

(a) *A God-opposing individual.*—In Daniel we find the individual Antichrist (the king of the North, xi. 40) appearing at the head of mighty armies, with which he crushes certain nations and preserves others, persecutes the saints (vii. 25), putting numbers of them to death (viii. 10), sets up in the Temple "the abomination that maketh desolate" (*i.e.* the heathen altar over the altar of burnt-offering, viii. 13, ix. 27, xi. 31, xii. 11), "magnifies himself above every god" (xi. 36: cf. 2 Thess. ii. 4), and after a reign of three and a half years (vii. 25 sq.) meets his end (xi. 45). The historical figure here referred to was Antiochus iv. Epiphanes (*i.e.* God) made manifest). The idea, which may in part have existed already and which became impersonated in Antiochus disassociated itself from the historical figure of Antiochus, and through its enlargement and enrichment in the Book of Daniel established itself as a permanent expectation in Judaism. In the

earliest literature, therefore, where the idea appears, it implies a *being of human origin* (though claiming divine prerogatives), whereas Beliar, who came subsequently to be identified with the Antichrist, was originally a *superhuman or Satanic being*.

The next historical character to whom epithets belonging to the Antichrist are applied, is Pompey the Great, who committed the unpardonable act of profaning the Temple by entering the Holy of Holies after his conquest of Jerusalem. Thus in the Pss. of Solomon (70-40 B.C.), Pompey is called "the Dragon" (ὁ δράκων, ii. 29). There may be here an unconscious allusion to the Dragon myth (see Cheyne's art. "Dragon" in the *Encyc. Bib.* i.). He is described as "the sinner," ii. 1 (ὁ ἁμαρτωλός), the personification of sin (cf. 2 Thess. ii. 3, ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἁμαρτίας—so the inferior Uncials): "the lawless one," xvii. 13 (ὁ ἀνομός), an attribute of Beliar (cf. 2 Thess. ii. 3, ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀνομίας, NB). But since his soldiers are designated "the lawless ones" (xvii. 20, οἱ ἀνόμοι), the epithet may mean no more than heathen, as in 1 Cor. ix. 21; 2 Cor. vi. 14; Acts ii. 23. The epithet "lawless," if technically used, is proper to the Beliar myth.

This expectation may have been influenced by the action of the emperor Caligula (37-41 A.D.), when he ordered the governor Petronius to erect his statue in the Temple. If he had persisted in this act of profanation, the Jews would undoubtedly have regarded it as a fulfilment of the prediction of the setting up of "the abomination of desolation" in the Temple. This phrase was, as we are aware, first applied to the heathen altar set up by Antiochus in the Temple (1 Macc. i. 54), and probably also to the image of Olympian Zeus beside it (cf. Taanith iv. 6). Bousset suggests that "the ever recurring expectation of later times, that Antichrist would take his place in the Temple of Jerusalem, dates . . . from this period."

The next reference to the Antichrist is to be found in 2 Bar. xxxvi. 5, xxxix. 3, xl. 1, 2, according to which the head of the Roman Empire was to be brought before the Messiah and destroyed, and still another in 4 Ezra v. 6, where the reign of the Antichrist is foretold: "Et regnabit quem non sperant, qui inhabitabit super terram."

(b) *A God-opposing power, or the collective Antichrist.*—So far we have cited our authorities as testifying to a single individual Antichrist. But with the expectation of an individual Antichrist that of a collective Antichrist, (α) secular, or (β) religious, is often involved.

(α) Thus in Dan. vii. 7 sqq., 19 sqq. the Fourth Empire (*i.e.* the Greek or Macedonian) is the collective Antichrist. The identity of the Seleucidae or Greek rulers of Syria with the Fourth Kingdom appears in the Sibylline Oracles,

iii. 388-400 (before 140 B.C.). But at the close of the first cent. B.C. or the beginning of the first cent. A.D. the prophecy of Daniel was reinterpreted, and, since Syria had now ceased to be a world power, the Fourth Empire was identified with the new world power Rome. This is first seen in the Assumption of Moses (7-30 A.D.), where the overthrow of Rome by Israel is predicted :

x. 8. "Then thou, O Israel, shalt be happy,
And thou shalt go up against the eagle,
And its neck and wings shall be destroyed."¹

Lest his contemporaries should misunderstand Dan. vii. 17-19, 23 sqq. as referring to the Greek Empire, the Seer in 4 Ezra xii. 11-12 expressly states that this passage refers to the Roman Empire. This is the universal view of the first century A.D. Cf. 2 Bar. xxxvi.-xl. ; 4 Ezra v. 3-4, xi. 40 sqq. It is attested in the N.T. : see the Little Jewish Apocalypse incorporated in Mark xiii. (especially 14 = Matt. xxiv. 15 = Luke xxi. 20), and in the sources behind xiii. 1-10 (see § 8 in the Introd. to xiii.), xvii. 3-10, where it is symbolized by the Beast in our Apocalypse. But in our text the meaning of the symbol has been changed : it stands only in part for the Roman Empire, but mainly for Nero *redivivus*, the demonic Antichrist coming up from the abyss, in xiii. 3 and similarly in xvii. 1-10 ; but the original meaning of the symbol still survives in xiii. 1-2, xvii. 3. In the Ep. Barn. iv. 4-5 (100-120 A.D.) the Fourth Kingdom is Rome : so also in Hippolytus (220 A.D.), and in the Talmud—*Aboda Zara*, 1^b.

(β) The collective Antichrist of a religious origin. In the Johannine Epistles of the N.T. (1 John ii. 18, 22, iv. 3 ; 2 John 7) the Antichrist is the collective name for the false teachers who have gone forth from the bosom of the Church as deceivers (πλάνοι). This conception is not to be confounded with that of pseudo-Christ (ψευδόχριστος) of Matt. xxiv. 24 ; Mark xiii. 22. The individual Antichrist of the religious type is probably referred to in John v. 43, "If another shall come in his own name, him ye will receive."

Again the original source lying behind xiii. 11-14, 16-17

¹ Here the words "its neck and wings" have been transposed from line 2. The transmitted text runs :

"And thou shalt go up against (i.e. ἐπὶ τῶν) the necks and wings of the eagle,
And they shall be destroyed"

(where "implebuntur" of the MS = συντελεσθήσονται, which should have been rendered "delebuntur" here). We have here an early form of the Eagle Vision such as we find in 4 Ezra xi.

was a Jewish Apocalypse directed against the individual Antichrist in the form of the False Prophet (see *Introd. to Chap. xiii.* § 8, vol. i. pp. 342-344). In our text it has been transformed into a collective Antichrist, *i.e.* the heathen imperial priesthood, and designated the second Beast in subordination to the first in *xiii.* 1-10. Originally this Antichrist was conceived as independent and without any Antichrist beside him.

ii. In the O.T. Beliar does not appear as a proper name (see "Beliar" in the Bible Dictionaries). Beliar first attains to personality in the second century B.C. Thus, according to the Test. XII Patriarchs, Beliar rules over souls that are constantly disturbed (T. Dan iv. 7), or which yield to the evil inclinations (T. Ash. i. 8), but flees from those that keep the law (T. Dan v. 1). The Messiah will make war on Beliar and take from him the souls he had led captive (T. Dan v. 10), and Beliar will be bound (T. Levi xviii. 12), and cast into the fire (T. Jud. xxv. 3), and the spirits subject to him will be punished (T. Levi iii. 3). This conception is very like that of Satan—a fact which becomes clearer still in Jubilees i. 20, where Beliar (like Satan: cf. 1 Chron. xxi. 1; 1 Enoch xl. 7; Rev. xii. 10) is said to be the accuser of the faithful before God. This identification of Beliar and Satan appears in the Christian pseudepigraph, *The Questions of Bartholomew* (ed. Bonwetsch, 1897), iv. 25. In 2 Cor. vi. 15, Beliar seems a synonym for Satan. Hence we may conclude that towards the close of the second century B.C. Beliar was regarded as a Satanic spirit, and as naught else, until the Beliar myth coalesced with that of the Antichrist.

iii. *The Neronic myth in its earliest form.*—Here our task is simply to show that soon after the death of Nero the myth became current that (a) Nero had not really died, but was still living; and (b) that he would soon return from this far East to take vengeance on Rome.

(a) When Nero with the help of a freedman committed suicide and was cremated (Suet. *Nero*, 49), so great was the public joy that the people thronged the streets in holiday attire (*op. cit.* 57). All, however, did not share in the belief of Nero's death. Thus Tacitus (*Hist.* ii. 8) writes that there were many who pretended and believed that he was still alive; and Suetonius (*Nero*, 57) declares that edicts were issued in his name as though he were still alive and would return speedily to destroy his enemies. As early as 69 A.D. an impostor appeared under his name and headed a rebellion against Rome (Tac. *Hist.* ii. 8, 9).

(b) That Nero had taken refuge in the East probably formed a constituent of the myth from the outset—a point on which

evidence will be furnished later. Predictions had been made during Nero's lifetime that the East would be the scene of his future greatness: some of these represented Jerusalem as the seat of his empire; others promised him the sovereignty of the world (Suet. *Nero*, 40). Probably such vaticinations as these, combined with the fact that Nero had already established friendly relations with the Parthian king Vologeses I. (Suet. *Nero*, 57), led Nero, as the end drew nigh, to think of fleeing to the Parthians (*op. cit.* 47).

In conformity with this expectation we find that a second pseudo-Nero appeared under Titus on the Euphrates, about 80 A.D., and was recognized by the Parthian king Artabanus (Zonaras, xi. 18). Finally, about 88 A.D. a third pretender came forward among the Parthians and all but succeeded in hurling Parthia against Rome (Tac. *Hist.* i. 2; Suet. *Nero*, 57). This Nero myth, thus firmly rooted in the Gentile world, passed over to the Jewish. The Jewish source, lying behind Rev. xvii. 12-17 (*i.e.* xvii. 11^a, 12-13, 17, 16) and written probably in the reign of Titus, embodies this expectation and predicts the destruction of Rome by the Parthians under the leadership of Nero, who is there called "the beast." This expectation of a Parthian invasion of the West is explicitly stated in xvi. 12. With these passages Rev. ix. 13-21 should be compared, though here we have a demonic form of the myth. The Sibylline Oracles, v. 143-148 (71-74 A.D.—so Zahn and Bousset), prove that this myth had established itself in the eschatology of Hellenistic Judaism. According to the passage just referred to, the flight of Nero from Rome to the Parthians is mentioned, and in v. 361-364 his return to destroy Rome. Early in the next decade we find other testimonies to the prevalence of this myth: see Sibyll. Or. iv. 119-122, where Nero is described as a fugitive to Parthia, and iv. 137-139, where he is described as returning to assail the West at the head of a vast host.

It is possible that the statement in the Talmud (*Yoma*, 10^a), to the effect that Rome would be destroyed by the Persians, is an echo of this early expectation.

II. *The fusion of the Antichrist myth (i.) with that of Beliar before 50 A.D.; and (ii.) independently with that of Nero redivivus, 88-100 A.D.*

i. As a result of this fusion the Antichrist is regarded as (a) a God-opposing man armed with miraculous powers—this appears to have been effected on Christian soil before 50 A.D.; (b) a purely Satanic power before 70 A.D.

(a) 2 Thess. ii. 1-12, according to the usual interpretation, presents an indubitable instance of this fusion. Thus, on the one hand, we have Beliar. "The man of lawlessness"

(ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀνομίας) is all but certainly a translation of Beliar; for ἀνόμημα is the LXX rendering of it in Deut. xv. 9, and ἀνομία in 2 Kings xxii. 5, and παράνομος is frequently found as its equivalent, when it is used as an epithet: Deut. xiii. 13; Judg. xix. 22, xx. 13; 2 Kings xvi. 7, etc.

In the next place it is Beliar appearing as the Antichrist; for the words "he that opposeth himself . . . against all that is called God" (ὁ ἀντικείμενος . . . ἐπὶ πάντα λεγόμενον θεόν) form an excellent definition of the Antichrist. Since 2 Thess. is now generally (and certainly by the present writer) regarded as an authentic writing of St. Paul, we have here the earliest evidence for the fusion of these ideas (*circ.* 50 A.D.), and also for the *humanisation of the Beliar myth through its fusion with that of the Antichrist*; for hitherto Beliar had been conceived as a Satanic or superhuman being. The Antichrist thus comes to be conceived as a *God-opposing man armed with Satanic powers*.

We should next observe that in 2 Thess. ii. 1-12 the myth appears to have a purely *religious* significance and not a *political* one, as in Rev. xiii. 1-10, xvii. Thus in 2 Thess. ii. 6, 7 the Roman Empire is referred to as the power which checks the manifestation of the Antichrist, whereas in Rev. xiii. 1-10 it is the Roman Empire that stood originally in the source of this passage and that still stands in the background as the Antichrist, while the demonic Nero stands in the foreground as this being. In no case could 2 Thess. ii. 1-12 have been written after 70 A.D. This section is a Christian transformation of a current Judaistic myth.

Another phase of this expectation appears in Rev. xiii. 11-17. In the source of this passage the Antichrist was conceived similarly to that in 2 Thess. ii. But by our author this conception was recast and interpreted of the priesthood, which was attached to the cultus of the Caesars, and had the chief seat of its activities in the province of Asia. This Antichrist—in our author symbolized by the second Beast—is a false teacher and prophet. Hence this conception is akin to that which prevails in the Johannine Epistles: 1 John ii. 18, 22, iv. 3; 2 John 7. Though both in the Epistles and Rev. xiii. 11-17 the Antichrist is human, in the latter passage he is armed with Satanic powers and "deceiveth them that dwell on the earth by reason of the signs which it was given him to do in the sight of the beast" (xiii. 14). His task is to make the inhabitants of the earth worship the first Beast (*i.e.* the Beliar Nero), whose death-stroke had been healed (xiii. 12). This subordinate Antichrist is designated as "the false prophet" in xvi. 13, xix. 20, xx. 10. Thus a conception which had originally grown up in Jewish and Christian circles, and, referring to a Jewish Antichrist, had a

purely religious significance, was recast by our author and reinterpreted of a heathen corporation, the Imperial priesthood, which was in part religious and in part political in its aims.

Sibylline Or. ii. 167 sq. (*circa* 200 A.D.) should probably be cited under this head, where it is said that Beliar will come and work many portents before men.

(b) *The Beliar Antichrist = a purely Satanic power before 70 A.D. (or 30 A.D.).*

This stage of the myth is attested in Rev. xi. 7, where as the Beast from the abyss he makes war with and kills the witnesses. The Antichrist in this passage makes his advent in *Jerusalem* (xi. 8), and therefore before 70 A.D. This phase of the myth was *originally* independent of that which appears in Rev. xiii. and xvii., where it has been fused together with the Neronic myth. But in its present context in xi. it is treated as identical with the conception in xiii. and xvii. and is used proleptically in reference to it.

We should probably not be wrong in recognizing in the Assumption of Moses x. 1, 2 an instance of this compound conception.

1. "And then His kingdom shall appear throughout all His creation,
And then Satan shall be no more,
And sorrow shall depart with him.
2. Then the hands of the angel shall be filled
Who has been appointed chief,
And he shall forthwith avenge them of their adversaries."

If this passage comes rightly under this head, then the fusion of the ideas of Beliar and Antichrist must be anterior to 30 A.D.

ii. *Fusion of the Antichrist myth with that of the Nero redivivus.*—This fusion could not have taken place before the first half of Domitian's reign, when the last Neronic pretender appeared. As soon, however, as the hope of the return of the living Nero could no longer be entertained, the way was prepared for this transformation of the myth. The living Nero was no longer expected, but Nero restored to life from the abyss. This expectation appears in Rev. xiii., xvii. But it is questionable if this classification is right, and the very much conflated conceptions of the Antichrist in these chapters had best been reckoned under III. The simple Neronic myth needs some infusion of the Beliar myth in order to develop the expectation of Nero *redivivus*, or Nero as a demonic power.

III. *Fusion of the Antichrist, Beliar, and Neronic myths in various degrees and forms.*

From this fusion the myth emerges in three forms, which

owe their diversity in the main to the three variations of the Neronic myth which enter into and affect the combination. These are: (i.) *Incarnation of Beliar as the Antichrist in Nero still conceived as alive.* The Antichrist has here a political significance, and is human. (ii.) *Incarnation of Beliar in the form of the dead Nero.* The Antichrist is here a Satanic being. (iii.) *Incarnation of Beliar as the Antichrist in Nero redivivus.*

(i.) *Incarnation of Beliar as the Antichrist in Nero still conceived as living*—before 90 A.D.—We have seen above from documentary evidence that before 80 A.D. the myth had gained wide circulation both among Gentiles and Jews, that Nero was still living in the East, and would speedily return to avenge himself on Rome. We have further seen that long before 80 A.D. the minds of both Jews and Christians were familiar with the expectation of the Antichrist pure and simple, and of the Antichrist possessing the attributes of Beliar or Satan, and so denoting a God-opposing man armed with miraculous powers, or a truly Satanic being. So strong was the tendency of such mythical currents to merge in a common stream that it is not surprising to find this coalescence achieved in Sibyll. Or. iii. 63–74. This passage is unhappily of uncertain date, though no doubt before 90 A.D., since Nero is still regarded as alive. Its significance, however, cannot be mistaken. Beliar comes as Antichrist and is descended from Augustus (ἐκ Σεβαστηνῶν). That this descendant of Augustus is Nero there seems no room for doubt. The lines are:

ἐκ δὲ Σεβαστηνῶν ἥξει Βελιάρ μετόπισθεν
καὶ † στήσει † ὀρέων ὕψος, στήσει δὲ θάλασσαν . . .
καὶ νέκρας στήσει καὶ σήματα πολλὰ ποιήσει . . .
ἀλλ' ὁπόταν μεγάλιο θεοῦ τελάσσωσιν ἐπιλαί,
καὶ δύναμις φλογέονσα δι' οἴδατος εἰς γαίαν ἥξει,
καὶ Βελιάρ φλέξει καὶ ὑπερφιάλους ἀνθρώπους
πάντας, ὅσοι τούτῳ πίστιν ἐνεποιήσαντο.

It is possible, however, that the Σεβαστηνοί are the inhabitants of Σεβαστή, *i.e.* Samaria. In that case the text would come under II. i. (δ).

ii. *Incarnation of Beliar as Antichrist in the form of the dead Nero.*—In due time the belief that Nero was still alive in the East began to die. The time of its extinction must naturally have varied according to temperament and locality. It is accordingly difficult to assign definite dates. Since, however, the latest pretender to the Neronic rôle came forward in 88 A.D., we may not unreasonably infer that from that year the belief began to lose its grip on the common folk, and to decline steadily till it finally disappeared. No doubt during the next

twenty years or more it crops up sporadically, but even during that period its place has been taken by two rival and stronger forms of the same myth.

These new forms may have already been evolved in the later years of Vespasian. At all events they are not later than 90-100 A.D. Now that the belief that Nero was still alive had already been abandoned, there were two courses of development open for this myth, in case the Neronic element was still to be retained. Either Beliar must come in the form of the dead Nero, or Nero must be recalled to life by a Satanic miracle as in (iii.). The first course is adopted by the writer of the Ascension of Isaiah, the second by our author in xiii., xvii. The passage in the Ascension, iv. 2-4, is as follows:

"And after (the age) is fulfilled, Beliar, the great ruler, the king of this world, will descend, who hath ruled it since it came into being; yea he will descend from his firmament in the likeness of a man, a lawless king, the slayer of his mother, who himself (even) this king 3. Will persecute the plant which the Twelve Apostles of the Beloved have planted. Of the Twelve one will be delivered into his hand. 4. This ruler in the form of that king will come, and there will come with him all the powers of this world," etc.

(iii.) *Incarnation of Beliar as the Antichrist in Nero redivivus.*—The chief authority attesting this expectation is Rev. xiii., xvii. in their present form as they left our author's hand. But we shall first deal shortly with others in the Sibylline Oracles. In Sibyll. Or. v. 28-34 (written in the reign of Hadrian) the description of the Antichrist involves all the above elements. Thus it is Nero *redivivus* that is described; for the author of the lines is writing two generations after Nero's death. In the next place he is called in semi-mythological language "the serpent" (herein we have the Beliar element), and finally he makes himself equal to God. The lines bearing on our subject are v. 28-29, 33-34.

πεντήκοντα δ' ὅτις κεραίην λάχε, κοίρανος ἔσται,
 δεινὸς ὄφης . . .
 ἀλλ' ἔσται καὶ αἷστος ὀλοῖος· εἴτα ἀνακάμψει
 ἰσάζων θεῷ αὐτόν.

v. 214-227 belongs more clearly to this division. According to this passage, Nero is to return aloft, upborne by the Fates. His achievements are portrayed in 219-225. In Book viii., of which lines 4-429 belong to the close of the second century, the various myths have so thoroughly coalesced that Nero is no longer regarded as a man but as a Satanic monster. He has become the Dragon (viii. 88, *πορφυρεὸς τε δράκων*), and assumed the monster's form (157, *θῆρα μέγαν*).

It is needless here to pursue the ramifications of this myth further in this and later literature than to state, that so thoroughly did the Neronic element in the composite Antichrist conception gain the upper hand in the East, that in Armenian the word Nero became and remains the equivalent for Antichrist.

We shall now return to the most important testimonies of this subject, *i.e.* in Rev. xiii., xvii. We need not here deal with them in detail, since they are fully discussed already. Here we have the most vigorous and illuminating conception of the Antichrist in all literature, although, as we have seen in our study of these chapters, our author was to a considerable extent indebted to existing sources in their composition. But though the elements of the Antichrist were drawn for the most part from disparate sources, the result is no mere mosaic, no laboured syncretism of conflicting traits, but a marvellous portrait of the great God-opposing power that should hereafter arise, who was to exalt might above right, and attempt, successfully or unsuccessfully for the time, to seize the sovereignty of the world, backed by hosts of intellectual workers,¹ who would uphold his pretensions, justify all his actions, and enforce his political aims by an economic warfare,² which menaced with destruction all that did not bow down to his arrogant and godless claims. And though the justness of this forecast is clear to the student who approaches the subject with some insight, and to all students who approach it with the experience of the present world war, we find that as late as 1908, Bousset in his article on the "Antichrist" in Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, writes as follows: "The interest in the (Antichrist) legend . . . is now to be found only among the lower classes of the Christian community, among sects, eccentric individuals, and fanatics."

No great prophecy receives its full and final fulfilment in any single event or series of events. In fact, it may not be fulfilled at all in regard to the object against which it was primarily delivered by the prophet or Seer. But, if it is the expression of a great moral and spiritual truth, it will of a surety be fulfilled at sundry times and in divers manners and in varying degrees of completeness. The present attitude of the Central Powers of Europe on this question of might against right, of Cæsarism against religion, of the state against God, is the greatest fulfilment that the Johannine prophecy in xiii. has as yet received. Even the very indefiniteness regarding the chief Antichrist in xiii. is reproduced in the present upheaval of

¹ This is the second Beast in xiii.—the false prophet.

² The measures described in xiii. 16-17.

evil powers. In xiii. the Antichrist is conceived as a single individual, *i.e.* the demonic Nero; but, even so, behind him stands the Roman Empire, which is one with him in character and purpose, and is itself the Fourth Kingdom or the Kingdom of the Antichrist—in fact, the Antichrist itself. So in regard to the present war, it is difficult to determine whether the Kaiser or his people can advance the best claims to the title of a modern Antichrist. If he is a present-day representative of the Antichrist, so just as surely is the empire behind him, for it is one in spirit and purpose with its leader—whether regarded from its military side, its intellectual, or its industrial. They are in a degree far transcending that of ancient Rome “those who are destroying the earth” (Rev. xi. 18).

CHAPTER XVIII.

§ 1. *The Contents and Character of this Chapter.*

This chapter, which deals with the doom of Rome, opens with a prophetic prelude, in which the Seer looks far forward and sees the destruction of Rome as already accomplished, and the earth's proud capital as the haunt of every unclean thing—both demonic and belonging to this world.¹ This prelude, described as an angelic utterance from heaven (1-3), is proleptic, since in the rest of the chapter various stages in the actual destruction are described.

In 4-8 there follows another voice addressed to the faithful² (4-5), and to the ministers of God's wrath,³ who were assembled for the destruction of Rome.

We now come to the three threnodies pronounced respectively over burning Rome by the kings (9-10), by the merchant princes of the earth (11-13, 15-16), and by the shipowners and sailors of all the world (17-19). Each in turn bewail the doom of the great city in whose wantonness and luxury and wealth they had all shared.

The chapter closes with a song of doom preluded by a symbolic action on the part of a strong angel. This dirge is uttered by the Seer who wrote the Oracle, which John has utilized here for his own purposes. At its close he has added 20, 23^f-24, in which he appeals to heaven and to the martyrs,

¹ As John had not the opportunity of revising his great Apocalypse, several traces of the expectations belonging to the Vespanianic period survive in this Jewish source. According to John's own view, the smoke of Rome was to go up till the world's end (xix. 3), but not so in this source (xviii. 2).

² Another element testifying to the origin of the source in Vespanian's time. The faithful had all been removed from the earth at the close of xiii.

³ In the original source—Nero and the Parthians.

apostles and prophets already there, to rejoice over the destruction of Rome. This appeal is answered in xix. This last part of the chapter was evidently found by our author in a very confused condition. It should be read as follows (as we have shown in § 6): 21, 14, 22^{abcd}, 23^{cd}, 22^{efgh}, 23^{ab}, 20, 23ⁱ, 24.

As we have already stated, John has here used a source belonging to the Vespasianic period, and written soon after the destruction of Jerusalem. It was apparently written originally in Hebrew, and found by John in a Greek translation. The grounds for these statements are given in the sections that follow. To the same Vespasianic source xvii. 1^{b-7}, 18, 8-10 (in part) originally belonged.

§ 2. The Diction, Idiom, and Style of xviii. 2-23 is not that of our author.

The style of this chapter has none of our author's characteristic abnormal constructions (see 2). It has, on the other hand, constructions which are wholly against his usage (see 3). This chapter contains a great many ἀπαξ λεγόμενα so far as the rest of the N.T. is concerned (see footnote on 1), and also peculiar usages of certain words (see 5) not only unknown in the rest of the N.T. and the LXX, but almost unknown elsewhere. The style is most carefully elaborated, and in this respect different from that of our author. Our author is, of course, a stylist, but with him style is a wholly secondary consideration. His theme had wholly gained possession of him, and being the greatest of all themes it naturally expresses itself in great and noble words. But the writer of xviii. 2-23 is no less conscious of the claims of form than he is of the subject-matter of his vision. He is a conscious stylist. Moreover, the order of his words is less Semitic than that of any other chapter in the Apocalypse from our author's hand. Thus the verb frequently follows after the subject or the object, or both combined: cf. 3, 7, 8, 11, 14, 15, 17. In xvii. 1^{c-2}, 3^{b-7}, 8-10, the earlier part of this source, the order is Semitic, but this seems owing to the revision it has undergone at the hands of our author before he incorporated it in his text.

Finally, this source has influenced our author (see 7).

1. *Diction*.—The source begins with 2. It is introduced by 1, every phrase of which is from our author. Thus μετὰ ταῦτα εἶδον is a characteristic phrase: εἶδον ἄλλον ἄγγελον καταβαίνοντα ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ is found in x. 1 and again in xx. 1. Ὁν ἔχοντα ἐξουσίαν cf. ix. 3, xvi. 9, xx. 6; and ὃν ἐφώτισεν ἐκ τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ, cf. xxi. 23, ἥ γὰρ δόξα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐφώτισεν αὐτήν. The style of 2-23 is not that of our author, nor the diction nor the idiom.

The *diction* is in the main different. I have added a list of phrases and clauses common to xviii. and the rest of the book. Now from this list must be withdrawn those given under 20, 23, 24, since either originally or in their present form they are from our author's hand. Next, those given under 3^b, 10, 16 are repeated from the earlier part of the same source, xvii. 1-10, but not found elsewhere in the Book. Again, this old Vespasianic source has not unnaturally influenced our author's diction: hence the clauses given in 2^a, 3^a are the source of xiv. 8, and the rare use of βύσσινον in 12 appears to be the source of our author's use of it in xix. 8, 14. Thus the clauses with a diction akin to that in our author are those given under 4 (8), 9, 21 (below). But the clauses which in these verses are common to this source and our author are not distinctive. On the other hand, xviii. has a large number of ἀπαξ λεγόμενα, so far as the rest of our author and the N.T. are concerned.¹

2. ἔπασεν, ἔπασεν βαβυλὼν ἡ μεγάλη: cf. xiv. 8, which, however, appears to be borrowed from this source.

3. ἐκ τοῦ οἴνου [τοῦ θυμοῦ] τῆς πορνείας αὐτῆς πεπότικεν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη—the source of xiv. 8^c. οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς μετ' αὐτῆς ἐπόρνευσαν: cf. 9, xvii. 2, where the clause has already occurred.

4. ἤκουσα ἄλλην φωνὴν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ λέγουσαν: cf. x. 4, 8, xi. 12, xiv. 2, etc.

8. διὰ τοῦτο: cf. vii. 15, xii. 12. ἐν πυρὶ κατακαυθήσεται: cf. xvii. 16.

9. κόψονται ἐπ' αὐτῇ: cf. i. 7.

10. ἡ πόλις ἡ μεγάλη: cf. 16, 19, xvii. 18—all belonging to the same source.

12. βυσσίνου: cf. 16, xix. 8, 14, where this use of βύσσινον as a noun appears derived from the use in this source.

16. ἡ περιβεβλημένη . . . μαργαρίτη: repeated with slight variations from xvii. 4—both belonging to the same source.

17. ἴστησαν. Our author would have used ἵσταθῃσαν or εἰστήκεισαν. See vol. i. p. 272.

20. εὐφραίνου: cf. xii. 12. οὐρανέ. Our author uses this word in the sing. οἱ ἄγιοι κ. οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ προφῆται. The order is unusual: contrast xi. 18, xviii. 24. ἔκρινεν: cf. xvi. 6.

21. εἰς (cf. viii. 13, xix. 17) ἄγγελος ἰσχυρός: cf. v. 2, x. 1. ἔβαλεν εἰς: very frequent. οὐ μὴ εὐρέθῃ ἔτι: cf. 22, 24, xii. 8, xiv. 5.

23. ἐπληθήσαν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη: cf. xx. 3, 8, xii. 9, xiii. 14.

¹ Thus we have φυλακή in xviii. 2: στῆναι in xviii. 3 (cf. στῆναι in 7, 9, also ἀπ. λεγ.), διπλώσατε, and διπλᾶ and διπλοῦν as nouns in 6, σιρικοῦ, θύινον, ἐλεφάντινον, μαρμάρου in 12, and in the same verse κοκκίνου as a noun (cf. 16, xvii. 4), κιννάμωμον, ἀμυμον, σεμίδαλιν [βεδῶν, σωματῶν in this sense] in 13, σπῶρα, λιπαρὰ in 14, πορφυροῦν as a noun in 16 (xvii. 4), ἐργάζονται (in this sense) in 17, τιμιότητος in 19, μύλινον, ὁρμήματι in 21, μουσικῶν, σαλπιστῶν in 22.

24. προφητῶν καὶ ἀγίων: cf. xi. 18. ἐσφαγμένων: cf. v. 6, 9, 12, vi. 9, xiii. 8.

2. The style of xviii. 2-23 exhibits *none* of the abnormal constructions¹ so frequent in our author, is far more normal than that of our author, and is comparatively good Greek. In fact the writer of this source was a conscious stylist.

3. Whilst this source has none of our author's characteristic abnormal constructions, it contains *constructions which are wholly against his usage*. Thus οὐαί *cum nom.* in 10, 16, 19, whereas it appears in our author only *cum acc.* ἐν ἰσχυρᾷ φωνῇ in 2 is both as regards the epithet and the order in this phrase unexampled in our author (see note *in loc.*). αὐτῆς αἱ ἁμαρτίαι in 5 is an example of the unemphatic position of αὐτός not elsewhere in our author save in one Uncial (A) in xxi. 3 (see vol. ii. p. 208, footnote). κράζειν ἐν . . . φωνῇ in 2 is against our author's usage, who never inserts the ἐν here: cf. vi. 10, vii. 2, 10, x. 3, xix. 17. In xviii. 4 the order ἐκ τῶν πληγῶν αὐτῆς ἵνα μὴ λάβητε (KACQ) is unparalleled in our author. Hence some later authorities transpose ἐκ τ. πληγῶν αὐτῆς after λάβητε. Again, ἡ μεγάλη πόλις in 21 is unparalleled in our author in this phrase (see note *in loc.*). The attraction of the relative in xviii. 6, ποτηρίῳ ᾧ ἐκέρασεν, is against his usage: cf. i. 20. Even the title of Babylon in xviii. 10, ἡ πόλις ἡ ἰσχυρά, is against our author's use, who calls it ἡ μεγάλη in xiv. 8, xvi. 19, a title which appears also in this source in xvii. 5, xviii. 2, 10, 21. Finally, in xviii. 7 we find κάθημαι where our author would have used καθίζω: see note on iii. 21; and οὐ μὴ, xviii. 14, with εὐρήσουσιν, where he would use εὕρωσιν.

4. The accumulation of participles is a frequent characteristic of this source—without any real parallel in the rest of the Book. Thus in xviii. 9-10 we have οἱ . . . πορνεύσαντες καὶ στερηνιάσαντες ὅταν βλέπωσιν . . . ἀπὸ μακρόθεν ἐστῆκότες . . . λέγοντες, all dependent on the subject of the principal verb. In 15, οἱ πλουτήσαντες . . . κλαίοντες καὶ πενθοῦντες, λέγοντες, similarly dependent on the subject of the principal verb: in 18, βλέποντες . . . λέγοντες: in 19, κλαίοντες καὶ πενθοῦντες, λέγοντες. The same accumulation of participles is to be found in the earlier fragment of this source, *i.e.* xvii. 1^c-2, 3^b-7, 18, 8-10. Thus in xvii. 3 we have γυναικα καθήμενην ἐπὶ θηρίον . . . γέμοντα . . . ἔχων: in 4, περιβεβλημένη . . . καὶ κεχρυσωμένη . . . ἔχουσα: in 7, τοῦ βαστάζοντος, τοῦ ἔχοντος: in 8, οἱ κατοικοῦντες . . . βλεπόντων.

5. The use of neuter adjectives in the sing. as nouns is

¹ Thus the syntax is carefully observed as regards gender and number. Even λέγων (λέγοντες, etc.) always agrees with the noun on which it depends; contrast our author's use: i. 11, iv. 1, v. 12, 13, ix. 14, x. 8 (δύς), xi. 1, 15, xiv. 7, xix. 1, 6.

characteristic of this source: *i.e.* βύσσινον = "fine linen" in xviii. 12, 16. This usage occurs only once in the LXX in Dan. x. 5^c. Occasionally τὰ βύσσινα is used in this sense in the LXX. Similarly πορφυροῦν in xvii. 4, xviii. 16, κόκκινον in xvii. 4, xviii. 12, 16, σιρικόν, xviii. 12, and διπλοῦν in xviii. 6, are used as nouns, although, save in the case of σιρικόν and διπλοῦν, such a use of these words in the sing. seems unattested elsewhere. σιρικόν is found in Arrian and Strabo as a noun, and διπλοῦν appears to be used similarly in the LXX in Ex. xxii. 7, 9. For certain adjectives employed in this way in the rest of the N.T. see Robertson, *Gram.* 653 sq., who, however, as the rest of the N.T. grammarians, fails to notice most of the above words.

6. The order of this source is less Semitic than that of our author: see above.

7. *This source appears to have influenced our author.*—As regards xviii. 2-23, it has become clear that it is not our author's production, as we have found also with regard to xvii. 1^c-2, 3^b-7, 18, 8-10. Now this source, dating from the time of Vespasian, had been in our author's hands and was apparently laid under contribution by him. Thus xiv. 8 is composed simply of xviii. 2^b, 3^a put together. Again our author's peculiar use of βύσσινον in xix. 8, 14 as a noun appears due to this same use in xviii. 12, 16 (see 5. above). The fact that this use of βύσσινον is characteristic of this source and borrowed by our author gains support by its use of πορφυροῦν (xvii. 4, xviii. 16), κόκκινον (xvii. 4, xviii. 12, 16), σιρικόν (xviii. 12), and διπλοῦν (xviii. 6) as nouns, although, save in the case of the σιρικόν and διπλοῦν, such a use seems unattested elsewhere. διπλᾶ and τὰ κόκκινα are found elsewhere. Since, therefore, our author appears to have been influenced by this source in the above respects, it is possible that he may have been also influenced by it in his use of ἰσχυρός, which occurs 4 times in xviii. and 5 times in the rest of our author. Three of these five times it occurs in the phrase ἄγγελος ἰσχυρός found also in xviii. 21. But οὐκ . . . ἔτι, which is 6 times in xviii., occurs 9 times in the rest of our author and belongs to his vocabulary. His use of διὰ τοῦτο, vii. 15, xii. 12, is not to be traced to xviii. 8, seeing that it is a very common phrase, being found 15 times in the Johannine Gospel and 3 times in the Epistles.

§ 3. *The Greek appears to be a translation from a Hebrew source.*

The evidence for the hypothesis is not conclusive. It will be found in the notes on 8, 19, 22 in connection with the words and phrases πένθος, ἐκ τῆς τιμότητος, and μουσικῶν. The use of δυνάμεις in 3 may suggest δין = "wealth."

§ 4. *The text has suffered great dislocations—in some degree comparable to those in xxii. Translation of xviii. 21–24 in its reconstructed order.*

One of these dislocations—that of 14—was observed by early scholars like Beza and Vitranga, which they restore after 23^d. But the present writer thinks that 14 should be read immediately after 21: 20 he finds is also out of place. It should be replaced after 23^{ab}. The various elements of 22–23 have been disarranged, as is shown in the notes.

21–24 should be read in the following order: 21, 14, 22^{a-d}, 23^{cd}, 22^{a-b}, 23^{ab}, 20, 23^f, 24.

21. And a strong angel took up a stone as it were a great millstone, and cast it into the sea, saying:

“Thus with violence shall be cast down,
Babylon the great city,
And shall no more be found,

(The Seer’s dirge over Babylon.)

14. And the fruits which thy soul lusted after
Are gone from thee:
And all the dainties and the splendours
Are perished from thee.
[And men shall find them no more at all].

22^{a-d}. And the voice of the harpers and singers
 <Shall be heard no more in thee>,
And <the voice> of the fluteplayers and trumpeters
 Shall be heard no more in thee.

23^{cd}. And the voice of the bridegroom and the bride
 Shall be heard no more in thee:

22^{ef}. And no craftsman of whatsoever craft
 Shall be found any more in thee:

22^{gh}. And the voice of the millstone
 Shall be heard no more in thee:

23^{ab}. And the light of the lamp
 Shall shine no more in thee.

(The Seer’s appeal to heaven and its inhabitants to rejoice over the doom of Rome.)

20. Rejoice over her, thou heaven,
And ye saints and ye apostles and ye prophets;
For God hath judged your judgment upon her;

- 23^f. For with *her* sorcery had all the nations been deceived :
 24. And in her was found the blood of the prophets and
 saints
 And of all that had been slain upon the earth."

§ 5. *xviii. was written in the time of Vespasian.*¹

This statement can be proved by means of 2, 4, 6-8.

(a) For first of all 2 presupposes the fires of Rome to have been long extinct, and its ruins to have become the abode of every unclean spirit, bird, and beast. Now such a supposition even in a vision was not possible for the Seer writing in 95 A.D. He was then looking forward to the destruction of Rome as one of the *last* great acts in the judgment of the world. Moreover, the fires which should consume Rome, xviii. 9, 15, 18, were *never, so long as the earth lasted, to be extinguished*, xix. 3. Hence, however we explain xviii. 2, it was written at an earlier date than the Apocalypse as a whole. But, whereas the prophecy in 2 is merely proleptic and therefore not at variance with xviii. 8, 15, 18, it is really irreconcilable with xix. 3, which declares that the smoke of Rome's ruins will go up till the world's end. The former gives the expectation of a Jewish Seer in Vespasian's time, the latter that of our author John in 95 A.D.

(b) In the note on 4 I have shown that the presupposition underlying it runs counter to the expectation of our Seer, that after chap. xiii. all the faithful had been put to death. But in this verse a considerable body of the faithful is presumed to be actually present in Rome. Such a presumption would be justifiable in Vespasian's time after the fall of Jerusalem, to which period xviii. can most reasonably be assigned.

(c) In 6-8 the same Vespasianic standpoint is transparent. We have such an expectation here as would be naturally entertained by a zealous Jew after the destruction of Jerusalem.

§ 6. *xviii. preserved in a corrupt condition and adapted by our author to his own purpose.*

The dislocation of 14 and 20 and of several clauses in 21-24 from their original contexts shows how profoundly the original source has suffered (see § 4). There is no reason to suppose that these dislocations were due to our author. Either they were already present in his source, or they are due to accidental disarrangement subsequently. It should be borne in mind that, if the present writer's hypothesis is sound as to the death of John when he had completed xx. 3, we are to regard i.-xx. 3 as never having undergone a final revision at his hands. In fact we have in i.-xx. 3, the first sketch of a great work, portions of which

¹ On a variety of grounds Sabatier, Rauch, Spitta, Weyland, Bousset, J. Weiss, Wellhausen, and Moffatt accept the Vespasianic date of xviii.

have been most carefully worked out from the visions of many years, while others show not a few inequalities and inconsistencies that a final revision would have removed.

As regards the corruptions in the text we have already (§ 3) sought to explain those in 8, 19, 22 by means of a Hebrew background. The ungrammatical clause (καὶ ἰππων κτλ.) in 13 is merely a gloss. 23°, if it belonged to the original source, is at all events in its wrong context where it stands. 24 is from the hand of John as well as the phrase καὶ οἱ ἀποστολοὶ in 20.

§ 7. xviii. and xvii. 1^c-2, 3^b-7, 18, 8-10 are a Greek translation of one and the same Hebrew source.

We have already come to the conclusion that xvii. 1^c-2, 3^b-7, 18, 8-10, and xviii. 2-24 are of a Vespasianic date, and that the Greek of these sections is apparently a translation (not made but revised by John) from a Hebrew original. Since xvii. 1^c-2, 3^b-7, 18, 8-10, and xviii. 2-23, which are closely connected by their peculiar and in some respects unique diction, deal with the same subject and belong to the same date, we conclude that they are from the same hand. The former served as an introduction to the latter. xvii. 1 gives the title of xviii. τὸ κρίμα τῆς πόρνῆς τῆς μεγάλης τῆς καθήμενης ἐπὶ ὕδατων πολλῶν. Next, xvii. 2 (μεθ' ἧς ἐπόρνευσαν οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἐμεθύσθησαν οἱ κατοικοῦντες τὴν γῆν ἐκ τοῦ οἴνου τῆς πορνείας αὐτῆς) is repeated in substance and in part verbally in xviii. 3, ἐκ τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ θυμοῦ τῆς πορνείας αὐτῆς πεπότικεν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, and 23, ἐν τῇ φαρμακίᾳ σου ἐπλανήθησαν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη. Next, clauses from xvii. 4 (περιβεβλημένη πορφυροῦν¹ καὶ κόκκινον, καὶ κεχρυσωμένη χρυσίῳ καὶ λίθῳ τιμίῳ καὶ μαργαρίταις) are repeated almost word for word in xviii. 16, ἡ περιβεβλημένη . . . πορφυροῦν καὶ κόκκινον καὶ κεχρυσωμένη . . . λίθῳ τιμίῳ καὶ μαργαρίτῃ. Again, ποτήριον . . . ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτῆς γέμον βδελυγμάτων in xvii. 4 is recalled by ἐν τῷ ποτηρίῳ ᾧ ἐκέρασεν in xviii. 6; Βαβυλὼν ἡ μεγάλη in xvii. 5 by a kindred clause in xviii. 10; and ἡ πόλις ἡ μεγάλη in xvii. 18 by the same phrase in xviii. 10, 16, 19.

Hence xvii. 1^c-2, 3^b-7, 18, 8-10, and xviii. appear to be derived from one and the same Hebrew source.² With this he has combined another source, xvii. 11-13, 17, 16, which foretold the destruction of Rome by Nero and the Parthians. xvii. 2 gives the title of the Vision in xviii., i.e. the Doom of Rome; this judgment is preceded by a vision of Rome before its overthrow in

¹ It is important to observe that πορφυροῦν used as a noun seems to occur only in xvii. 4 and xviii. 16, that κόκκινον is used as a noun in the sing. in xvii. 4°, xviii. 12, 16—a most rare use, though it is found in the LXX and elsewhere as a noun in the plural. See § 2. 5 above.

² The order of the words in xviii. while in the main Semitic, is not as decidedly so as in xvii. 1^c-2, 3^b-7, 18, 8-10. The latter has been thoroughly revised by our author.

xvii. 3-7, 18, 8-10, and by a *prophecy* of the coming destruction of Rome by fire at the hands of Nero and the Parthians, *i.e.* xvii. 12-13, 17, 16. It is not till we come to xviii. that the promise of the Angel of the Bowls in xvii. 1, *δείξω σοι τὸ κρίμα τῆς πόρνης*, is fulfilled. xviii. is a vision of Rome's doom, which is *foretold* in xvii. 16.

1-8. The proclamation of the doom of Babylon by the first angel. This proclamation is *proleptic*. The angel's words regard Rome's doom as already accomplished far in the past.

From 2^{cd} it appears that the fires that consumed it have long since been quenched, and that it has become the abode of unclean birds and demons. See the note on these clauses below.

1. ἄλλον ἄγγελον. This angel is distinguished from the angel mentioned in xvii. 1, 7, who is the *angelus interpres*.

ἡ γῆ ἐφωτίσθη ἐκ τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ. This is a direct rendering of Ezek. xliii. 2, וְיָרֵךְ הָאֱלֹהִים יְרֵאֵהוּ, where the LXX has ἡ γῆ ἐξέλαμπεν ὡς φέγγος ἀπὸ τῆς δόξης. Here the Targum has כְּנֶגְהָא הָרַרְיָא דְּיִדּוּ הָרַה. Thus the brightness of God's glory is here attributed to an angel. See further on this "brightness" in note on xxi. 23. On this use of ἐκ = "by reason of," cf. viii. 13, xvi. 11.

2. ἐκραξεν ἐν ἰσχυρῇ φωνῇ. The diction in this phrase is unexampled in our author: the order is most exceptional. See note on x. 3.

ἔπασεν ἔπασεν βαβυλὼν ἡ μεγάλη. This clause has already occurred in xiv. 8 (see note). The Greek here, with the exception of the epithet, is an independent rendering of Isa. xxi. 9.

2^{cd}. These three clauses are to be taken *proleptically* in reference to 9, 15, 18: otherwise they occasion difficulty; for in 9, 15, 18, Rome is seen in the Seer's vision to be consumed by fire: whereas these clauses presuppose the fires of Rome to have been long extinct, and the ruins to have become the hold of unclean birds and demons. xiv. 11 refers not to the city Rome, but to the eternal torment of the worshippers of the Beast in the next world. On the other hand it is impossible to reconcile 2^{cd} with xix. 3, which represents the smoke of her burning as going up for ever and ever, *i.e.* to the end of the world. This last is our author's own expectation. Here that of his source conflicts with it: see *Intro.* to this Chap., § 5.

ἐγένετο κατοικητήριον δαιμονίων . . . μεμνημένου: cf. Isa. xiii. 21-22 (δαιμόνια ἐκεῖ ὀρχηθήσονται); Jer. li. 31, "Babylon shall become . . . a dwelling for jackals"; 1 Bar. iv. 35, κατοικηθήσεται ὑπὸ δαιμονίων. In Isa. xxxiv. 11, 13^b, 14-15, Jer. l. 39, there is a list of unclean birds and beasts that are to inhabit Edom or Babylon given: cf. Zeph. ii. 14. The δαιμόνια are the דִּמְיוֹן, or more probably the דִּמְיוֹנָא (Isa. xiii. 21, xxxiv. 14).

δρνέου ἀκαθάρτου: cf. Deut. xiv. 12-19.

8. The nations as a whole, the rulers of the earth and its merchants, were involved in the sin of Rome.

ἐκ τοῦ οἴνου [τοῦ θυμοῦ] τῆς πορνείας αὐτῆς. I have here with much hesitation bracketed τοῦ θυμοῦ, although it has the support of the best MSS. But the extraordinary diversity among the authorities points to some corruption in the above text. See notes on xiv. 8, xvii. 2. In the latter passage we have an exact parallel to xviii. 3^{ab}; for 3^a (cf. 23^d ὅτι ἐν τῇ φαρμακίᾳ σου ἐπλανήθησαν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη) corresponds to ἐμεθύσθησαν οἱ κατοικοῦντες τ. γῆν ἐκ τοῦ οἴνου τῆς πορνείας αὐτῆς. 3^b corresponds almost *verbatim* with xvii. 2^a, μεθ' ἧς ἐπόρνευσαν οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς.

οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς. Their lamentation over Rome is given in 9-20, as that of the merchants in 11-13, 15-16.

πεπότικεν. This reading, supported by a few cursives, appears to be the true one, though in the cursives only a happy conjecture. It explains the impossible readings of KACQ. It is also required by the context: otherwise Rome is represented only as passively evil. πέπτωκαν though originating in a scribal error seemed to derive support from ἔπεσεν. As Babylon fell, so did the nations.

οἱ ἔμποροι τῆς γῆς. This phrase, which is peculiar to this chapter in the N.T. (cf. 11, 15, 23), is significant. All the merchants of the world are involved in the overthrow of Rome. The long list of merchants who traded with Tyre, according to Ezek. xxvii. 9-25, was in the mind of our author.

ἐκ . . . αὐτῆς ἐπλούτησαν: cf. 15.

τῆς δυνάμεως = "wealth"—a meaning which is found also in the LXX of Deut. viii. 17, Ruth iv. 11, where δύναμις is a rendering of לָחַי. In Isa. lxi. 6 it is rendered by לָחָץ = "wealth." This meaning is to be found in Xen. Cyr. vii. 4. 34, etc., 2 Cor. viii. 3, and the Papyri.

τοῦ στρήνους αὐτῆς = "of her wantonness." Here and in 2 Kings xix. 28. Cf. στρηνῶν in 9, and καταστρηνῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, "to wax wanton against the restrictions prescribed by Christ," in 1 Tim. v. 11.

4-8. The second voice, which comes from heaven itself. 4-5 are addressed to the faithful, and 6-8 to the ministers of God's wrath who were seen by the Seer to be assembling for the work of destruction.

4. No justifiable meaning can be attached to this verse as it stands. As we have repeatedly seen heretofore (cf. also ver. 20), the presupposition of the Seer is that after xiii. all the faithful had been put to death. In xv. 2-4 the army of martyrs is seen in its completeness in a vision before the throne of God, while the Seven Bowls are poured down on a wholly heathen world. In the present verse, therefore, indeed in the present chapter, we

have a document that belongs, as a large body of modern scholars have recognized, to the time of Vespasian. This oracle dealt with the destruction of Rome. Völter (*Offenbarung Johannis*, 1904), J. Weiss and Erbes ascribe this oracle to a Christian source written respectively about 60, 70 and 80 A.D. On the other hand, Vischer, Schoen, Weyland, Spitta trace it, and rightly in the opinion of the present writer, to a Jewish source. Whether Jewish or Christian originally, it is partially adapted to its present context by the mention of the "apostles" in 20, and by the addition of 24.

ἀλλην φωνῇν. The words that follow—ὁ λαός μου—seem to suggest that it is God that speaks. But 5 is against this conclusion. Cf. xvi. 1 for a like difficulty. It may, however, be Christ that speaks.

ἐξέλθατε ἐξ αὐτῆς ὁ λαός μου. These words appear to be a reproduction of Jer. li. (xxviii.) 45, יֵצְאוּ מִכָּתִיבָא מִן. Since they are not found in \aleph ABQ* of the LXX and in Q^{ms} are rendered by ἐξέλθετε ἐκ μέσου αὐτῆς λαός μου, this clause seems to have been translated directly from the Hebrew, and independently of the LXX.

There are, it is true, many parallels in the O.T. to the above clause in our text. Cf. Jer. xxvii. (li.) 8, ἀπαλλοτριώθητε ἐκ μέσου Βαβυλῶνος . . . καὶ ἐξέλθατε : xxviii. (li.) 6, φεύγετε ἐκ μέσου Βαβυλῶνος, καὶ ἀνασώζετε ἑκάστος τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ μὴ ἀποριφῇτε ἐν τῇ ἀδικίᾳ αὐτῆς : Isa. lviii. 20, ἐξέλθε ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος : lli. 11, ἀπόσπῃτε, ἀπόσπῃτε, ἐξέλθατε ἐκεῖθεν . . . ἐξέλθατε ἐκ μέσου αὐτῆς : cf. also 2 Bar. ii. 1, "Retire from this city" ; Matt. xxiv. 16, τότε οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ φευγέτωσαν ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη. The last quotation belongs to the Little Apocalypse, and refers, of course, to Jerusalem.

συνκοινωνήσητε ταῖς ἡμαρτίας : cf. Eph. v. 11, μὴ συνκoinωνεῖτε τ. ἔργοις . . . τ. σκότους : 1 Tim. v. 22, μηδὲ κοινωνεῖ ἁμαρτίας ἁλλοτρίους. These words deal with the guilt of sharing in the sin of Rome, as the words that follow deal with the punishment that such guilt must entail.

ἐκ τῶν πληγῶν αὐτῆς, "some of her plagues."

δ. ἐκολλήθησαν . . . ἄχρι τ. οὐρανοῦ. These words are, apparently, a reminiscence of Jer. li. 9, יַדְבַּקְתָּ מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם לְכָל הָאָרֶץ. If so, then ἐκολλήθησαν is simply to be rendered (as in the A.V. and R.V. and the Vulg., pervenerunt) "have reached." This rendering of γιν is very rare,—see Lam. ii. 2 and Zech. xiv. 5, ἐνκολληθήσεται (γιν) φάραγξ ὁρέων ἕως Ἰασός,—but the meaning belonging to this Hebrew verb is clearly the one required by our context. We might also compare with our text 1 Esdr. viii. 72, αἱ δὲ ἀγνοῖαι ἡμῶν ὑπερήνεγκαν ἕως τοῦ οὐρανοῦ : cf. Ezra ix. 6 ; also 4 Ezra xi. 43, "Et ascendit contumelia tua ad altissimum et superbia tua ad fortem." If this

rendering is right, then we are not to attempt to render *ἐκολλήθησαν* κτλ. as "have grown together into such a mass as to reach the heaven." It would be extraordinary if God was not mindful of the sins of Rome (5^b) till they pressed in a mass against the roof of heaven. To such an extravagant conception the parallelism καὶ ἐμνημόνευσεν ὁ θεὸς τὰ ἀδικήματα αὐτῆς would form a singular anticlimax—a piece of sheer bathos. Hence we infer that *ἐκολλήθησαν* is here = *ἰσῆν*, and that the rendering is independent of the LXX in Jer. li. (xxviii.) 9, ἡγγικεν εἰς οὐρανὸν τὸ κρίμα αὐτῆς. The rendering of the two Syriac Versions here is very infelicitous, i.e. "have cleaved to." This rendering of *κολλᾶσθαι* is found once more in the Syriac Versions, namely, in Luke x. 11, but there it is very felicitous.

On the other hand, it must be conceded that *κολλᾶσθαι* is the general rendering of *רַבַּח* in the LXX. If it presupposes this Hebrew word here, then our text is not a reminiscence of Jer. li. 9. But even so, the context is against the meaning belonging to *רַבַּח*. Such a passage as 1 Bar. i. 20, *ἐκολλήθη εἰς ἡμᾶς τὰ κακὰ καὶ ἡ ἁρὰ*, does not support our text in the sense of "cleave unto." Even in this passage of Baruch *ἐκολλήθη* probably presupposes a corrupt Hebrew text. See Whitehouse in Charles, *The Apoc. and Pseud.* i. 578, and Kneucker *in loc.* The Syriac Version of Baruch = *ܠܪܒܚܐ* (=et pervenerunt), while the Greek = *רַבַּח*. Dan. ix. 11, with which 1 Bar. i. 15-ii. 17 is closely related, supports the former.

αὐτῆς αἱ ἁμαρτίαι. On this vernacular use of the genitive of *αὐτός* see notes on ii. 2, 19, and in vol. ii. 208, footnote.

ἐμνημόνευσεν ὁ θεός κτλ. Cf. xvi. 19, *Βαβυλὼν ἡ μεγάλη ἐμνήσθη ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ.*

6. In its present context this verse is to be taken as addressed to Nero *redivivus* and the hosts that followed him: cf. xvii. 11-17. But it is not to be forgotten that already Rome has for the most part been destroyed in xvi. 19 by a great earthquake, and its entire destruction by fire foretold in xvii. 16. The present chapter, taken by itself, shows no consciousness of the first of these judgments. But the destruction of Rome by fire is proclaimed in xviii. 8, 9, 15. Hence the description of the final overthrow of Rome in xviii. 21 must be taken as purely figurative.

ἀπόδοτε αὐτῇ ὡς καὶ αὐτὴ ἀπέδωκεν κτλ., i.e. deal out to her the same measure that she dealt to others. Cf. Jer. xxvii. (l.) 29, *ἀνταπόδοτε αὐτῇ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῆς· κατὰ πάντα ὅσα ἐποίησεν ποιήσατε αὐτῇ*: 15. *ἐκδικεῖτε ἐπ' αὐτήν· καθὼς ἐποίησεν, ποιήσατε αὐτῇ*: Ps. cxlvi. 8, *μακάριος ὃς ἀνταποδώσει σοι τὸ ἀνταπόδομά σου ὃ ἀνταπέδωκες ἡμῖν.* On this principle of *lex talionis* see the notes in my edition of *Jubilees* on iv. 31, xlvi. 14.

διπλώσατε διπλᾶ: cf. Isa. xl. 2, *ἐδέξατο ἐκ χειρὸς κυρίου*

διπλᾶ τὰ ἁμαρτήματα αὐτῆς: Jer. xvi. 18, ἀνταποδώσω . . . διπλᾶς τὰς κακίας αὐτῶν. διπλοῦν διπλᾶ is an extraordinary expression. Cf. Aesch. *Agamem.* 537, διπλᾶ δ' ἔτισαν Πριαμίδαι θάμάρτια.

But in Aeschylus the διπλοῦς is used purely as an adjective, whereas in our text it is a noun. For this use cf. Ex. xxii. 3, 6, 8. In the first passage we have διπλᾶ in the LXX (דִּיפְלָא), in the second τὸ (?) διπλοῦν, and in the third διπλοῦν, i.e. ἀποτίσει διπλοῦν τῷ πλησίον. Cf. also Zech. ix. 12, διπλᾶ ἀνταποδώσω.

ἐν τῷ ποτηρίῳ κτλ.: cf. xiv. 8, xvii. 4. This cup is the cup of the wrath of God. Cf. 2 Bar. xiii. 8, in which the Romans also are addressed.

"Ye who have drunken the strained wine
Drink ye also of its dregs,
The judgment of the Lofty One
Who has no respect of persons."

7. In this verse it is a question whether the speaker is a heavenly being or the Seer who wrote this vision.

δοῦσα . . . τοσούτων. The torment and grief (or "misfortune") of Rome are to be proportionate to her self-glorification and wantonness. Cf. Isa. iii. 16, 17, ἀνθ' ὧν ὑψώθησαν αἱ θυγατέρες Σειῶν . . . καὶ ταπεινώσει ὁ θεὸς ἀρχούσας θυγατέρας Σειῶν: Prov. xxix. 23, ὕβρις ἀνδρα ταπεινοί: Luke xiv. 11, etc. On the probability that πένθος, which occurs twice in this verse, is to be rendered "misfortune" or "calamity," or that it is a translation of a corrupt form in the Hebrew original, see note on ver. 8.

ὅτι ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῆς λέγει . . . ἴδω. These lines reproduce freely Isa. xlvii. 7, 8, . . . בָּרַח לְעוֹלָם מִפְּנֵי הָאֵל וְלֹא אָשָׁב אֶלְנִי אֶלֶּה . . . בְּלִבְכָּה. But the LXX is not followed, which here gives εἰπας εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ἔσομαι ἀρχουσα . . . ἢ λέγουσα ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῆς . . . οὐ καθιῶ χήρα οὐδὲ γινώσκειν ὀρφανείαν. We should observe that for κάθημαι we should expect καθίζω (see note on iii. 21) if this chapter were from the hand of our author. As a parallel to our text, the boast of Tyre in Ezek. xxviii. 2 should be compared and also the self-glorification attributed to Rome in 2 Bar. xii. 3.

8. Because of (ὅτι . . . διὰ τοῦτο) Rome's pride and self-confidence she shall be overthrown suddenly.

ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ ἥξουσιν. Isa. xlvii. still influences our writer; for these words are derived from the Massoretic ver. 9, where the LXX (B) renders ἥξει . . . ἐπὶ σὲ ἐν τῇ φαρμακίᾳ σου. But MA etc. agree with Mass. It is noteworthy that εἰς is postpositive in ix. 12, 13, but prepositive in viii. 13, xvii. 12, 13, 17, xviii. 8, 10, 16, 19, xix. 17.

† θάνατος καὶ πένθος καὶ λιμός †. We might compare vi. 8. It must be confessed that πένθος ("mourning") cannot with any justice be reckoned under the category of plagues. But first of all the presence of λιμός suggests that θάνατος here as in vi. 8 and frequently in the O.T. = 𐤠𐤓, "pestilence." In that case the natural order would be λιμός κ. θάνατος κ. πένθος. Now returning to πένθος, it is possible that it should be rendered here according to a rare meaning by "calamity," "misfortune" (cf. Pindar, *Isth.* vi. (vii.) 51, ἔτλαν δὲ πένθος οὐ φάτον: Herod. iii. 14). If so, we should translate "famine and pestilence and misfortune." But the error may be due to a corruption in the Semitic original. Thus πένθος = 𐤠𐤓, corrupt for 𐤠𐤓𐤕. If this is right, we obtain an excellent sense—"famine and pestilence and destruction." The approach of the Parthians from the East under Nero would cut off food supplies from Rome and lead to famine, in the train of which pestilence would soon follow. The third plague would then prepare for the destruction of Rome by fire. Or, since the writer has, as has been shown on 7, borrowed freely from Isa. xlvii. 7, 8, it is possible that 𐤠𐤓 (= πένθος) may be a corruption of 𐤠𐤓𐤕 in Isa. xlvii. 8—"famine and pestilence and loss of children." But the former restoration is to be preferred.

ἐν πυρὶ κατακαυθήσεται. The judgment of Rome by fire, which according to xvii. 16 is to be executed by Nero and the Parthian kings, is here declared to come from God in the first instance. On the judgment by fire cf. Jer. l. 32, li. 25, 30, 32, 58.

ἰσχυρὸς ὁ θεὸς ὁ κρίνας αὐτήν. The translator of this chapter is fond of the word ἰσχυρός = cf. 2, 10, 21. Outside this chapter it occurs only five times in the Apocalypse: cf. Jer. xxvii. (l.) 34, ὁ λυτρούμενος αὐτοὺς ἰσχυρὸς . . . κρίσιν κρινεῖ πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιδίκους αὐτοῦ. This κρίνας points to the fact that the decree of judgment has already been passed on Rome.

9-10. The dirge chanted over the conflagration of Rome by the kings, 9-10, by the merchant princes of the earth, 11-16, and the shipowners and sailors of the world, 17-19. The author is influenced by the doom song pronounced by Ezekiel over Tyre, Ezek. xxvi.-xxviii.

9-10. Cf. Ezek. xxvi. 16-17, where the princes of the sea mourn over Tyre.

κλαύσονται καὶ κόψονται ἐπὶ αὐτῇ: cf. 2 Sam. i. 12, ἐκόψαντο . . . καὶ ἔκλαυσαν . . . ἐπὶ. Hence our text = "shall weep and mourn over" (= 𐤕𐤕 𐤠𐤓𐤕 𐤠𐤓𐤕). See also 11, 15, 19.

οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς: cf. vi. 15 (see note), xvii. 2, 18, xviii. 3. These kings are the heads of the heathen nations. Foremost amongst them are princes subject to or in alliance with

Rome; for, as the next clause shows, they have been deeply affected by her influence. They are distinct from the Parthian kings who destroy Rome, xvii. 16.

οἱ μετ' αὐτῆς πορνεύσαντες: cf. xvii. 2, xviii. 3. *στηνιδέσαντες*. They too had lived wantonly like Rome: cf. 3.

ὅταν βλέπωσιν . . . αὐτῆς. This clause recurs in 18.

τῆς πυρώσεως. The prophecy of Rome's destruction by fire is dwelt on again and again: cf. xvii. 16, xviii. 8, 18.

10. ἀπὸ μακρόθεν: cf. 15 (see note), 17; Matt. xxvi. 58; Mark v. 6, viii. 3, etc.

διὰ τὸν φόβον . . . αὐτῆς. This phrase recurs in 15.

οὐαὶ οὐαὶ ἡ πόλις κτλ. This construction is not found in the N.T. except in Luke vi. 25^b; but it occurs frequently in the LXX: cf. Isa. v. 8, 11, 20, 21, 22; Hab. ii. 6, 12, 19; Zeph. ii. 5; Amos v. 18, where the R.V. rightly renders: "woe unto." Hence the rendering here, as in these passages, should be, "Woe, woe to the great city." The construction suggests the writer's acquaintance with the LXX. Our author's construction is οὐαὶ with the dat.: cf. viii. 13.

μὲ ὄρα: cf. 8, 16, 19.

11-16. The merchants of the earth take up their dirge over Rome.

11. οἱ ἔμποροι τῆς γῆς. In Ezek. xxvii. 12-24 the various nations that had commercial relations with Tyre are enumerated.

κλαίουσιν καὶ πενθοῦσιν ἐπ' αὐτῇ: cf. 9, 15, 19; Mark xvi. 10; Luke vi. 25; Jas. iv. 9. This combination is found in Neh. i. 4.

γόμενον = ship's freight or cargo: cf. Acts xxi. 3. The vastness of the commerce of Rome may be inferred from the following passages, which are all taken from Wetstein; Galen, *De Antidot.*, i. 4, ἐὰν ἐν Ῥώμῃ κατοικῶμεν, εἰς ἣν ἐξ ἀπάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν καθ' ἑκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἐξικνουῖνται πάμπολλα . . . εἰς ἣν τὰ πανταχόθεν ἦκε καλὰ διὰ παντὸς ἔτους: Pliny, *H.N.* vi. 26, "Minima computatione millies centena millia sestertium annis omnibus India et Seres peninsulae illa imperio nostro adimunt": Aristides, *In Rom.*, p. 200, ἄγεται δὲ ἐκ πάσης γῆς καὶ θαλάττης, ὅσα ὥραι φύουσιν, καὶ χώραι ἐκάσται φέρουσι, καὶ ποταμοί, καὶ λίμναι, καὶ τέχναι Ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων ὥστε εἰ τις ταῦτα πάντα ἐπιθεῖν βούλοιτο, δαί αὐτὸν ἢ πᾶσαν εἰσελθόντα τὴν οἰκουμένην οὕτω θεάσασθαι, ἢ ἐν τῇδε τῇ πόλει γενόμενον . . . τοσαῦται δὲ ἀφικνουῖνται δεῦρο κομίζουσαι παρὰ πάντων ὀλκάδες, ἀνὰ πᾶσαν μὲν ὥραν, πᾶσαν δὲ φθινόπωρον περιτροπὴν, ὥστ' οἰκῆναι τὴν πόλιν κοινῇ τινὶ τῆς γῆς ἐργαστηρίῳ. φόρους μὲν ἀπ' Ἰνδῶν, εἰ βούλει δὲ καὶ τῶν εὐδαιμόνων Ἀράβων τοσοῦτους ὀρᾶν ἐστίν, ὥστε εἰκάζειν γυμνὰ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῖς ἐκεῖ λελεῖφθαι τὰ δάνδρα. . . Ἑσθῆτας δ' αἱ Βαβυλωνίας, καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἐπέκεινα βαρβάρου κόσμου. . . Πάντα ἐνταῦθα συμπίπτει,

ἐμπορίαι, ναυταλῑαί, γεωργίαι, μετάλλων κάθαρσις, τέχναι ὅποσαι εἰσὶ τε καὶ γεγένηται, πάντα ὅσα γεννᾶται καὶ φύεται. ὁ τι δ' ἂν μὴ ἐνταῦθα ἴδοι τις, οὐκ ἔστι τῶν γενομένων ἢ γιγνομένων. In the Talmud, *Qidd.* 49^b, it is stated that "Ten measures of wealth came down into the world: Rome received nine, and all the world one."

Since 23° cannot stand in its present context, it may originally have stood after 11^a, and so this verse may have run as follows:

11^a "And the merchants of the earth weep and mourn over her,
23° For thy merchants were the princes of the earth,
11^b For no man buyeth their merchandise any more."

12-13. These two verses give a list of the articles imported by Rome from all quarters of the world. Holtzmann has recognized that the first four articles mentioned (*i.e.* precious stones) harmonize rhythmically with the next four, consisting of costly garments. But further examination of the passage shows that it consists, according to the present text, of nine lines. That the first four of these consist of two couplets there can be no doubt, but great difficulty attaches to the method of dealing with the remaining five lines. If they are to be retained as they stand, it might be best to regard them as consisting of a tristich and a distich:

"And cinnamon and spice and incense,
And ointment and frankincense and wine,
And oil and fine flour and wheat:
And beasts and sheep [and horses
And chariots and slaves] and souls of men."

But it is probable that the words I have bracketed are an interpolation; for (1) their syntax—genitives where there ought to be accusatives—is wholly anomalous. It is without a real parallel in the abnormal style of our author, and is still more at variance with the much more grammatical style of this chapter, which, as we have elsewhere seen, comes from an independent source. (2) The same ideas are repeated in immediate proximity under different forms; for "slaves" and "souls of men" are here synonymous.

κτήνη, as is shown in the notes on 13 = draught cattle, *i.e.* horses, asses, etc., and thus the mention of horses separately, as in the present text, is wholly gratuitous. Now, if we excise as a gloss, which has crept in from the margin, the words "and horses and chariots and slaves," we get rid of the anomalous syntax, and of the meaningless repetitions in the last line, and

recover the original text of 12-13, consisting of four stanzas of two lines each. The last stanza then would be :

“And oil and fine flour and wheat,
And beasts and sheep and souls of men.”

The dramatic forcibleness of what seems at first a purely prosaic list of imports is in the highest degree impressive, closing as it does in the climax—

“And beasts and sheep and souls of men.”

12. On the various articles mentioned in 12-13 the Bible Dictionaries should be consulted. Most of them are to be found in the imports of Tyre: Ezek. xxvii. 12-24, *i.e.* gold, silver, precious stones, fine linen, purple, brass, iron, all spices, oil, wheat, cattle, sheep, horses, and the souls of men.

βυσσίνου: cf. xix. 8.

σιρικοῦ (so the uncials. The usual form is σηρικοῦ). This word (= “silk”) is a *ἀπ. λεγ.* in Biblical Greek, but it was used frequently by Greek writers after Alexander’s time. How commonly it was used in Rome about 70 A.D. may be inferred from the words of Josephus (*B.J.* vii. 5. 4), who describes the triumphant army of Vespasian and Titus as being clothed ἐν ἐσθήσιν σηρिकाῖς, ἐστεφανωμένοι δάφναις.

καὶ πᾶν ξύλον θύινον. The construction here changes and ξύλον is governed directly by ἀγοράζει. This change may be due not to a slip on the part of the translator, but to a right rendering of his text. The οὐδεὶς ἀγοράζει is to be taken closely with πᾶν ξύλον (= *גַּם כֹּל . . . שֶׁאֵין קוֹרֵי כֶסֶף*) = “no one buyeth any thyine wood.” Hence καὶ πᾶν ξύλον θύινον should be rendered “or any thyine wood” and not as in the A.V. and R.V. “and all thyine wood.” Of course it is possible that the translator ought to have rendered παντὸς ξύλου, but, so far as the Hebrew before him went, the acc. was not only a possible but probably the right rendering.

θύινον. This wood most probably came from *Thuia articulata*, a tree which grew in N. Africa. It was known to the Greeks as *θύα*, *θύον*, or *θυία*, to the Romans as *citrus*. It was much used in the making of costly tables: cf. Martial, xiv. 87, “Mensa citrea.” Seneca (quoted by Swete from Mayor on Juv. i. 137) had (according to Dio, lxi. 10. 3) 300 such tables with ivory feet.

λεφάντινον. Ivory was largely used, as Swete states, by wealthy Romans in the decoration of furniture, quoting Juv. xi. 120 sqq.

13. κιννάμωμον. In the O.T. cinnamon appears thrice among aromatic spices. It is the *Cassia lignea* and was

imported, as it still is, from China. It was much used in Rome, as we can infer from Plautus, Propertius, Lucan, Martial.

ἀμωμον. This perfumed unguent was derived from a shrub of Eastern origin (Virg. *Ecl.* iv. 25, "Assyrium vulgo nascetur amomum"). It was well known at Rome: Mart. viii. 77: "Si sapis, Assyrio semper tibi crinis amomo splendeat": Statius Silv. i. 113: "Nec pingui crinem deducere amomo cessavit" (quoted by Wetstein). Theophrastus, ix. 7, is uncertain whether it was derived from Media or India. Pliny, *H.N.* xii. 28, mentions this costly unguent for the hair.

θυμιάματα. See v. 8, λίβανος: cf. viii. 3.

σεμίδαλιν (=σῆδ). This word, meaning fine flour, is not found elsewhere in the N.T. though frequent in the LXX. Pliny, *H.N.* xiii. 21, refers to it: "Similago ex tritico fit laudatissimo."

σίτον. Egypt was the granary of Rome.

κτήνη. This word generally means flocks and herds, but it can also mean draught cattle or beasts for riding: hence horses or asses: cf. Luke x. 34; Acts xxiii. 24. That κτήνος could mean "a horse" is to be inferred also from Gen. viii. 19, where the Hebrew is רכש, which clearly the Greek translators read as רכש (= "horse"), and from Num. xvi. 32, where the translators again read רכש instead of רכש (= "substance"). From these facts we conclude that κτήνη means all kinds of cattle for draught or riding. Hence there is no real need for the word ἵππων which follows, as it is already included in κτήνη. Horses are mentioned among the imports of Tyre in Ezek. xxvii. 13 sq.

[καὶ ἵππων . . . σωμάτων.] I have already given in the introductory note on 12-13 the grounds on which these words are to be excised as an interpolation. The absolutely anomalous genitive here is, so far as I am aware, universally explained by inserting γόμον before it. Thus Holtzmann and Bousset remark here that as in 12 the gen. passes over into the acc., so here the acc. returns again into the gen. But, as I have shown on 12, the acc. can not only be accounted for, but probably justified: whereas nothing can justify the present genitives between a series of accusatives preceding and an acc. following. They are therefore to be regarded as an interpolation.

βεδῶν. The βέδη came, according to Quintilian (i. 5. 5), from Gaul and was a vehicle with four wheels (Isid. *Etym.* xx. 12). Cicero used it, and apparently it became fashionable at Rome.

σώματα. This word is used to translate נִשְׁמָת ("souls") in the LXX of Gen. xxxvi. 6. It is also used elsewhere in the LXX in the sense of "slaves": cf. Gen. xxxiv. 29; Tob. x. 11 (σώματα καὶ κτήνη); Bel 32 (Theod.), δύο σώματα καὶ δύο πρόβατα: 2 Macc.

viii. 11. This non-Attic usage of the word arose apparently in Egypt, as the Papyri show, and later established itself in Greek generally. Hence a slave dealer is called a *σωματέμπορος* and a slave house *σωματοτροφεῖον*.

ψυχὰς ἀνθρώπων. This phrase is borrowed from Ezek. xxvii. 13, *οὗτοι ἐνεπορεύοντό σοι ἐν ψυχαῖς ἀνθρώπων* (דָּבָר בְּנֶפֶשׁ). The phrase occurs also in 1 Chron. v. 21, but there it does not mean slaves as here.

14. This verse, as Vitringa, and in modern times Ewald (2nd ed.), Volkmar, B. Weiss, and Moffatt have recognized, is here out of place. These scholars have restored it after 23^d, but the present writer is of opinion that it originally stood after 21, where he has restored it in this edition.

15. This verse resumes the dirge of the merchants over Rome, from which the writer had turned aside to describe the nature and extent of their commerce with Rome.

οἱ ἔμποροι τούτων — i.e. the merchants who dealt in the merchandise mentioned in 12-13: cf. 23. This phrase in itself, as B. Weiss observes, unconditionally excludes the presence of 14 where it stands in the text.

οἱ πλουτήσαντες ἀπ' αὐτῆς: cf. 3, 19.

ἀπὸ μακρόθεν στήσονται: cf. 10, *ἀπὸ μακρόθεν ἰστηκότες*: 17, *ἀπὸ μακρόθεν ἔστησαν*.

διὰ τὸν φόβον τοῦ βασιανισμοῦ αὐτῆς. This phrase has already occurred in 10.

κλαίοντες κ. πενθοῦντες: cf. 9, 11, 19.

16. On this construction of *οὐαί* see note on 10. *ἡ πόλις ἡ μεγάλη*: cf. 10, 19, xvii. 18. *ἡ περιβεβλημένη πορφυροῦν καὶ κόκκινον*. Repeated from xvii. 4. *καχυρσωμένη χρυσίῳ . . . μαργαρίτῃ*. Repeated from xvii. 4. *μὴ ὦρα ἡρημώθῃ*. Repeated in 19. A corresponding clause in the dirge of the kings is found in 10.

17-19. Dirge of the seafolk. Cf. Ezek. xxvii. 28-29 on Tyre.

17. *κυβερνήτης*. This word means "shipmaster" or captain as distinct from *ναύκληρος* = "shipowner." In Acts xxvii. 11 we have *τῷ κυβερνήτῃ καὶ τῷ ναυκλήρῳ* = "the captain and the shipowner." Cf. Plutarch, *Moralia*, 807 B, *ναύτας μὲν ἐκλέγεται κυβερνήτης καὶ κυβερνήτην ναύκληρος*: Artemidorus, i. 37, *ἄρχει δὲ . . . πρῶτως ὁ κυβερνήτης, κυβερνήτου δὲ ὁ ναύκληρος*. The word *κυβερνήτης* is a rendering of *לָּהָן* in Ezek. xxvii. 8, 27, 28, where it means "pilots." In Jon. i. 6 it means "a sailor," for the captain is called *לָּהָן בָּר*, or "chief of the sailors."

ὁ ἐπὶ τόπον πλέων = "Every one that saileth any whither" (R.V.). Cf. Acts xxvii. 2, *πλεῖν εἰς τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν τόπους*. But the expression is a strange one, and there is much to be said for Nestle's (*Textual Criticism of the N.T.*, p. 168) correction

of *τοπον* into *πότον*, i.e. *πόντον*. At all events Primasius supports this emendation: "omnis super mare navigans."

ὅσοι τὴν θάλασσαν ἐργάζονται, "gain their living by the sea" (R.V.), lit. "work the sea." This is good classical Greek. Thus Hesiod (*Theog.* 440) has οἱ γλαυκὴν δυσπέμφελον ἐργάζονται: Dion. Hal. *A.* iii. 46, τὴν αὐτὴν ἐργάζετο . . . θάλασσαν: Appian, *Ρωμ.*, p. 2, τὴν θάλασσαν . . . ἐργαζόμενοι. For abundant illustrations of this idiom, see Wetstein *in loc.* What the Hebrew equivalent of the clause is is uncertain: possibly דַּיְתָהָם דִּירְתָהָם = "who trade on the sea": cf. Gen. xxxiv. 10, 21, xlii. 34. The corresponding phrase ἐργάζεσθαι τὴν γῆν is also good Greek and likewise good Hebrew: cf. Gen. ii. 5, 15, iii. 23, iv. 2; but the verb used in this connection רָבַץ would not serve for the clause in our text.

ἀπὸ μακρόθεν ἔστησαν. Cf. 10, 15.

18. βλέποντες τὸν καπνὸν τῆς πυρώσεως αὐτῆς. This is the exact equivalent of the ὅταν . . . αὐτῆς clause in 9.

18-19. The last clause of 18 and the first clause of 19 are dependent on Ezek. xxvii. 30-32. Thus τίς ὁμοία τῇ πόλει τῇ μεγάλῃ recalls Ezekiel's words with regard to Tyre, xxvii. 32, "who is like unto Tyre?" Here תִּיכָרֵם is rendered in the LXX by τίς ὥσπερ Τύρος; Next, ἔβαλον χοῦν ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν is from xxvii. 30, "They shall cast up dust upon their heads" (דָּחֲפוּ אֶת־הָעָפָר עַל־רִאשֵׁיהֶם). Here the LXX presupposes quite a different and corrupt text (ἐπιθήσουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῶν γῆν καὶ σποδὸν στρώσονται). The same Hebrew clause is found in Josh. vii. 6 and Lam. ii. 10. In the former passage the LXX renders it almost as in our text. Even ἔκραξαν κλαίοντες καὶ πενθοῦντες seems to be suggested by Ezek. xxvii. 30, 31, "they shall cry" (LXX κεκράζονται) . . . "they shall weep" (LXX —Α only—κλαύσονται). But the combination κλαίοντες καὶ πενθοῦντες has already occurred in the text in 11, 15.

οἳ αἱ ἡ πόλις. See note on 10.

ἐπλούτησαν. Cf. 3, 15.

† ἐκ τῆς τιμιότητος αὐτῆς ὅτι μὲν ὥρα ἡρημώθη †. The text is here corrupt. This becomes apparent, if we compare the corresponding clauses in the woes pronounced by the kings in 10, ὅτι μὲν ὥρα ἦλθεν ἡ κρίσις σου, and by the merchants in 16, ὅτι μὲν ὥρα ἡρημώθη ὁ τοσοῦτος πλοῦτος. These parallel clauses lead us to expect a definite subject to be added after ἡρημώθη in 19 as there is after the verbs in 10, 16. Now we discover in the corrupt phrase ἐκ τῆς τιμιότητος αὐτῆς, the subject needed for ἡρημώθη, i.e. ἡ τιμιότης αὐτῆς. Thus the final clause of the text should run: ὅτι μὲν ὥρα ἡρημώθη ἡ τιμιότης αὐτῆς. Thus this clause is brought into line with the corresponding clauses in 10,

16, and the woe pronounced by the seafolk falls naturally into three lines as the woe of the kings in 10.

"Woe, woe unto the great city,
Wherein were made rich all that had their ships at sea;
For in one hour are her precious things laid waste."

The corruption can be explained best through the Hebrew. The original = **כִּי בִשְׁעָה אַחַת נִשְׂם הַזֶּה**. The corruption could have arisen through an accidental doubling of the **ם** (hence **מְהִינָה**) and the subsequent transposition of **מְהִינָה** before **כִּי** in order to give some intelligible sense to the passage. Hence **נִשְׂם מְהִינָה כִּי בִשְׁעָה אַחַת** the source of our corrupt text.

21-24. This section, embracing as it does 14 and 20, consists of a song of doom preluded by a symbolic action, the original idea of which is derived from Jer. li. 63, 64. This dirge is not put in the mouth of some particular class. The speaker is the Seer who wrote the original oracle, which has been utilized here by our author. Some attempts here have been made to adapt it to its new context. Thus the insertion of the phrase **καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι** in 20 is due to our author, and most probably the last clause of 23 and the whole of 24. The penultimate clause of 23 is either a gloss or should probably be restored after the first clause in 11. A line has probably been lost in 22.

21. **καὶ ἦρεν εἰς ἄγγελος ἰσχυρός κτλ.** Here as in v. 2, x. 1 we have the phrase **ἀγγ. ἰσχυρός**. The writer had Jer. li. 63, 64 in his mind: "And it shall be, when thou hast made an end of reading this book, that thou shalt bind a stone to it, and cast it into the midst of the Euphrates: and thou shalt say, Thus shall Babylon sink and shall not rise again." There may also be a reminiscence of Ezekiel's words with regard to Tyre, xxvi. 21. Cf. also *Or. Sib.* v. 158 sqq., on the destruction of Babylon by a great star.

λίθον ὡς μύλινον μέγαν. The particle **ὡς** shows that it is not a millstone that is referred to here, but that what the Seer saw in the vision recalled the idea of such a stone. The stone was probably the **μύλος δνικός**, seeing it is defined as **μέγας**. To turn such a stone an ass was needed.

οὕτως ὀρμήματι βληθήσεται. It is not quite clear what **ὀρμήματι** means here. It is rendered by Weizsäcker and Swete "with a rush": cf. Deut. (LXX) xxviii. 49; 1 Macc. vi. 33. This rendering is in keeping with the symbol of the boulder hurled down into the sea, but it is not in keeping with the thing symbolized—the destruction of Rome by fire by Nero and the Parthians. The rendering of the A.V. and Holtzmann, "with violence," suits the figure, but how it can be justified is not clear.

Perhaps ὀργημα has here the meaning which belongs to it in the LXX in Hos. v. 10 (also in Symm.), Amos i. 11, Hab. iii. 8, i.e. "indignation" = עֲרִיבָה. This would suit the attitude alike of heaven and the Parthian hosts towards Rome. But the matter is uncertain.

ἡ μεγάλη πόλις. The order of the words as regards this particular adjective is not that of our author (see note on xvi. 1) nor of the rest of the source here used by him.

οὐ μὴ εὐρεθῇ ἔτι. Cf. Ezek. xxvi. 21 in reference to Tyre.

14. This verse forms the opening stanza of the Seer's dirge over Rome. It consists of four stanzas of four lines each. These four stanzas are followed by two stanzas of three lines each. The text has suffered owing to one or perhaps two disturbing glosses and the loss of a line in the second stanza.

δώρα—ripe fruit. This word, like the Hebrew יֵרֵב, means first late summer or autumn, and next the fruits that then ripen. Cf. Jer. xl. 10, 12. The phrase σου τῆς ἐπιθυμίας τῆς ψυχῆς is a literal rendering of יְשׁוּבָה לְנֶפֶשׁ (cf. Deut. xii. 15, 20, 21, xiv. 26, Hebrew and LXX). The unemphatic or vernacular use of σου here should be observed. That σου is unemphatic is shown independently by its absence from the parallel verse. σου follows ψυχῆς in the LXX.

τὰ λιπαρά. This phrase denotes the things that belong to a rich and sumptuous mode of life. Possibly food is specially referred to here. At all events λιπαρός is, in the few cases where it occurs in the LXX, a rendering of יָבֵשׁ, which primarily and generally means oil or fat. It is used in Ezek. xvi. 13, Prov. xxi. 17, as a sign of luxury, and refers undoubtedly to rich food. Cf. also Isa. xxx. 23.

τὰ λαμπρά. It is difficult to assign a definite meaning to this phrase. Probably it indicates the well-ordered magnificence in which the "pride of life" exhibits itself. Perhaps we might render "the splendours."

καὶ οὐκέτι . . . εὐρήσουσιν. There can hardly be a doubt as to this clause being a gloss. Without it the stanza consists of four lines, as do the three succeeding stanzas. See Intro. to this Chap., § 4. We should observe that our author uses οὐ μὴ with the aorist subjunctive.

22-23. These verses have suffered severely in the course of transmission. We have already seen that 20 (see p. 92) should be restored after 23^b. After a dirge of four stanzas of four lines each (= 14, 22, 23^{a-d}) the Seer in the original source calls upon heaven and the saints on earth to rejoice over the doom of Rome. But this is not all. In 22 there has been a loss of some words, while in 23 there is an addition to the

text which is not only meaningless but is also against the structure of the stanza.

22. This verse consists of two stanzas of four lines each. But the second line of the first stanza and one of the words of the third line have been lost. These losses can, however, easily be restored. It is obvious, from a comparison of the remaining stanzas, that *φωνή κιθαρωδῶν καὶ μουσικῶν καὶ αὐλητῶν καὶ σαλπιστῶν* is too long: in fact these words are but the relics of three lines, and the whole stanza is to be read as follows:

καὶ φωνὴ κιθαρωδῶν καὶ μουσικῶν
 <οὐ μὴ ἀκουσθῇ ἐν σοὶ ἐτι>
 καὶ <φωνή> αὐλητῶν καὶ σαλπιστῶν
 οὐ μὴ ἀκουσθῇ ἐν σοὶ ἐτι.

The omission may have been due to a lazy scribe, who failed to see that he was transcribing verse, and thought that the sense was not affected by his compression of the text. The student of MSS is not unacquainted with such arbitrary proceedings.

φωνή κιθαρωδῶν καὶ †μουσικῶν † = "the voice of the harpers and singers." The writer had Ezekiel's words against Tyre (xxvi. 13) in his mind:

"I will cause the noise of the songs to cease
 And the sound of thy harps shall be no more heard."

He adopted the words "shall be no more heard," and instead of speaking of "harps" changes this word into "harpers" and "songs" into "singers," though as we shall see presently the text used by the Greek translator may have been corrupt here. Thus the first two lines would be somewhat as follows:

לְשׁוֹרֵי מְנַנִּים לִירָי
 אֲשֶׁר בְּךָ שָׁמַע אֶלֶּ

while the next two lines would speak similarly of the fluteplayers and trumpeters.

But to return to *μουσικῶν*, it will be seen that I have rendered it "singers" on the strength of the context (*i.e.* that we must here have a specific and not a generic term) and of Ezek. xxvi. 13 (quoted above). Now in classical Greek *μουσικός* never appears to mean "a singer," nor in later Greek, unless it is a translation from the Hebrew. It has been thought by some scholars that in 1 Macc. ix. 39, 41, ὁ νύμφιος ἐξῆλθεν καὶ οἱ φίλοι αὐτοῦ . . . μετὰ τυμπάνων καὶ μουσικῶν καὶ ὀπλων πολλῶν . . . καὶ μετεστράφη . . . φωνὴ μουσικῶν αὐτῶν εἰς θρήνον, the word *μουσικῶν* may mean "singers"; but the fact that it stands between *τυμπάνων* and *ὀπλων* does not favour this

view. Cf. Gen. xxxi. 27, μετὰ μουσικῶν (= מְרִיץ) καὶ τυμπάνων. In 1 Esdr. iv. 63 the meaning is uncertain: ἐκωθονίζοντο μετὰ μουσικῶν (= "songs" or "musical instruments") καὶ χαρᾶς: But cf. v. 2, 59, Dan. iii. 5, 7, 10, 15, where it = "musical instruments," or "music." However, if it be conceded that the word in some of these passages means "singers," then this otherwise unattested meaning, appearing as it does in translations from the Hebrew, is in some way due to the Hebrew text. Only in one case does μουσικός appear as = "a singer," in a passage which none of the commentators has noticed, i.e. T. Jud. xxiii. 2, τὰς θυγατέρας ὑμῶν μουσικάς καὶ δημοσίας ποιήσετε. Here the Greek is a translation from the Hebrew, and even here the rendering "minstrels" would accord better alike with the context and the etymology than "singers."¹ In other passages in the LXX μουσικά = "songs." Cf. Gen. xxxi. 27; Ezek. xxvi. 13; Sir. xxii. 6, xxxv. 3, 5, 6, xliv. 5, xlix. 1. From this examination of the word it follows that μουσικῶν means either "song" or "music," but never save in T. Jud. xxiii. 2 does it mean "singer" or rather "minstrel." And yet our text makes the meaning of "singers" indispensable. Hence we conclude either that μουσικῶν here = "singers,"—a meaning difficult to justify,—or that it is an error due to a corruption in the source. That is, μουσικῶν = מְרִיץ, corrupt for מְרִיץ = "singers." The rendering "minstrels" (R.V.) is here inadmissible; for we cannot have a *generic* term such as "minstrel" occurring in the midst of a list of *specific* terms.

αὐλητῶν. The fluteplayer (tibicen) was in much request on the Roman stage, and at Roman festivities as well as at funerals. σαλπιστῶν. The trumpeter (tubicen) had his part in the Roman games, in the theatre and at funerals.

22^{a-h}-23. The order of these verses seems to be wrong. We should expect that the dirge, having begun with the luxuries of life and dwelt on their being brought to an end, would proceed in due gradation to the destruction of the barest necessities of life. And this expectation is confirmed by Jer. xxv. 10, which the Seer had in his mind: "I will take from them the voice of mirth and the voice of gladness, the voice of the bridegroom and the voice of the bride, the sound of the millstones and the light of the candle." If this view is right, as the present writer believes, we should rearrange as follows:

23^{cd}. And the voice of the bridegroom and the bride
Shall be heard no more in thee:

¹ Observe that in Eccles. ii. 8 מְרִיץ מְרִיץ is rendered by the LXX ἄδοντας καὶ ῥδούσας, and not by μουσικούς καὶ μουσικάς, which would mean "male and female minstrels."

22^{a-h}. And no craftsman of whatsoever craft
Shall be found any more in thee.

And the voice of the millstone
Shall be heard no more in thee:

23^{ab}. And the light of the lamp
Shall shine no more in thee.

Thus the rejoicings attendant on marriage would no more be known; the arts of civilized life would come to an end; the familiar sounds of the household mill to be heard in every hamlet would be no more heard, and the light of every lamp would be extinguished. It will be observed that by this rearrangement our text reproduces the order in Jer. xxv. 10.

23^{cd}. φωνὴ τυμφίου καὶ τύμφης. See the quotation from Jer. xxv. 10 given above. Cf. also vii. 34, xvi. 9, xxxiii. 11.

22^{a-h}. τεχνίτης κτλ. This line would embrace skilled workers in every kind of material.

φωνὴ μύλου (= מִלּוּן מִיָּד, Jer. xxv. 10). It will be observed that for φωνὴ μύλου the LXX reads δσμὴν μύρου, presupposing מִיָּד מִיָּד.

23^{ab}. φῶς λύχνου (= נֵר רֵא, Jer. xxv. 10). At this stage the Seer is not thinking of the brilliant lights and torches borne by slaves as they escorted the wealthy Romans to their homes, but simply anticipating the hour when all lights—even the meanest—will be extinguished for ever.

20. Restored to its rightful place at the close of the writer's dirge over Rome, this appeal to heaven and the saints to rejoice over its destruction is most appropriate, and forms a fitting introduction to xix., which contains the heavenly response, whereas this apostrophe, standing as it does in the MSS, comes in most awkwardly between two descriptive passages as Moffatt has already recognized. The whole verse is to be ascribed to John: Moffatt assigns it to the hand of a Christian editor.

There are, it is true, some difficulties in the style. Thus from xi. 18, xviii. 24, we should expect οἱ προφήται . . . καὶ οἱ ἅγιοι. But the fuller phrase here, οἱ ἅγιοι κ. οἱ ἀπόστολοι κ. οἱ προφῆται, may account for the difference of order. Again, κρίμα seems here to have the sense of lawsuit or case—a meaning not found elsewhere in our author: cf. xvii. 1, xix. 2, where it = sentence, judgment. But even here it can bear the latter meaning: "God hath judged your judgment (*i.e.* the judgment due to you) upon her." On the other hand, εὐφραίνεσθαι belongs to the diction of our author: cf. xii. 12, and the use of the singular οὐρανός is characteristically that of John. Hence 20 is from the hand of John: likewise 23^f-24.

This call of the Seer to heaven and its inhabitants to rejoice over the accomplished doom of Rome is formed of two tristichs: 20, 23^f-24.

εὐφραίνου. Modelled apparently on Jer. li. 48 (רִנְנוּ עַל בָּבֶל) שְׂמִי), which is not found in the LXX.

οἱ ἄγιοι καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ προφῆται: cf. xvi. 6. These must be the blessed in heaven—martyrs, apostles, and prophets: cf. xii. 12, where those addressed are the angelic hosts.

ἔκρινεν—τὸ κρίμα ὑμῶν ἐξ αὐτῆς = "hath judged your case against her" (lit. "at her cost"). This phrase is found in Lam. iii. 59, שָׁפַט מִשְׁפָּטִי, "judge Thou my cause." With the idiom ἐξ αὐτῆς cf. Ps. cxix. 84 (LXX), but here the present Hebrew text has אַ and not תָּ. Or, as is suggested above, κρίμα ἐξ αὐτῆς may here be taken in the sense of judgment. ἐξ αὐτῆς is probably to be taken as the equivalent of מִיָּדָהּ: cf. xix. 2; 2 Kings ix. 7.

23^o. [ὅτι οἱ ἔμποροι σου ἦσαν οἱ μεγιστάνες τῆς γῆς.] This line, which is based on Isa. xxiii. 8, כְּתִירָה שָׂרִים . . . נִכְבְּדוּ אֲרָץ . . . where the LXX has οἱ ἔμποροι αὐτῆς . . . ἄρχοντες τῆς γῆς. But in its present context there is no place for this line, being against the parallelism. It is also meaningless. There is no ground for saying that God destroyed Rome because its merchants were the great ones of the earth. The real reason is given by the next ὅτι clause. It is possible that this line may be a fragmentary survival of the original ending of the source used by our author. Perhaps it should be read immediately after the first clause in 11, "and the merchants of the earth—for thy merchants were the princes of the earth—weep," etc. This would be analogous to the descriptive clause added in 9 after the phrase "the kings of the earth."

23^f-24. This stanza, consisting of three lines, gives the grounds for the destruction of Rome: her leading astray of the nations by her sorcery, and her bloodguiltiness in respect of the prophets and saints and of all the righteous, who had been slain by her throughout the world.

23^f. ὅτι ἐν τῇ φαρμακίᾳ † σου † ἐπλανήθησαν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη: cf. 3^a. The σου is here corrupt for αὐτῆς. The corruption can be explained by the dislocation of the text and the influence of the preceding occurrences of the second personal pronoun. ἐν τῇ φαρμακίᾳ κτλ. Cf. Nah. iii. 4, where Nineveh is called "the mistress of witchcrafts (ἡγουμένη φαρμάκων), that selleth nations through her whoredoms and families through her witchcrafts." Cf. also Isa. xlvii. 12, where analogous charges are brought against Babylon.

24. While there is some doubt as to the provenance of 23^f

(i.e. the first line of the closing stanza), there can be none as to that of the last two lines. The *προφῆται καὶ ἄγιοι* are the Christian prophets and saints, and the subject of the last line is the universal martyrdom of the Christians apprehended by our author and regarded as accomplished at the close of xiii.

προφητῶν καὶ ἁγίων. See note on xvi. 6, xviii. 20.

αἷμα προφητῶν κτλ.: cf. Ezek. xxiv. 6, ὃ πόλις αἱμάτων: Jer. li. (LXX, xxviii.) 35, τὸ αἷμά μου ἐπὶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας Χαλδαίους, ἐρεῖ Ἱερουσαλήμ. In Matt. xxii. 35 a like charge is brought against Jerusalem: ὅπως ἐλθῇ ἐφ' ὑμᾶς πᾶν αἷμα δίκαιον ἐκχυννόμενον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. The Seer here is not thinking only of the martyrs under the Neronian persecution, nor yet of such as had already fallen under Domitian (see list of passages referring to this persecution in Lightfoot, *Ep. Clem.* i. 104-115) at the time of writing; he is rather from the standpoint of the Seer looking back on the universal martyrdom of the Christian Church as a fact already accomplished. The diction used—*πάντων τῶν ἐσφαγμένων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*—shows that it is of the martyrs that our author is thinking; for *σφάζω* has this connotation in our author's language: cf. v. 6, 9, 12, vi. 9, xiii. 8. xiii. 3 is no exception, for the Beast is therein caricaturing the Lamb. On the other hand, in vi. 4 *σφάζω* is used in a more special sense.

CHAPTER XIX.

§ 1. *Its Import.*

No real difficulty emerges in this chapter either as regards its authorship or its relation to the chapters that precede and follow it. There can be no question as to the Johannine authorship of xix. 1-8^a, 9^a, 11-21 from the standpoint of its style and diction (§ 2), and there can be no doubt as to the relevancy and indispensableness of its subject-matter (§ 4). Alike from its form and substance it receives unequivocal attestation.

The chapter opens with the response (1-3) that the heavenly hosts make *to the appeal of the Seer* in xviii. 20, who thunder forth as with the mighty voice of a great multitude their exultation over the destruction of the Harlot City and God's avenging of the saints which she had slain. The theme is taken up afresh by the Elders and the Living Creatures and by the angel of the altar of incense, 4, xvi. 5^b-7. The echoes of the closing words of this anthem have hardly ceased to reverberate, when at the summons of *a voice from the throne* (5) the glorified host of martyrs burst forth with, as it were, the voice of many waters and the voice of mighty thunderings into glad thanksgivings (6-7),

for that now at length the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth upon the earth and the advent of the kingdom of Christ is at hand. Thus, whereas the angels rejoice over the vindication of divine justice, the martyred host rejoice in that the kingdom of Christ is at hand with fresh stores of mercy and salvation for the sons of men (cf. xv. 4).

At this stage we should have expected a vision bearing on the destruction of the Parthian kings, mention of which was made proleptically in xvii. 14 (see § 4 *ad fin.*); but this vision may have been displaced by the interpolation 9^b-10 (see § 2).¹

Now that the Harlot City (and the Parthian kings) have been destroyed, there remains only the execution of judgment on the kings of the earth who had shared in the spiritual fornication and abominations of Rome (11-21). These are slain with the sword that proceeded out of the mouth of the Word of God, and the Beast and the False Prophet that deceived them were cast into the lake of fire.

§ 2. *The Diction and Idiom.*

There can be no doubt whatever that xix. 1-8^a, 11-21 comes from the hand of our author. Alike (*a*) the diction and (*b*) the idioms are his, as is shown fully in the notes on the various verses, but it will not be unhelpful to show in the case of a few verses how intimately every verse is bound up with what precedes.

(*a*) *Diction*.—1. μετὰ ταῦτα ἤκουσα. Frequent in our author. ὡς φωνὴν μεγάλην: cf. i. 15, vi. 1, 6, ix. 9, etc. μέγας is the adjective generally connected with φωνή: see xvi. 1, note.

ὄχλου πολλοῦ . . . λεγόντων: cf. vii. 9. ὄχλος πολὺς . . . ἐστῶτες. Observe the same construction κατὰ σύνεσιν. ἡ σωτηρία καὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ δύναμις τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν: cf. iv. 11, v. 12, vii. 10, xii. 10.

2. ἀληθινὰ καὶ δίκαιαι αἱ κρίσεις αὐτοῦ: cf. xv. 3.

3. ὅτι ἔκρινεν τὴν πόρνην τὴν μεγάλην: cf. xvii. 1; also 5, 16. ἡ τις ἔφθειρεν τὴν γῆν: cf. xi. 18. ἐν τῇ πορνείᾳ αὐτῆς: cf. xiv. 8, xvii. 2, xviii. 3. ἐξεδίκησεν τὸ αἷμα . . . ἕκ: cf. vi. 10.

3. καὶ ὁ καπνὸς αὐτῆς ἀναβαίνει κτλ.: cf. xiv. 11 (xviii. 9, 18).

4. ἔπесαν οἱ πρέσβυτεροι οἱ εἰκ. τέσσαρες: cf. iv. 10, v. 8, xi. 16. ἔπесαν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι . . . καὶ προσεκύνησαν: cf. xi. 16. τ. καθημένῳ ἐπὶ τ. θρόνῳ: see note on iv. 2.

XVI. 5^b-7. See notes on p. 120 sqq.

XIX. 5. φωνὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου ἐξῆλθεν: cf. xvi. 17 for the more usual order. οἱ δοῦλοι αὐτοῦ . . . μεγάλοι: almost a verbal reproduction of xi. 18, though with a limitation of meaning.

¹ 8^b is a gloss and 9^b-10 an interpolation (see notes *in loc.*), which may have displaced a vision of the destruction of the Parthian kings and their hosts by the Lamb and the glorified martyrs. See § 4, *ad finem*.

6. ὡς φωνὴν ὄχλου πολλοῦ: see note on 1. ὡς φωνὴν ὑδάτων πολλῶν: cf. i. 15, xiv. 2. ὡς φωνὴν βροντῶν: cf. vi. 1. ἐβασίλευσεν κύριος ὁ θεός, ὁ παντοκράτωρ: cf. xi. 17, εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, κύριε, ὁ θεός, ὁ παντοκράτωρ . . . ὅτι . . . ἐβασίλευσας.

7. δάσσομεν τὴν δόξαν: see note on xi. 13. ἦλθεν ὁ γάμος: cf. xi. 18 for same use of verb. ἡτοίμασεν ἑαυτὴν: cf. xxi. 2, ἡτοίμασμένην ὡς νύμφην, also ix. 7, 15, xvi. 12.

8. περιβάλλεται βύσσινον: cf. for construction vii. 9, 13, x. 1. 9^b–10. See notes *in loc.*

11. πιστὸς κ. ἀληθινός: cf. xxii. 6. πολεμεῖ: only used outside our author once in the N.T., whereas he uses it six times.

12. οἱ δὲ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς φλᾶξ πυρός: repeated from i. 14: ἔχων . . . αὐτός—a gloss, though the diction is Johannine.

14. τὰ στρατεύματα: cf. ix. 16. ἐνδεδυμένοι βύσσινον:¹ cf. i. 13, xv. 6.

15. ἐκ τοῦ στόματος ἐκπορεύεται ῥομφαία ὀξεῖα: cf. 21, i. 16,

ii. 12. ποιμανεῖ αὐτοὺς ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ: cf. ii. 27, xii. 5. πατεῖ τ. ληνὸν τοῦ οἴνου τ. θυμοῦ κτλ.: cf. xiv. 19–20, τ. ληνὸν τ. θυμοῦ τ. θεοῦ . . . καὶ ἐπατήθη ἡ ληνός.

16. βασιλεὺς βασιλέων κτλ.: cf. xvii. 14.

17. ἔκραξεν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ: see note on xiv. 15. πετομένοις ἐν μεσουρανήματι: cf. viii. 13, xiv. 6.

18. χυλιάρχων: cf. vi. 15. ἐλευθέρων . . . μεγάλων: cf. xiii. 16.

19. τ. βασιλεῖς τ. γῆς: cf. vi. 15 (xvi. 14), xxi. 24. συνηγμένα ποιῆσαι τ. πόλεμον μετὰ: cf. xvi. 14, 16, xx. 8.

20. ὁ ψευδοπροφήτης: cf. xvi. 13, xx. 10. ὁ ποιήσας τὰ σημεῖα: cf. xiii. 13, 14. ἐπλάνησεν κτλ.: cf. xiii. 14, xx. 3, etc. λαβόντας τ. χάραγμα τ. θηρίου: cf. xiv. 11, xx. 4 (xvi. 2, note). προσκυνοῦντας τ. εἰκόνα: cf. xiii. 14, xiv. 9; see note on vii. 11. ἐβλήθησαν . . . εἰς τ. λίμνην τ. πυρός . . . θείῃ: cf. xx. 10, xxi. 8.

21. τῇ ῥομφαίᾳ . . . ἐξελθοῦση ἐκ τ. στόματος αὐτοῦ: see on 15.

(δ) *Idiom*.—There are no idioms against our author's usage, while those that follow are characteristic of him.

1. ὡς φωνὴν: cf. *passim*. ὄχλου . . . λεγόντων: cf. vii. 9.

2. ἦτις = ἦ in 2: cf. i. 12, xii. 13, xvii. 12. ἐξεδίκησεν τὸ αἷμα . . . ἐκ: cf. vi. 10.

¹ βύσσινον is used as a noun only once in the LXX in the sing., Dan. x. 5^a; in the plural in the LXX in Dan. x. 5^b, xii. 6, 7; Isa. iii. 23: but in our author only in sing.; cf. xix. 8^{ab}, 14, xviii. 12, 16. This use of adjectives as nouns *in the sing.* is characteristic of the writer of xviii. Thus he uses βύσσινον as a noun in 12, 16, πορφυροῦν as a noun in 16, and in xvii. 4—which is from the same source, whereas the Fourth Gospel uses it as an adj. (cf. xix. 2, 5), κόκκινον as a noun (rare except in plural) in 12, 16 and in xvii. 4, but as an adj. in xvii. 3. I do not know of any other instances of πορφυροῦν as a noun. σιμικόν in 12; here only in Biblical Greek, though used by Plutarch, Strabo, etc.

4. προσεκύνησαν τῷ θεῷ : see note on vii. 11.
 τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ : see note on iv. 2. οἱ μικροὶ καὶ οἱ μεγάλοι : cf. xi. 18.
 5. αἰνεῖτε τῷ θεῷ : a Hebraism ; see note *in loc.*
 6. ὡς φωνὴν ὄχλου . . . λεγόντων : see note on 1.
 8. ἐδόθη αὐτῇ ἵνα : cf. ix. 5.
 11. ὁ καθημένος ἐπ' αὐτόν : see note on iv. 2.
 12. ἐπὶ τ. κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ : cf. x. 1, xiv. 14 (see *Introd.* to xiv. § 3).
 13. περιβεβλημένος—a participle used as a finite verb : see note on iv. 7, vol. i. p. 104.
 14. αὐτῷ ἐφ' ἵπποις. The dat. after ἐπὶ here seems due to αὐτῷ : cf. our author's usage where καθημένον is followed by gen. in 18, 19, 21, and where καθημένῳ is followed by dat. : iv. 9, v. 13, vii. 10, etc.
 15. ποιμανεῖ : here used as equivalent to "will break" : see note on ii. 27.
 16. ἐπὶ τὸν μηρὸν . . . γεγραμμένον : cf. iii. 12, γράψω ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὸ ὄνομα.
 18. καθημένων ἐπ' αὐτῶν : cf. 19, 21 : see note on iv. 2.
 20. προσκυνοῦντας τ. εἰκόνα : see note on vii. 11.

§ 3. xix. 9^b-10 an Interpolation.

See note *in loc.*

§ 4. The Structure of the Book requires xix. 1-4, xvi. 5^a-7, xix. 5-8, 9^c, 11-21.

xix. 1-4, xvi. 5^b-7, xix. 5-8 is the heavenly response to the Seer's appeal in xviii. 20. 9^a contains the fourth of the seven beatitudes. The contents of xix. 11-21, which have already been proleptically described in xiv. 14, 18-20, xvi. 14, 16, are here seen in their due chronological connection, as the necessary prelude to xx.-xxii. The kings of the earth, who had shared in the idolatries and abominations of Rome, here meet with just doom, while the Beast and the False Prophet are cast down into the lake of fire. Only one more event must intervene before the advent of the heavenly Jerusalem, and this—the chaining of Satan—is witnessed in xx. 1-3.

There appears, however, to be a lacuna in this chapter. Where the interpolation (9^b-10) stands we should expect a vision relating to the destruction of the Parthian kings. In xviii. we have the vision of the destruction of the Harlot City which had in an earlier chapter been spoken of proleptically as though already accomplished : cf. xiv. 8. In xix. 11-21 we have a vision of the destruction of the kings of the earth and the final

doom of the Beast and the False Prophet in their due chronological sequence, save in one respect, and this is, that after the destruction of Rome and before the destruction of the kings of the earth there ought to be a vision of the destruction of the Parthian kings—a destruction that has already been referred to proleptically in xvii. 14 (see 12-13, 17, 16, 14). A short vision to this effect may have been displaced by the interpolation xix. 9^b-10.

§ 5. *The Method of our author elsewhere in this Book is observed here.*

In xix. 1-8 our author pursues the method already familiar to us in preceding chapters, in accordance with which over against a vision of the tribulation of the faithful is set one of their deliverance and triumph, or over against a vision of coming judgment on the enemies of Christ is set one of the ultimate blessedness of the redeemed.

Thus xix. 1-4, xvi. 5^b-7, xix. 5-8, which sets forth the joy of the angels on the dooms just executed on Rome and the joy of the glorified martyrs on the impending advent of the kingdom, is not only a heavenly response to the appeal of the Seer in xviii. 20, but the counterpart we expect of the dread judgments culminating in xvii.-xviii. With this notable contrast we might compare earlier analogous contrasts on this Book. Thus xv. 2-3, which comes in reality immediately after xiii. (since xiv. is entirely proleptic), brings out the glaring contrast between the universal martyrdom of the faithful in xiii. and the blessed inheritance on which they entered forthwith in heaven itself. Also in xiv. 1-5 we have a parallel to xv. 2-3 in contrast to xiii., where the visions were of such a nature as to daunt the faith-fullest heart, as they foretold the destruction of all God's servants. In like manner xi. 14-18 comes in as a contrast to the tribulations depicted in xi. 1-13 and the still darker visions that follow in xii.-xiii., claiming as it does that already, however great may appear the triumph of the Antichrist, it is but a passing one, and that the issues of the strife are already made known to the hosts of heaven. Once more, after the account of the Seals is placed the vision of the great multitude in heaven, vii. 9-17.

On every ground, therefore, whether we regard the diction, the idioms, the due development of events in the Book, or the method pursued in this chapter, we conclude that it is the undoubted product of his pen.

1-8. Thanksgivings in heaven. The closing appeal in xviii. 20 to heaven to rejoice in that God had judged the great Harlot

City is answered by an exultant anthem voiced by a great multitude of angels (1-3) which is closed by the four and twenty Elders and the Cherubim with the response, "Amen, alleluia" (4-5). They had already voiced their thanksgivings in two anthems on the same subjects in xi. 15-18. Hence here they simply give utterance to their approval of the theme of the angels' song. And whereas a voice from earth summoned the heavenly hosts to the duty of thanksgiving in that the doom of the Harlot City is already accomplished in 1-5, now in 6-8 a voice from the throne summons the glorified martyrs in heaven to the glad service of thanksgiving, whereupon there arose as it were the voice of a great multitude and of many waters and of mighty thunderings proclaiming that the Lord God Omnipotent had become King, and that the advent of the heavenly Jerusalem was at hand. It is fitting that the last song in the Apocalypse should come from the lips of the martyrs.

1. The thanksgiving in this verse has been explained by some interpreters as coming from the glorified martyrs, as in : i. 10-12 ; but the context and our author's usage is against this interpretation. The context is against it ; for the faithful, who appear to embrace only the glorified martyrs, do not offer their thanksgiving till 6-8. Further, our author's usage is against it. In such a series of thanksgivings those of the angels could not be omitted, and, if the alleluia in 1 is ascribed to the glorified martyrs, then we have such an omission, while in 6-8 there would then be a duplication of the praises of the martyrs. Furthermore (see notes on iv. 4, v. 11), if any reference to the angels' thanksgiving is made in our text, it must come in 1 ; for the mention of the Elders and the Living Creatures (*and in this order*) in 4 shows that the Seer is beginning his description with the outer ranks of the heavenly beings and proceeding inwards towards the throne. Thus, as in vii. 11, we have first angels, then the Elders, then the Living Creatures.

If the same order were observed as in vii. 9-11, we should have 6-8 before 1-5 : in other words, the thanksgivings of men, then of angels, then of the Elders, and finally of the Living Creatures. But the order is otherwise here, and the change is instructive. Whereas in an earlier chapter, vi. 10, the cry of the faithful was for vengeance on their persecutors, here (cf. xv. 4) their sole theme of thanksgiving is that now at last "the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth," and that "the marriage of the Lamb is come." This prepares the reader for what is to follow in the speedy removal (in xix. 11-21) of all that prevents the advent of the heavenly Jerusalem. Hence 6-8 comes rightly at the close of 1-5. On the other hand, it is noteworthy that in 1-5 the theme of the angels' song is one of profound thanksgiving for

God's righteous judgment of Rome and His avenging of the blood of the martyrs. This thanksgiving follows naturally and immediately in response to the appeal in xviii. 20.

ὡς φωνὴν μεγάλην. With ὡς φωνὴν cf. i. 15 (v. 11), vi. 1, 6, ix. 9, xiv. 2, xix. 6. μεγάλη is the usual adjective our author connects with φωνή (see xvi. 1, note). With ὄχλου πολλοῦ, cf. vii. 9. λεγόντων. A construction κατὰ σύνεσιν with ὄχλου exactly as we find it in vii. 9—ὄχλος . . . ἐστῶτες. Ἀλληλουιά. As this word is a transliteration of ἁλλήλη, the η, where we should have ε, is strange. The same irregularity is to be found in Γεθσημανεῖ, which according to Dalman (*Gram.* p. 152, note 3), Delitzsch, and others is derived from גִּתְּסֵמָנִי. This transliteration came into use before the Christian era amongst Hellenistic Jews, as Swete remarks, since it is found in 3 Macc. vii. 13; Tob. xiii. 18. In the LXX it is found frequently at the beginning and end of certain Pss.: see Swete, *Intr. to O.T. in Greek*, p. 250.

ἡ σωτηρία καὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ δύναμις τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν. In xii. 10 we find ἡ σωτηρία and ἡ δύναμις conjoined, and in iv. 11, vii. 12, ἡ δόξα and ἡ δύναμις (also in v. 12, but in the reverse order): in vii. 10, ἡ σωτηρία alone. This construction ἡ σωτηρία . . . τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν has already occurred in xii. 10, the more usual being that which is found in i. 6 (αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα), vii. 10.

2. ἀληθινὰ καὶ δίκαια αἱ κρίσεις αὐτοῦ. This clause has, if we have concluded rightly, been reproduced in xvi. 7, which belongs to a dislocated passage, i.e. xvi. 5-7. A distant parallel occurs in xv. 3, δίκαια καὶ ἀληθινὰ αἱ ὁδοὶ σου. These words define the reason for this hymn of praise—the righteousness of God's judgments as exemplified in the destruction of the Harlot City.

ὅτι ἔκρινεν τὴν πόρνην τὴν μεγάλην. This clause is a justification of the preceding ὅτι clause. It recalls xvii. 1, τὸ κρίμα τῆς πόρνης τῆς μεγάλης. On ἔκρινεν cf. xviii. 8, 20, and on τῆς πόρνης τ. μεγάλης cf. xvii. 1, 5, 15, 16.

ἥτις ἐφθείρεν τὴν γῆν: cf. xi. 18, διαφθεῖραι τοὺς διαφθείροντας τὴν γῆν, and the note thereon. The pronoun ἥτις appears here to be simply the equivalent of ἥ. It definitely determines who the Harlot is. For this usage of ὅστις see note on xi. 8. ἐν τῇ πορνείᾳ αὐτῆς. This is the first charge brought against Rome. It has corrupted the whole earth, cf. xiv. 8, xvii. 2, xviii. 3. The second charge is that stated in the words ἐξεδίκησεν τὸ αἷμα τῶν δούλων κτλ. These words recall the complaint of the martyrs in vi. 10, οὐ . . . ἐκδικεῖς τὸ αἷμα ἡμῶν ἐκ τῶν κατοικοῦντων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, and now recognize the consummation of divine justice: cf. xi. 18. The idiom itself is found in 2 Kings ix. 7, ἐκδικήσεις (ἵπῳ) τὰ αἵματα τῶν δούλων μου . . . ἐκ χειρὸς (τῷ) Ἰεζάβελ.

Cf. also Deut. xxxii. 43. τῶν δούλων αὐτοῦ recalls xviii. 24—the prophets and saints.

8. καὶ δευτέρον εἶρηκαν. “And a second time they say.” The second utterance or antistrophe from the lips of the same multitude consists not only of the word ἀλληλουιά, but also of the words that follow καὶ ὁ καπνὸς . . . αἰώνων. These words correspond to the tetrastich that follows the first ἀλληλουιά in 1-2.

καὶ ὁ καπνὸς αὐτῆς κτλ. This clause recalls xviii. 8 (ἐν πυρὶ κατακαυνθήσεται) and xviii. 9, 18 (τὸν καπνὸν τῆς πυρώσεως αὐτῆς). Cf. also xiv. 11, καὶ ὁ καπνὸς τοῦ βασανισμοῦ αὐτῶν εἰς αἰῶνας αἰώνων ἀναβαίνει. The καὶ is not to be taken here as a mere conjunction. We can only secure the right meaning of the clause that follows if καὶ is taken as a Hebraism: *i.e.* “Hallelujah; for the smoke thereof goeth up for ever and ever.” This clause therefore is a circumstantial clause introduced by καί (= ἵ) and gives a statement of the concomitant conditions, which justify the action denoted by the principal verb (הִתְהַלְלָה). See *Oxford Hebrew Dict.* p. 253.

εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. This expression is equivalent here to 1000 years. For, since the advent of the Millennial Kingdom is already at hand, and since the earth is to be destroyed at its close, it follows that even the smoking ruins of Rome will cease to exist at that date. Contrast this meaning with that which it bears in xxii. 5, where it denotes eternity.

4. Now that the angelic hosts have sung their two paeans of triumph, the Elders and the Living Creatures too take their share in the praises of heaven with the words, Ἀμήν, Ἀλληλουιά, followed by xvi. 5^b-7, which belongs here.

In iv. 8, 11, xi. 15-18 the Cherubim and the Elders offer their praises independently; in v. 9 together, as in the verse before us; in v. 14 the Cherubim pronounce the “amen” at the close of the doxology of all creation. In the present text both orders unite together (as in v. 9) in singing the antistrophe (consisting like the strophe 1^b-2 of two stanzas of three lines each), 3^o, xvi. 5^b-7.

προσεκύνησαν τῷ θεῷ. Our author uses the dative when speaking of the highest form of worship: see note on vii. 11. τῷ καθ. ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ—also a characteristic usage of our author: see note on iv. 2.

Ἀμήν, ἀλληλουιά. These words form the close of Ps. cvi. 48, הַלְלֵה יְהוָה, where they are rendered in the LXX by γένοιτο, γένοιτο. Cf. also Neh. v. 13.

XVI. 5^b-7. These verses, which in the MSS follow after xvi. 5^a, do not belong to xvi., but have in this edition been restored to their original context after xix. 4. Either what

originally followed was lost (i.e. loss in xvi. 10), or else it was deliberately removed by the Johannine editor and these verses substituted in their stead.

(1) The first ground for regarding these verses as an interpolation in their present context is that they limit the incidence of the Third Plague and probably that of the Second to the adherents of the Roman Empire. But, if the Second and Third Plagues are studied apart from these verses, the fact that their incidence is universal for sea and land cannot be questioned any more than that of the Fourth Plague, the Sixth, and the Seventh. We have already seen that the First also affects all the earth. Hence all the Bowls are universal in their incidence save the Fifth, just as all the Seals are likewise universal save the Fifth.

(2) The main point of these verses was not understood by the Johannine editor. Rightly understood they mean: God is righteous, inasmuch as He has made those who shed the blood of the prophets and saints to shed each other's blood (*αἷμα αὐτοῖς δέδωκας πίνειν*, xvi. 6^b) and stirred up the kings of the East against the great Harlot City Rome to destroy it, and eat her flesh (*τὰς σάρκας αὐτῆς φάγονται*, xvii. 16). Now this judgment of Rome is not referred to till we come to the vision in xvii. 12-13, 17, 16: hence xvi. 5^b-7 cannot rightly occur till after xvii., nor in fact till after xviii., which describes the destruction of Rome.

(3) Since xvi. 5^b-7 does not belong to xvi. and cannot justly be used till after xviii., we have two further points to determine: i.e. (a) Are these verses from our author; and, if so, (b) what was their original context?

(a) The passage is genuine. In xvi. 5 on *ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ᾄων* cf. xi. 17 (n.): on *δοσιος* as applied to God cf. xv. 4, *ὅτι μόνος δοσιος*: on *ταῦτα ἔκρινας* cf. vi. 10, xix. 2. 6. On *αἷμα ἀγίων κ. προφητῶν* cf. xi. 18, xviii. 24, xix. 2: on *ἀξιοί εἰσιν* cf. iii. 4 and xiv. 5 for exactly the same asyndetic construction. 7. On *κύριε ὁ θεός, ὁ παντοκράτωρ* cf. i. 8, iv. 8, xi. 17, xv. 3, xix. 6, xxi. 22. Here we should observe that the divine title in 5 and this title in 7 are already conjoined in xi. 17: on *ἀληθινὰ κ. δίκαια αἱ κρίσεις σου* cf. xix. 2 where the words recur exactly as here; also in xv. 3 (in reverse order).

Thus the passage is undoubtedly Johannine.

(b) All the evidence is in favour of restoring it immediately after *ἀλληλουιά* in xix. 4. Thus we have: first two stanzas of three lines each, xix. 1^b-2, followed by one of two in xix. 3, and parallel with these two other stanzas of three lines each in xix. 4^a, xvi. 5^b-6 followed by another of two in xvi. 7^b. The structure is thus perfectly symmetrical.

*The Song of the Angels.***XIX.** 1^b. Ἀλληλουιά·Ἡ σωτηρία καὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ δύναμις τοῦ θεοῦ
ἡμῶν,

2. Ὅτι ἀληθινὰ καὶ δίκαιαι αἱ κρίσεις αὐτοῦ·

Ὅτι ἔκρινεν τὴν πόρνην τὴν μεγάλην,

ἥτις ἐφθειρεν τὴν γῆν ἐν τῇ πορνείᾳ αὐτῆς,

καὶ ἐξεδίκησεν τὸ αἷμα τῶν δούλων αὐτοῦ ἐκ χειρὸς
αὐτῆς.

3. Καὶ δεύτερον εἶρηκαν·

Ἀλληλουιά·

καὶ ὁ καπνὸς αὐτῆς ἀναβαίνει εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν
αἰώνων.*The Song of the Elders and the Cherubim.*4^c. Ἀμήν, ἀλληλουιά·**XVI.** 5^b. Δίκαιος εἶ, ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ᾄς,

Ὅσιος ὅτι ταῦτα ἔκρινας.

6. Ὅτι αἷμα ἁγίων καὶ προφητῶν ἐξέχεας,

καὶ αἷμα αὐτοῖς δέδωκας πίνειν·

Ἄξιοί εἰσιν.

7. Καὶ ἤκουσα τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου λέγοντος

Ναί, κύριε, ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ,

Ἀληθινὰ καὶ δίκαιαι αἱ κρίσεις σου.

At first sight it might appear an objection that this doxology is addressed directly to God, whereas the doxology in xix. 1^b-2 is not so directed, but God is spoken of in the third person. But this objection is groundless; for in iv. 8 the doxology speaks of God in the third person, whereas that which follows in iv. 11 is addressed directly to God. The same change of persons is found in the two thanksgivings in connection with the Lamb in v. 9-10 and v. 12. Here also the Elders and the Cherubim join together, as in v. 9, in this great anthem of praise. Again it is noteworthy that the doxologies of the twenty-four Elders are always elsewhere in our author (cf. iv. 11, v. 9, xi. 17) addressed directly to God, just as they are above in xix. 4^c, xvi. 5^b-6. Thus what at first sight appears to be an objection turns out to be evidence in favour of the above restoration.

(4) The reader will recognize at a glance the similarity of construction between the doxology in xix. 1-2 and that of the Elders and Living Creatures in xix. 4^c, xvi. 5^b-6, both of which consist of two stanzas of three lines each, and that in each case

these stanzas are followed by one of two lines. They both also deal with the same subject—thanksgiving over the fall of Rome.

XVI. 5^b. $\delta \ \acute{\omega} \nu \ \kappa \alpha \iota \ \delta \ \eta \nu$. See note on i. 4.

$\delta \sigma \iota \omicron \varsigma$. Cf. xv. 5. So the best authorities: "holy"—in apposition to $\delta \acute{\iota} \kappa \alpha \iota \omicron \varsigma$. If with $\kappa \rho$ we read $\delta \ \delta \sigma \iota \omicron \varsigma$ the phrase is to be taken as a vocative, "Thou Holy One." It represents God as faithful in His relation to men. See Trench (*Synon.*⁸ p. 316) on the relation of $\delta \acute{\iota} \kappa \alpha \iota \omicron \varsigma$ and $\delta \sigma \iota \omicron \varsigma$ in Classical Greek. On this attribute of God cf. 1 Enoch i. 2, 3, x. 1, xiv. 1, xxv. 3, xxxvii. 2, cxxxiv. 1, xcii. 2, xciii. 11, xcvi. 6, civ. 9.

6. $\alpha \iota \mu \alpha$. . . $\epsilon \xi \epsilon \chi \epsilon \alpha \nu$. Cf. Ps. lxxix. 3.

$\delta \gamma \iota \omega \nu \ \kappa \alpha \iota \ \pi \rho \omicron \phi \eta \tau \omega \nu$. We should expect the reverse order: cf. xviii. 24, xxii. 9.

$\alpha \iota \mu \alpha \ \alpha \upsilon \tau \omicron \iota \varsigma \ \delta \epsilon \delta \omega \kappa \alpha \varsigma \ \pi \epsilon \acute{\iota} \nu$. This expression has a technical sense in the O.T. and later books. Thus in Isa. xlix. 26 we have "I will feed them that oppress thee with their own flesh, and they shall be drunken with their own blood." In that time "no man spareth his own brother" (Isa. ix. 19). This is the so-called Period of the Sword: cf. Ezek. xxxviii. 21, "I will call for a sword against him . . . every man's sword shall be against his brother"; Hag. ii. 22, "I will destroy the strength of the kingdoms . . . every-one by the sword of his brother"; Zech. xiv. 13; 1 Enoch xxxviii. 5, xcvi. 12, xcix. 4, 6; Jub. xxiii. 19; 2 Bar. xlviii. 32, lxx. 6-7; Mark xiii. 8. Thus the meaning of the clause in our text is that God would cause internecine war to arise amongst the Antichristian nations, *i.e.* between Rome and the nations of the East; for the latter, as the Seer has already testified in xvii. 12-13, 17, 16, would invade the West and destroy Rome. But the Johannine editor was wholly ignorant of the force of these words and took them in a literal and material sense: As Rome had shed the blood of the saints, so it should drink actual blood! whereas they mean that the doom pronounced by God on those who had martyred the prophets and the saints would be that they should fall by each other's hands, and thus they should eat each other's flesh (xvii. 16) and drink each other's blood (xvi. 6). We should observe that the two ideas in Isa. xlix. 26 are thus adopted by our author. $\pi \epsilon \acute{\iota} \nu = \pi \epsilon \acute{\iota} \nu$: cf. Blass, *Gram.* 23.

$\delta \xi \iota \omega \iota \ \epsilon \iota \sigma \iota \nu$. Contrast the use of this phrase in iii. 4, and for the absence of the copula xiv. 5.

7. $\eta \kappa \omicron \upsilon \sigma \alpha \ \tau \omicron \upsilon \ \theta \upsilon \sigma \iota \alpha \sigma \tau \eta \rho \iota \omicron \upsilon \ \lambda \acute{\epsilon} \gamma \omicron \nu \tau \omicron \varsigma$. This clause must be taken in connection with the statements made in reference to this altar, *i.e.* the altar of incense in the preceding chapters. In vi. 10 the souls of the martyrs are represented as beneath this altar, and from thence their prayers go forth to God. In viii. 3-4 the prayers of all the saints that are still upon earth are offered up upon it. In ix. 13 this altar first appears in con-

nection with judgment, where it is conceived as initiating the second Woe by ordering the four angels of punishment to be let loose. In xiv. 18, which represents a period chronologically later, *i.e.* when the roll of the martyrs is complete, an angel goes forth from this altar and delivers to the Son of Man the divine command to undertake the judgment of the earth. In the present passage the altar confirms the doxologies just uttered (*vaí*), and declares that in the destruction of Rome the truth and righteousness of God are vindicated. Thus at last the prayers of the martyrs and of the saints are fulfilled.

XIX. 5. *φωνὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου.* This voice directed to God's servants in heaven (*i.e.* the martyrs) seems to be that of one of the Cherubim or of the Elders, and not of an angel, since the two first orders were the nearest to the throne. In no case should the voice be ascribed to Christ, as in that case we should have not *τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν* in the words that follow, but *τῷ θεῷ μου*, as in iii. 12.

αἰνεῖτε τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν (= וְהַלְלִיתֶם לַיהוָה). *αἰνεῖν* takes the acc. elsewhere in the N.T. and all but universally in the LXX. In the half-dozen or more of cases where *αἰνεῖν* takes the dative in the LXX, we can explain it in 1 Chron. xvi. 36, xxiii. 5, 2 Chron. xx. 19 as a reproduction of the Hebrew idiom לַיהוָה וְהַלְלֵה or לַיהוָה וְהוֹדָה. Still more remarkable is the careful following of the text in Ezra iii. 10, where *αἰνεῖν* takes the acc. as וְהַלְלֵה does in the Hebrew, and in iii. 11, where *αἰνεῖν τῷ κυρίῳ* is a rendering of וְהַלְלֵה לַיהוָה. In 2 Chron. v. 13, *αἰνεῖν τῷ κ.* is a translation of וְהוֹדָה לַיהוָה; also in vii. 3. Hence it is not improbable that this Hebrew idiom was in the mind of our author when he wrote, *αἰνεῖτε τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν*. The dative is also found in Pss. Sol. v. 1, *αἰνέσω τῷ ὀνόματί σου*.

αἰνεῖτε . . . πάντες οἱ δοῦλοι αὐτοῦ, καὶ οἱ φοβούμενοι αὐτόν, οἱ μικροὶ καὶ οἱ μεγάλοι. Cf. xi. 18, *τοῖς δούλοις σου καὶ τοὺς φοβουμένους τὸ ὄνομά σου, τοὺς μικροὺς καὶ τοὺς μεγάλους*. First of all, our text is influenced by Ps. cxxxv. 1, וְהוֹדָה לַיהוָה (LXX, *αἰνεῖτε . . . δοῦλοι Κύριον*), and 20, וְהוֹדָה לַיהוָה (LXX, *οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν κύριον*). In the usage of our author the phrase *δοῦλοι (τοῦ θεοῦ)* represents the most notable servants of God—the Christian prophets (cf. i. 1, x. 7, xi. 18, xxii. 6) and martyrs (cf. vii. 3, xix. 2), and the servants of God generally in ii. 20, xxii. 3. The context therefore must decide its special significance in each case.

We have next to discover who these servants of God are. They can hardly be said to compose the Church universal; for (1) the presupposition of xviii. 20, *εὐφραίνου . . . οὐρανέ*, is that only those who are in heaven should take part in the thanksgivings over the fall of Rome. (2) The words, further, *φωνὴ ἀπο*

τοῦ θρόνου, have the same implication. They are addressed to those in heaven. If the voice were addressed to those on earth we shall expect *φωνή ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*: cf. x. 4, 8, xi. 12, xiv. 2, 13, xviii. 4. In xxi. 3 God tabernacles with men—hence this phrase has not the same significance there that it has in the earlier chapters. (3) We have found that all the faithful had been removed from the earth after chap. xiii.

Thus since the divine command is issued only to the servants (δοῦλοι) of God in heaven, these can only be the glorified martyrs, who have already been described as "a mighty multitude which no man could number" in vii. 9. The martyrs have already been so designated in vii. 3, xix. 2. It is used elsewhere also of the Christian prophets, and also of God's servants generally (see above).

So much then appears clear. The anthems of thanksgiving in xix. 1-8 are sung only by those actually in heaven—angels and glorified martyrs. We have now to deal with the further description of the latter, which is given in the next line.

καὶ οἱ φοβούμενοι αὐτόν, οἱ μικροὶ καὶ οἱ μεγάλοι. If we accept the *καί* (with AQ min^{ms} vg. syr.^{1,2} Prim.) we must render it as "even"; for there is no question here of two distinct classes of the faithful in heaven: there are only the martyrs. The martyrs are described here as οἱ δοῦλοι αὐτοῦ, as in the angels' song in 2. This being so, the phrase καὶ οἱ φοβούμενοι αὐτόν is not a strong one as descriptive of the martyrs. καὶ οἱ φοβ. αὐτόν . . . μεγάλοι appears to be derived from Ps. cxiv. 13 (cxiii. 21) originally. The phrase οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸ ὄνομά σου bears another meaning in xi. 18. There the whole body of the faithful are referred to; xi. 18^{d-e} refers to the events subsequent to the final judgment, and to all the orders of the faithful who then enter into the everlasting Kingdom of God. Hence καὶ οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸ ὄνομά σου denotes a class of the faithful quite distinct from the other classes there enumerated. But in the present context only one class is mentioned, i.e. that of the martyrs.

6. Response of the martyr host to the divine command.

ὡς φωνὴν ὄχλου πολλοῦ. See note on ver. 1. ὡς φωνὴν ὁδόντων πολλῶν: cf. i. 15, xiv. 2. ὡς φωνὴν βροντῶν ισχυρῶν: cf. vi. 1 (x. 3). λεγόντων. This is the best attested reading (AP and many cursives). Presumably our author took it in immediate connection with βροντῶν. Cf. like irregularities in iv. 1, φωνή . . . λέγων: in ix. 13, φωνὴν . . . λέγοντα. λέγοντες (Q and many cursives) is, though parallels in our author's use (cf. v. 11, xiv. 6-7) could be adduced, probably a correction.

ὅτι ἔβασίλευσεν . . . χαίρωμεν καὶ ἀγαλλιῶμεν. For the same connection of ideas cf. Ps. xcvi. 1 ἡ γῆ καὶ ἡ θάλασσα καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ ἔβασίλευσεν, ἀγαλλιάσεται ἡ γῆ). With ἔβασίλευσεν: cf.

xi. 15, 17. With the destruction of Rome the reign of God is established on earth. Cf. Pss. Sol. ii. 34, 36, v. 21, 22, xvii. 1, 4, 38, 51, where the like thought of the kingship of God prevails. This is the second great stage in the destruction of evil in the universe. The first was achieved when Satan was cast down from heaven (chap. xii.).

κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ. A favourite designation of God in our author. Cf. i. 8, iv. 8, xi. 17, xv. 3, xvi. 7, xxi. 22. Against (A 1, 49, 95 al. me. arm.) other authorities add ἡμῶν after θεός owing to the influence of 1, 5. But this is against the usage of our author in this phrase, and the context itself is against its insertion. When ὁ παντοκράτωρ does not immediately follow, as in iv. 11, we have ὁ κύριος καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, where Dr. D'Arcy suggests there may be a reference to the blasphemous title assumed by Domitian, "Dominus et Deus noster."

7. χαίρωμεν καὶ ἀγαλλιώμεν. For the same combination cf. Matt. v. 12, χαίrete καὶ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε. ἀγαλλιᾶν is found in the N.T. only here and in Luke i. 47. Elsewhere in the N.T. and in the LXX the middle form is used. The classical form is ἀγάλλομαι.

δύσσομεν τὴν δόξαν. See note on xi. 13.

ἦλθεν ὁ γάμος τοῦ ἀρνίου. ἦλθεν is used prolep'tically in xi. 18, but not to the same extent here; for Rome is already overthrown: the impenitent nations, the Beast and the False Prophet are on the eve of being cast into the lake of fire, the Millennial Kingdom on the eve of being set up, and the heavenly Jerusalem—the bride—of coming down from heaven. In fact, ἦλθεν refers here to the time just preceding the advent of the Millennial Kingdom, whereas in xi. 18 to the period that follows on its close. Cf. xiv. 7, 15, where it also occurs.

ὁ γάμος τοῦ ἀρνίου. As God in the O.T. is the Bridegroom of Israel (cf. Hos. ii. 16; Isa. liv. 6; Ezek. xvi. 7 sq.), in the N.T. this symbolism is transferred to Christ and the Church, which in our author is symbolized by the heavenly and the New Jerusalem: cf. xxi. 9-10, xxii. 17, xxi. 2. This figure of marriage denotes the intimate and indissoluble communion of Christ with the community, which He has purchased with His own blood (v. 6, 9, vii. 17, xiv. 1). This communion is reached first in its fulness by the martyrs, who reign with Christ for 1000 years in the Holy City, which comes down from heaven, and are yet in a mysterious way identified with the Holy City xxi. 9, xxii. 17, i.e. the Church, the Bride of Christ. The Gentiles converted during these 1000 years belong also to the Church. When the New (καὶνὴ) Jerusalem descends in xxi. 2 after the final judgment and the creation of a new heaven and a new earth, it has become a symbol for the Church Universal.

It is worth observing that the heavenly (or New?) Jerusalem is symbolized by a woman in 4 Ezra ix. 38 sqq., x. 25-50.

But to return to the term *γάμος*, we meet with the above symbolism in other parts of the N.T. Thus the marriage feast (*γάμοι*) is made by the king for His Son in Matt. xxii. 2 sqq.; the bride chamber is mentioned Matt. xxii. 10 (*νυμφών*), and the wedding garment (*ἔνδυμα γάμου*), xxii. 11; the sons of the bride-chamber, Mark ii. 19; the bridegroom (*νυμφίος*), Mark ii. 19, Matt. xxv. 1; and his friends (John iii. 29) and the bride (*νύμφη*) in Matt. xxv. 1 (D). In 2 Cor. xi. 2 the same symbolism occurs, *ἡρμοσάμεν γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἐνὶ ἀνδρὶ παρθένον ἀγνήν παραστήσαι τῷ Χριστῷ*: Eph. v. 25, 32, *οἱ ἄνδρες, ἀγαπάτε τὰς γυναῖκας, καθὼς καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἠγάπησεν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν . . . τὸ μυστήριον τοῦτο μέγα ἐστίν, ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω εἰς Χριστὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν*.

ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ. Here *ἡ γυνή* is used as equivalent to *ἡ μενηστευμένη* (= *πῆξη*), as in Deut. xxii. 23; Matt. i. 20. In xxi. 9 of our text the *τὴν γυναῖκα* appears to be a gloss.

ἡτοίμασεν αὐτήν. A favourite word in our author (ix. 7, 15, xii. 6, xvi. 12, xxi. 2 (viii. 6)). Only the destruction of the Anti-Christian kings and nations, the casting of the Beast and the False Prophet into the lake of fire (xix. 11-21), and the chaining of Satan in the abyss (xx. 1-3), must intervene before the actual bridal, before the full spiritual communion of Christ and His Church is accomplished in the descent of the Holy City in xxi. 9 sqq.

8. καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῇ ἵνα περιβάλῃται βύσσινον = "And it had been given unto her that she should array herself in fine linen." This privilege was already accorded to the martyr Church in vi. 11. *περιβάλλεσθαι βύσσινον, ἱμάτια, στολὰς* are favourite expressions in our author: cf. iii. 18, vii. 9, 13, x. 1, xviii. 16, etc. Our author uses also the phrase *ἐνδύεσθαι βύσσινον*: cf. 14, xv. 6 (?). In the words *ἐδόθη αὐτῇ ἵνα περιβάλῃται κτλ.*, and in the preceding clause *ἡτοίμασεν αὐτήν*, we have presented God's part and man's part in the work of redemption: cf. Phil. ii. 12-13, *τὴν αὐτῶν σωτηρίαν κατεργάζεσθε, θεὸς γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ ἐνεργῶν ἐν ὑμῖν καὶ τὸ θέλει καὶ τὸ ἐνεργεῖν*. The words *καὶ ἐδόθη . . . καθαρόν* could be taken as part of the martyrs' song. But both the context and the parallelism are in favour of regarding them as a remark of the Seer.

βύσσινον: cf. 14, xviii. 12. Here used as a noun, as in Dan. (LXX) x. 5. On the meaning of this "fine linen" see note on iii. 5; vi. 11, vol. i. p. 184 sq.

λαμπρὸν καθαρὸν: cf. xv. 6. The vesture of the saints stands out in strong contrast with that of the Harlot in xvii. 4, xviii. 16.

[τὸ γὰρ βύσσινον τὰ δικαιώματα τῶν ἁγίων ἐστίν.] This is

regarded by some scholars as the close of the anthem: if so, it is a *prosai*: one. Of course it might be urged that it does not come from the heavenly choir, but is an explanation of the Seer himself, as the preceding clause itself appears to be. But this can hardly be maintained. As we have seen in the note on xiv. 13, the righteous acts (so *δικαιώματα*: cf. xv. 4; Rom. v. 18; 1 Bar. ii. 19) of the saints are regarded by our author as the manifestation of the inner life and as practically identical with character—the character a man takes with him when he leaves this life. Neither his righteous acts nor his character are to be regarded as the garment of the soul of the martyrs; for, though they had already this character they are described as without such garments for a time, even in heaven: see vi. 11. As a fitting clothing of the souls of the martyrs, God assigns them spiritual bodies, vi. 11 (see note), which in iii. 5 (see note) and here are described as white garments or shining pure garments. The individuals also who compose the Church or Bride at this period are the martyrs. If this view is right, then 8^b is a gloss. In a limited sense it is a correct gloss, since the spiritual bodies will be in keeping with the character or righteous acts of the saints.

Alford regards the entire verse as an explanation of the Seer. But the objections to 8^b hold nevertheless.

9^b-10. This passage, which is in part a doublet of xxii. 8-9 but rewritten and given quite a different meaning, is bracketed as an interpolation.

1. The clause *οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι οἱ ἀληθινοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰσὶν* (9) is rather inept here, seeing that the words referred to are *the triumphant songs of the angels and martyrs in heaven*. In xxii. 6, on the other hand, they are full of significance, coming in as they do at the close of the Book and giving it a solemn attestation. In xxi. 5 the authenticity of the phrase can hardly be maintained.

2. xix. 10 is in part a doublet of xxii. 8-9. This fact in itself is only of importance when combined with others.

3. xix. 10 is rewritten from xxii. 8-9 by the editor and given a less general meaning. In xxii. 8-9 the angel is a fellow-servant of the prophets and *of all Christians*. In xix. 10 he is a fellow-servant only of the prophets and those endowed with the prophetic spirit.

4. If xix. 10 were original, the action of the Seer in xxii. 8-9, in again prostrating himself before the angel, would be incomprehensible. But if xix. 10 is an interpolation, then xxii. 8-9 is intelligible and in its right context at the close of the Book.

5. *προσκυνῆσαι αὐτῷ* (10) is not used elsewhere in our author of simple homage or even of a *θρησκεία τῶν ἀγγέλων* (Col. ii. 18),

but only of divine worship (see note on vii. 11). We should, if this phrase were from our author's hand, have προσκυνῆσαι αὐτόν. In xxii. 8 no such breach of our author's usage is committed.

The above difficulties are against the direct authorship of the Seer. The most natural hypothesis as to their insertion here is that they were inserted by the disciple who edited the whole work, who, though he repeats some clauses from John's own hand, supplements them with others from his own. This hypothesis would explain the misuse of the phrase προσκυνῆσαι αὐτῷ in this context, and the addition of the final clause ἡ γὰρ μαρτυρία Ἰησοῦ ἐστὶν τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς προφητείας. For this clause gives the preceding one, τῶν ἐχόντων τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ, a new meaning. In itself the latter means the whole body of believers generally, but when the last clause of 10 is added it means the limited body of Christian prophets. By this gloss the exact parallelism of xix. 9-10 with xxii. 8-9 is destroyed, for there the angel represents himself as the servant of the prophets and the whole Christian community.

Θ'. καὶ λέγει μοι Γράφων Μακάριοι οἱ εἰς τὸ δεῖπνον τοῦ γάμου τοῦ ἀρνίου κεκλημένοι.

This beatitude is the fourth of our author's seven beatitudes. But there is a difficulty in κεκλημένοι; for throughout the Millennial Reign all men alike are "called" to share in the kingdom: cf. xiv. 7, xv. 4, xxii. 17. There is no blessedness in being called (cf. Luke xiv. 24, οὐδεὶς . . . τ. κεκλημένων γένεταί μου τοῦ δείπνου), unless a man accepts the call and is found faithful—is "chosen" ἐκλεκτός and found faithful πιστός (cf. xvii. 14). The words of our Lord can hardly have been unknown to our Seer; πολλοὶ γὰρ εἰσιν κλητοί, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἐκλεκτοί (Matt. xx. 16, xxii. 14). But κεκλημένοι has not this technical meaning here, but simply that of "invited." Here, as in Matt. xxii. 2 sq., the guests and the Bride are one and the same. But, though the guests or the faithful might (as Israel in the O.T. in relation to Yahweh) be rightly designated the Bride, as, for example, in xxi. 9 (cf. Eph. v. 27), at the beginning of the Millennial Kingdom, since the words Bridegroom and Bride symbolize the close relation between Christ and the Church at all times, yet the realization of the things so symbolized is always partial and imperfect till the number of the saints is complete. Hence not till then has the time come for the Wedding Feast and for the Bride to become the Wife of the Lamb. It is to this feast, therefore, that the faithful are "invited"; and all such as are then invited naturally accept, for they are all saints. So the writer of 4 Ezra ii. 38-41 rightly connects the Marriage Supper and the completion of the roll of the saints: "Videte numerum signatorum in convivio Domini.

Qui se de umbra saeculi transtulerunt, splendorum tunicas a Domino acceperunt. Recipe, Sion, numerum tuum . . . Filiorum tuorum . . . plenus est numerus . . . populus tuus, qui vocatus est ab initio." As Dalman (*Words of Jesus*, 118 sq.) points out, *κεκλημένοι* = *ἐκκλησία*: cf. Babba Bathra, 75^b: "those who are invited go up to the Jerusalem of the age to come"; Midr. Tehill. 147, where Jacob is "invited to the heavenly banquet" (*הַמַּלְאָכִים יִשְׂרָאֵל*). With the beatitude in our text cf. *μακάριος ὅστις φάγεται ἄρτον ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ* (Luke xiv. 15).

κεκλημένοι. *καλεῖν* always means "to name" in our author except here and in xvii. 14, where the meaning our author attaches to *κλητοί* is seen from its context: *κλητοί καὶ ἐκλεκτοί καὶ πιστοί*. Here these three epithets refer to the same persons.

οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι οἱ ἀληθινοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰσίν. See 1 in the note on 9^b-10.

10. *ἔπεσα ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ*: cf. xxii. 8. *πίπτειν* followed immediately by such phrases as *πρὸς τ. πόδας*, i. 17, *ἐνώπιον*, iv. 10, v. 8, vii. 11, *ἐπὶ τὰ πρόσωπα*, xi. 16, is used of the divine worship of God or the Lamb. Hence in *ἔπεσα ἔμπροσθεν τ. ποδῶν αὐτοῦ* the same worship seems implied. It is strange that the phrase *προσκυνεῖν ἔμπροσθεν* is used simply of homage. See note on xxii. 8.

προσκυνῆσαι αὐτῷ. On this usage (contrary to that of our author) see 5 in the note on 9^b-10 and vii. 11 note.

ὅρα μὴ . . . ἀδελφῶν σου. See xxii. 9, where these words occur in their right context.

τῶν ἐχόντων τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ. This phrase is found already in xii. 17. It is certainly in the phraseology of our author. Cf. vi. 9, *τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἣν εἶχον*, and i. 2, 9, xx. 4, where we have the phrase *ἡ μαρτυρία Ἰησοῦ*. In *τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ* the question arises whether we have in Ἰησοῦ the subjective or objective genitive, *i.e.* the testimony borne by Jesus, or the testimony which men bear to Jesus. The former, according to i. 2, xii. 17, means the sum of the revelation made by him, and should naturally be the meaning of the phrase here. But the words that follow, *ἡ γὰρ μαρτυρία Ἰησοῦ κτλ.*, require us to make them mean "the witness to Jesus." Hence it follows that the *γάρ* is here to be taken in an explanatory sense: "now the witness to Jesus is the spirit of prophecy." Thus the angel declares that he is the fellow-servant of John, and of those who share with him the prophetic spirit. This is not the meaning of the parallel passage in xxii. 10.

There is, however, the possibility that *ἡ γὰρ μαρτυρία . . . προφητείας* may have been a marginal gloss on *τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ*, which was subsequently incorporated in the text. It certainly comes in very awkwardly after *τῷ θεῷ προσκύνησον*.

It should have preceded it. If this clause was a gloss, then the words *σύνδουλός σου εἰμι καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν . . . Ἰησοῦ* and xxii. 9^{ab} would be practically equivalent in meaning. Even so, many of the objections to the originality of xix. 9^b-10 still remain.

11-21. Cf. xiv. 14, 18-20, and xvi. 13-16 for proleptic accounts of this destruction of the kings and the nations by Christ and His angels. See note on 14. 11-21 deals with the victory of Christ and His angels over the Beast, the False Prophet, and the kings of the earth. With this victory of the Messiah cf. 1 Enoch lxii. 2; 2 Bar. xxxix.-xl., lxxii.; 4 Ezra xii. 32, xiii. 38. This destruction of the remaining active foes of the Messianic Kingdom comes in here of necessity after that judgment has been executed on Rome and before the inauguration of the Millennial reign. This corresponds to the judgment of the Sword at the beginning of the Messianic Kingdom in 1 Enoch l. 2, xc. 19, xci. 12, xcv. 7, xcvi. 1, xcvi. 12. Though the destruction of the Parthian kings is foretold proleptically in xvii. 14, it is nowhere subsequently described.

11. εἶδον τὸν οὐρανὸν ἡνεωγμένον: cf. Ezek. i. 1, καὶ ἀνεψέχθησαν οἱ οὐρανοί: 2 Bar. xxii. 1; 3 Macc. vi. 18; Matt. iii. 16; John i. 51, ὅψεσθε τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνεωγόμενον.

As we learn from what follows, it is only the nations that are hostile to Christ that are to be destroyed. For the attitude of Judaism to the Gentiles in the O.T. and Apocryphal and Apocalyptic literature, see my *Eschatology*², 165, 246, 296, 297, 332, 361, also Sibyll. Or. iii. 740; Tob. xiii. 11, xiv. 6 sq.; Test. XII. Patr. (see Index, p. 242, in my edition), and Volz, *Jüdische Eschatologie*, 322-325.

ἵππος λευκὸς καὶ ὁ καθήμενος ἐπ' αὐτόν: repeated from vi. 2, but the two riders are quite distinct. Here there is no question as to the personality of the present Rider. He is the Messiah—"the Word of God." The very epithets that are applied to Him have occurred before in the same connection: cf. iii. 14, ὁ μαρτυρῶν ὁ πιστὸς καὶ ἀληθινός. See also i. 5, iii. 7. This same combination of epithets is used by Christ (the Logos) in xxii. 6, οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι πιστοὶ καὶ ἀληθινοί. For this combination of epithets cf. also 3 Macc. ii. 11. The Messiah as a man of war appears in Pss. Sol. xvii. 23-27; Philo, *De Praem. et Poena*, 16, στραταρχῶν καὶ πολέμων ἔθνη . . . χειρώσεται.

ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ κρίνει καὶ πολεμεῖ. This description of the righteousness of the Messiah is brought forward very distinctively in Isa. xi. 3 sq.: "He shall not judge after the sight of his eyes . . . 4. but with righteousness shall he judge (דָּן בְּצֶדֶק) the poor, and reprove with equity the meek of the earth. 5. And righteousness shall be the girdle of his loins and faithfulness the girdle of his reins." In 1 Enoch he is designated as "the Righteous One"

(xxxviii. 2), "the Righteous and Elect One" (liii. 6), "the Elect One of righteousness and faith" (xxxix. 6). Cf. also Pss. Sol. xvii. 31, κρινεῖ . . . ἔθνη ἐν σοφίᾳ δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ: also in 35 he is described as a βασιλεὺς δίκαιος καὶ διδασκὸς ὑπὸ θεοῦ: cf. also 36, 41: Ps. xcvi. 13; Acts xvii. 31.

12. οἱ δὲ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς φλῶξ πυρός. Repeated from i. 14: cf. ii. 18.

ἐπὶ τ. κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ διαδήματα πολλά. Here as always, except in xii. 1, our author uses ἐπὶ τ. κεφαλὴν and not ἐπὶ τ. κεφαλῆς. See note on Introd. to xii., vol. i. p. 300 sq. As King of kings (16) the Messiah wears many diadems. The Dragon (xii. 3) and the Beast (xiii. 1) wear respectively seven and ten. According to 1 Macc. xi. 13, Ptolemy wore two diadems on entering Antioch—one for Egypt and one for Asia.

12^c. [ἔχων ὄνομα γεγραμμένον ὃ οὐδεὶς οἶδεν εἰ μὴ αὐτός.] Though the diction is Johannine (on ἔχων . . . γεγραμμένον cf. 16, and with ὃ οὐδεὶς οἶδεν cf. ii. 17) this clause appears to be interpolated. The objections are three. First, there is a break in the thought. We should not expect a reference to the name here in the midst of a description of the person and dress. Moreover, the statement that no one knows His name save Himself is flatly contradicted in the next verse (13^b), where the words καὶ κέκληται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ὁ Λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ cannot be explained away (see note *in loc.*). Finally, by the omission of this clause the parallelism is restored.

12. οἱ δὲ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς φλῶξ πυρός,

καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ διαδήματα πολλά,

13. καὶ περιβεβλημένος ἱμάτιον βεβαμμένον αἵματι,

καὶ κέκληται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ὁ Λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ.

The interpolated line may have originated in a marginal gloss. We have now to inquire what meaning can be attached to this gloss. Some interpreters have thought the unknown designation to be ὁ κύριος, Phil. ii. 11; others (as Ewald and Volkmar) have taken it to be the tetragrammaton; others a really mysterious name known only to Christ Himself, comparing ii. 17, ὄνομα καινὸν γεγραμμένον ὃ οὐδεὶς οἶδεν εἰ μὴ ὁ λαμβάνων, and iii. 12. As regards this last interpretation scholars are again divided. Swete is of opinion that all created beings are excluded from the knowledge of this name. Alford thinks that the knowledge of this name is withheld till the final and complete union of Christ and His Church. In favour of this view we might compare Asc. Isa. ix. 5: "This is . . . the Lord Christ, who will be called Jesus in the world, but His name thou canst not hear till thou hast ascended out of thy body." Others, as Bousset, that this knowledge is withheld because of the power that attaches to such knowledge. The Messiah alone has a name which carries

with it power over heaven and earth, and as no one knows this name but Him, so He is the sole possessor of the power bound up with the name. This last interpretation belongs undoubtedly to the reign of magic, and is found among the Gnostics. This idea underlies Gen. xxxii. 29 and Judg. xii. 17 sq. It was a very widespread idea among many ancient nations that the man who knew the name of a god or a demon possessed certain powers over him. Hence the name was concealed: cf. Heitmüller, *Im Namen Jesu*, 162 sqq.; Giesebrecht, *Gottesname*, 23, 45, 100 (the last reference is from Gunkel's *Genesis*³, p. 362; Jevons, *Introd. Hist. Religion*, p. 361).

ὁ οὐδεις κτλ.: cf. ii. 17, iii. 12.

18. καὶ περιβεβλημένος ἱμάτων βεβαμμένον αἵματι. This clause has created no little difficulty. But, if we hold fast to the following facts, the difficulty can be surmounted. The first is that in the leader of the heavenly hosts we have to do—not with the Slain One, but the Slayer. The Word of God has come to execute divine judgment. Hence the idea that the blood on His Vesture is His own (cf. i. 5, v. 9, vii. 14, xii. 11) cannot be entertained. When our author wishes to express a thought of this nature, he speaks of the ἀρνίον . . . ὡς ἐσφαγμένον (v. 6). Now this being so, how are we to explain the ἱμάτων βεβαμμένον αἵματι? In whose blood is the vesture of the Divine Warrior dipped? If it is not His Own, no more is it that of the kings of the earth and their armies (15, 18); for the judgment of the sword as regards these has not yet begun, and the garments of the heavenly armies are still white and pure (14). A comparison with Isa. lxiii. 1-3—which passage is in the mind of our author—confirms this conclusion: “Who is this that cometh from Edom, with red garments from Bozrah? . . . 2. Wherefore art thou red in thine apparel, and thy garments like him that treadeth in the winefat? 3. I have trodden the winepress alone . . . yea, I trod them in my anger . . . and their lifeblood is sprinkled upon my garments.” Here the redness of the garments is due to the blood of those who have already been slain, exactly as in our text. Since, therefore, the redness of the vesture in 13 is not due to the warfare in 11-21, there remains only one other possible explanation, and this is that *the blood on His vesture is that of the Parthian kings and their armies*, whom He had already destroyed, and whose destruction had already been prophetically prophesied in xvii. 14. In this strife He was supported by the glorified martyrs (οἱ μετ’ αὐτοῦ κλητοὶ καὶ ἐκλεκτοὶ κτλ.).

ἱμάτων βεβαμμένον αἵματι. These words are freely based on Isa. lxiii. 3, וְיָנִיץ עַל-בִּגְדֵי נִצְחָם (= “and their blood is sprinkled on my garments”). Here βεβαμμένον (AQ, etc.) is to be accepted and not ῥεραντισμένον, ῥραμμένον, or the other variants from

βαίνω and παντίζω; for, whereas both these latter verbs are used in the LXX to render נָחַ (the Hebrew verb in Isa. lxiii. 3), and whereas Aquila and Symmachus do render it by παντίζω in Isa. lxiii. 3, but no translator ever renders it by βάπτω, it follows that, though there were possible grounds for changing βεβαμμένον into ἔρραμμένον, there were none for changing ἔρραμμένον into βεβαμμένον from the standpoint of Isa. lxiii. 3, whence the idea was derived. Our author thus deals freely with Isa. lxiii. 3. That such a free reproduction was not unknown in Judaism we might infer from the late Palestinian Targum on Gen. xlix. 11, which recounts the victory of the Messiah over His enemies: "How beauteous is the king Messiah, who is about to arise from the house of Judah. He hath bound his loins and gone forth to war against those that hate him: kings and princes shall be slain: he will make red the rivers with the blood of their slain . . . his garments will be dipped in blood (הַכִּסְיָו מְעֻנְנֵן בַּדָּמָה)." *καὶ κέκληται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ὁ Λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ.* This line has

been taken by Völter, Spitta, Hilgenfeld, Bousset, and others to be the addition of a scribe or reviser. Now it is manifest that either 12^c (ἔχων ὄνομα . . . ὃ οὐδεὶς οἶδεν κτλ.) or the present clause must be of this nature. But, whereas we found that 12^c was open to serious objections on various contextual grounds, no objection of such a nature can be brought against the present clause, which accordingly comes from the hand of our author. We have here another of the numerous instances of community of diction between the Apocalypse and the Fourth Gospel, in many of which there is no community of meaning. For the Logos here is a Warrior, and our text reminds us of Wisd. xviii. 4-25, especially of xviii. 15, ὁ παντοδύναμός σου λόγος ἀπ' οὐρανῶν ἐκ θρόνων βασιλείων ἀπότομος πολεμιστὴς εἰς μέσον τῆς ὀλεθρίας ἡλατο γῆς ξίφος ὃξὺ τὴν ἀνυπόκριτον ἐπιταγὴν σου φέρων. We might compare also the later Jewish conception, רַחֵם and ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ in Heb. iv. 12. Although the ideas underlying the words are different, in the latter passage this word is said to be "sharper than any two-edged sword."

14. καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα κτλ. To 14^a conjoined with 16^b we have remarkable parallels in xvii. 14, but there the enemies of the Lamb are the Parthian kings, who are also referred to in xvi. 12. Here we have a conflict on a larger scale, as in xiv. 14, 18-20, xvi. 13-16. See notes on xiv. 14, 18-20, xvi. 12-16, xvii. 14.

A study of the chief passages (ii. 26-27, xiv. 14, 18-20, xvi. 12-16, xvii. 14, xviii. 11-21) dealing with the destruction of the world powers helps us to understand the expectations of the Seer as to (a) the order in which the world powers were to be destroyed before the Millennium, and (b) the nature of the heavenly armies which destroyed these powers.

(a) *The destruction of Rome was to come first, next that of the Parthians, and finally that of the remaining hostile powers.*—In xiv. 8–11 the destruction of Rome is foretold, followed immediately (for xiv. 12–13 belongs after xiii. 15 or 18) by that of the hostile nations, xiv. 14, 18–20. The same sequence of events is found in xviii. (the destruction of Rome) and xix. 11–21 (that of the hostile nations). But the sequence of events can be determined more definitely. Thus in xvi. 12 the forces led by the Parthian kings are clearly distinguished from those of the remaining hostile nations in xvi. 13–16; and that these two divisions of the hostile heathen world, which survived the destruction of Rome, were to be separately destroyed, we infer from xvii. 14, according to which, immediately after the destruction of Rome, Christ and His armies would destroy its destroyers, *i.e.* the Parthians.

(b) *The heavenly armies were to be composed of angels and (in certain cases if not in all) of the glorified martyrs.*—The armies of the Word of God are described in xix. 14 (τὰ στρατεύματα τὰ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ . . . ἐφ' ἵπποις λευκοῖς). In xiv. 14, 18–20 the presence of these heavenly horsemen is presupposed in xiv. 20 (ἄχρη τῶν χαλινῶν τ. ἵππων). So far as these passages go, we should conclude that the heavenly armies were composed of angels only. But this is not so. Quite clearly in xvii. 14 it is stated that the armies of the Lamb will be “the called and elect and faithful,” a description which cannot be applied to angels. Now since this war of the Lamb on the Parthians is subsequent to the destruction of Rome, and therefore to the universal martyrdom of the faithful, it follows that this army is composed of the glorified martyrs, who had come down from heaven with Christ for that purpose. That they should share in this task we have already learnt from ii. 27, where of the individual martyr (ὁ νικῶν) it is stated ποιμανεῖ αὐτοὺς ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ, the very words, which in xix. 15 are used of Christ Himself. That the martyrs take part in the judgment of all the hostile nations cannot be affirmed in so many words, though the comparison of ποιμανεῖ κτλ. in both ii. 27 and xix. 15 points probably to this conclusion. Moreover, the comparison of xvii. 14 (where Christ is called κύριος κυρίων καὶ βασιλεὺς βασιλέων, and His army is composed of glorified martyrs) and of xix. 14^a, where His followers are the armies of heaven and His name is βασιλεὺς βασιλέων κ. κύριος κυρίων (16^b), may point in the same direction.

Some of the chief expectations of our Seer relative to the judgment of the hostile nations may be briefly summarized as follows.

The Parthian kings are referred to in xvi. 12, xvii. 12–13, 17, 16, and their destruction by the Lamb and the glorified martyrs

in xvii. 14^{a-c}. The other hostile kings of the world are mentioned: their gathering to Armageddon in xvi. 13-16, and their destruction by One like a son of man, xiv. 14, 18-20, by the Word of God with the armies of heaven in xix. 11-21. In these last two passages the Divine Leader is said to tread the winepress of the wrath of God (xiv. 19, xix. 15). Finally, at the close of the Millennial Kingdom there is the destruction of the unrepentant nations by fire sent down from heaven, xx. 7-10.

For the idea of armies in heaven cf. Test. Levi iii. 3; 2 Enoch xvii.; 2 Esdr. xix. 6, *σοὶ προσκυνοῦσιν αἱ στρατεῖαι τῶν οὐρανῶν* (where the armies are the stars); Matt. xxvi. 53.

The heavenly armies, which are not definitely mentioned in the parallel account (xiv. 14, 18-20) but are implied in the words *ἄχρι τῶν χαλινῶν τῶν ἵππων*, have descended with Christ from heaven. In ii. 27 (see note), xvii. 14 (see notes) they appear to be the faithful: in ii. 27 the foes they destroy are the hostile nations generally: in xvii. 14 the Parthian kings.

ἐνδεδυμένοι βύσσινον λευκόν. For the phrase cf. i. 13, xv. 6.

15. In 15^{abc} are combined thoughts and words which are drawn from Isa. xi. 4 and Ps. ii. 9. But this combination is already found in Pss. Sol.

xvii. 26. *ἐκτρίψαι ὑπερηφανίαν ἁμαρτωλῶν ὡς σκεὴν κεραμέως, ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ συντρίψαι πᾶσαν ὑπόστασιν αὐτῶν*.

27. *ὀλοθρεῦσαι ἔθνη παράνομα ἐν λόγῳ στόματος αὐτοῦ*.

39. *πατάξει γὰρ γῆν τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ*.

καὶ ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ ἐκπορεύεται ῥομφαία ὀξεία: cf. i. 16, ii. 12.

ἵνα ἐν αὐτῇ πατάξῃ τὰ ἔθνη. From Isa. xi. 4, *καὶ πατάξει γῆν τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐν πνεύματι διὰ χειλέων ἀνελείψει*, cf. Pss. Sol. xvii. 26-27, 39 (quoted above). Wisd. xviii. 22, *ἐνίκησε τὸν ὄχλον οὐκ ἰσχύι τοῦ σώματος οὐχ ὅπλων ἐνεργείᾳ ἀλλὰ λόγῳ τὸν κολάζοντα ὑπέταξεν*: 1 Enoch lxii. 2, "The word of his mouth slays all the sinners." All these passages imply that the sword that proceeds out of the mouth of the Messiah is simply a figure for forensic or judicial condemnation.

καὶ αὐτὸς ποιμανεῖ αὐτοὺς ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ: cf. ii. 27 (see note), xii. 5. From Ps. ii. 9. The αὐτός in this and the next clause is emphatic. Neither here nor in ii. 27, xii. 5 has *ποιμαίνειν* a favourable meaning.

In these three passages it connotes punishment and destruction. Contrast, on the other hand, its meaning in vii. 17. See note on ii. 27. Hence render "break them with an iron rod."

καὶ αὐτὸς πατεῖ τὴν ληνὸν κτλ. Here, though accompanied by hosts of angelic warriors, the action of the Messiah alone is dwelt upon, just as in xiv. 19 sq. and in similar words. Only here and in xiv. 19-20 is the *ληνός* of divine judgment spoken of in our

author. The two ideas of the winepress (xiv. 19) and the cup of wrath (xiv. 10) are here combined, and mean that from the winepress trodden by Christ flows the wine of the wrath of God, of which his enemies are to be made to drink. It is a case of mixed metaphors.

16. [ἐπὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον καὶ] ἐπὶ τὸν μηρὸν αὐτοῦ κτλ. Of this text there is no satisfactory explanation. Düsterdieck, B. Weiss, and Holtzmann think that the title is inscribed on the girdle; Swete, that "it is displayed on His habit where it falls over the thigh"; Grotius imagines a sword on the hilt of which the name was inscribed. Wellhausen, recognizing the unintelligibility of the text, proposes ἵππον instead of ἱμάτιον and makes the αὐτοῦ refer to the ἵππον. Horses were branded on the thigh amongst the Greeks: see Wetstein *in loc.* But the idea of such an inscription on a horse cannot be entertained. If, therefore, we are to gain any satisfactory meaning here, we can only do so by following our chief Uncial A, Cassiodorus, and some Ethiop. MSS, which omit the words I have bracketed above. If A is right, the chief Syriac Version (s¹) would probably be the first stage in the interpolation of the text; for s¹ here places the two phrases ἐπὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον αὐτοῦ and ἐπὶ τ. μηρὸν αὐτοῦ side by side without the connecting καὶ. Thus the first phrase would appear to have originated in a marginal gloss owing to 13^a (περιβεβλημένος ἱμάτιον κτλ.). The final stage in the corruption of the text is that which all the remaining authorities attest. At this stage the first αὐτοῦ is omitted and the καὶ inserted.

Our text now runs ἐπὶ τ. μηρὸν αὐτοῦ. For the occasional appearance of names and inscriptions on the thighs of statues we have evidence in Greek and Roman authors (see Wetstein from whom these quotations are derived). Thus in Cicero, *Verr.* iv. 43, we find: "Signum Apollinis pulcherrimum, cujus in femore literulis minutis argenteis nomen Myronis erat inscriptum." Also in Pausanias, *Eliac. extr.*, τὸ ἀνδρῆμα . . . ἀνδρὸς εἰκὼν . . . ἐλεγείων δὲ ἐπ' αὐτὸ γεγραμμένον ἐπὶ τοῦ μηροῦ: "Justinus (4 cent. A.D.?), xv. 4, 5: Figura anchorae, quae in femore Seleuci nata cum ipso parvulo fuit. 9. Originis ejus argumentum etiam in posteris mansit, siquidem filii nepotesque ejus anchoram in femore veluti notam generis naturalem habuere."

The Seer sees in the vision the Divine Warrior and His heavenly horsemen—not halting but *sweeping downward from heaven and onward* against the serried armies of the Beast, False Prophet, and the kings of the earth, and, as they thunder along, their garments stream behind them, and so on the thigh of the Leader is disclosed the name: "King of kings and Lord of lords."

βασιλεὺς βασιλέων κτλ. See note on xvii. 14.

17–21. An angelic summons to all the birds of prey to

hasten to the scene of slaughter of all the mighty of the earth. The overthrow and final doom of the Beast and the False Prophet.

17. ἵνα (cf. viii. 13) ἄγγελον ἐστῶτα ἐν τῷ ἡλίῳ. What was the original idea underlying this phrase is unknown. It is generally explained that the angel took this central position in mid heaven in order to deliver from thence his message of victory and his summons to the birds of prey.

καὶ ἔκραξεν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ. See note on xiv. 15.

λέγων πᾶσι τοῖς ὀρνέοις τοῖς πετομένοις ἐν μεσουρανήματι (cf. viii. 13, xiv. 6) Δεῦτε συνάχθητε εἰς τὸ δεῖπνον . . . τοῦ θεοῦ. 18. ἵνα φάγητε σάρκας βασιλέων . . . καὶ σάρκας ἰσχυρῶν. This passage is clearly based on Ezek. xxxix. 17, where the LXX reads εἰπὼν παντὶ ὀρνέῳ πετεινῷ . . . Συνάχθητε καὶ ἔρχεσθε . . . ἐπὶ τὴν θυσίαν μου . . . καὶ φάγεσθε. 18. κρέα γιγάντων . . . καὶ αἷμα ἀρχόντων. 20. καὶ . . . ἵππον καὶ ἀναβάτην. It is obvious, however, that our author is giving an independent rendering of the Hebrew: observe δεῦτε συνάχθητε (יָבוֹאוּ וְיִסְבְּאוּ) with συνάχθητε καὶ ἔρχεσθε, and ἰσχυρῶν in our text with γιγάντων, and ἵππων κ. τῶν καθημένων ἐπ' αὐτῶν with ἵππον καὶ ἀναβάτην in Ezek. xxxix. 20.

Our author here borrows his imagery from the slaughter wrought by God in Ezek. xxxix, and yet the final overthrow of Gog and Magog in our author is adjourned to the close of the Millennial reign in our author.

τὸ δεῖπνον τὸ μέγα τοῦ θεοῦ. See Gressmann, *Ursprung der Israelit. jüd. Eschatologie*, 136-141.

18. τῶν καθημένων ἐπ' αὐτῶν. Here the reading αὐτῶν (PQ min^{tere} omn) is to be followed. A with two cursives and K read respectively αὐτούς and αὐτοῖς—which are both corrupt. Cf. 19, 21. ἐλευθέρων τε καὶ δούλων. See note on xiii. 16. μικρῶν καὶ μεγάλων. See note on xiii. 16.

19-21. The Beast, the False Prophet, and the kings of the earth overthrown and cast into the lake of fire.

19. τὸ θηρίον—i.e. Nero-antichrist. See xi. 7 (note), xiii. 3 (note on various stages of the Neronic myth).

τοὺς βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς: cf. xiv. 14, 18-20 (though not here specifically mentioned), xvi. 14 (note), xvii. 2, 18, xviii. 3. These are to be carefully distinguished from the Parthian kings, xvi. 12, xvii. 12-13, 17, 16, who are destroyed by the Lamb (and the glorified martyrs). See also note on 14 above.

τὰ στρατεύματα αὐτῶν. For αὐτῶν A and a few cursives read αὐτοῦ. This is perhaps right. Though they are the subjects of the kings, they are the armies of the Beast.

συνηγμένα ποιῆσαι τὸν πόλεμον. For the diction cf. xvi. 14, 16, xx. 8.

τοῦ στρατεύματος αὐτοῦ. Though the heavenly army is described in the plural as *στρατεύματα*, it is here very significantly described as a single host. While the opposing hosts of evil are moved by a variety of conflicting aims, the heavenly host is actuated by one only.

20. With the Beast and the False Prophet we might compare Ahriman and Azi-Dahâka in the Zend religion, which influenced Judaism from the East. Cf. De la Saussaye, *Lehrb. d. Religionsgeschichte*³, ii. 206 (ii. 226 in 3rd ed.): "Zuletzt bleibt noch der Kampf zwischen himmlischen und höllischen Geistern übrig. Alle Ameshas Spentas ringen da mit ihren teuflischen Gegengeschöpfen und vernichten sie gänzlich: Ahriman selbst und die Schlange Azhi zu bändigen, wird die Sache Mazda's und Sraosha's sein. Als Priester erheben sich die beiden Götter, mit Gebet und Gebetschnur überwältigen sie die Bösen und stürzen sie und ihr Versteck in den glühenden Strom. Dann ist die Welt vollkommen rein, das Universum nur von Mazda's Wesen erfüllt, und alles, was lebt, geht in die Unsterblichkeit und himmlische Vollkommenheit ein (Bahman Yasht, 43; Bundehesh, 30)." See also Böklen, *Die Verwandtschaft d. jüd.-christlichen mit der persischen Eschatologie*, 127 sqq.

ἐπιείσθη. The Attic form of this verb is *πιέζω*, but in late Attic *πιάζω* is also found. The classical meaning was to press, weigh down, stifle, etc. But its later meaning, as here, is to seize, lay hold of. *πιάζω*, which occurs only here in our author, is a favourite word in the Fourth Gospel, being found there eight times and only four times throughout the rest of the N.T. (one of these being in Luke vi. 38, where it retains the ancient classical form and meaning).

ὁ ψευδοπροφήτης. See xiii. 11 sqq. notes, xvi. 13, xx. 10. The False Prophet represented the priesthood of the Imperial cult, which practised all kinds of magic and imposture to beguile men to worship the Beast.

ἐπλάνησεν τοὺς λαβόντας τὸ χάραγμα κτλ. Only those who had received this mark were an easy prey to the False Prophet. On the τὸ χάραγμα see note on xiii. 16: cf. xiv. 9 sqq., xvi. 2 (note), xx. 4.

προσκυνούντας τὴν εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ. Though weakly attested (κ* 28, 39), this seems to be the right reading: see note on vii. 11. Possibly the dative is right. In that case the text would mean that divine worship was actually offered to the image.

τὴν λίμνην τοῦ πυρός: cf. xx. 10, xxi. 8. On this final abode of punishment for Satan, the Beast, the False Prophet, and wicked men, see note on ix. 1.

τῆς καιομένης ἐν θεῷ. The genitive here can only be explained as a slip on the part of the writer. Contrast xxi. 8—τῇ λίμνῃ τῇ

καιομένη. On ἐν θείῳ in this conjunction cf. xiv. 10, xx. 10, xxi. 8.

21. οἱ λοιποὶ ἀπεκτάνθησαν κτλ., *i.e.* the kings of the earth and their armies. These kings and their armies had been affected by the Caesar-worship: cf. xiv. 9 sq. They were not, like the Beast and the False Prophet, cast forthwith into Gehenna. Their physical life was destroyed by the sword, *i.e.* by the sword of the Word of God (cf. ver. 15), and their spirits no doubt consigned to Hades. In the judgment all the dead are raised (xx. 12), and then death and Hades and all the wicked are cast into the lake of fire (xx. 14-15). In the Test. of Hezekiah—a work incorporated in the Ascension of Isaiah, *i.e.* iii. 13^b-iv. 18, and written before 100 A.D.—a different sequence is anticipated: Asc. Isa. iv. 14, "The Lord will come with His angels and with the armies of the holy ones from the seventh heaven . . . and He will drag Beliar (*i.e.* the Antichrist) into Gehenna and also his armies."

πάντα τὰ ὄντα ἐχορτάσθησαν κτλ. Cf. 17 sq.; also 1 Enoch xlii. 4-6.

CHAPTER XX. 1-3.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. *Contents.*—Now that Rome has fallen (xviii.), the hostile nations been destroyed, and the two Beasts cast into the lake of fire (xix. 19-20), there remains no obstacle to the manifestation of the kingdom save the presence of Satan still on earth. Hence to his activities an end is put by his being cast down into the abyss and chained there for 1000 years (xx. 1-3). The destinies of Satan are determined by the chief events in the life of Christ. In xii. Satan's expulsion from heaven is connected with the birth and ascension of Christ. On the earth, as he had only a short time, he raged furiously against Christ's followers, but on Christ's Second Advent and His overthrow of Satan's agents, Satan too is cast down from the earth into the abyss and the Millennial Kingdom established. At the close of this kingdom Satan is loosed from the abyss and finally conquered and cast into the lake of fire, and the new heaven and the new earth appear, wherein is the joint throne of God and the Lamb.

That xx. 1-3 comes from our author's hand there can be no doubt, as the diction and idiom prove.

§ 2. *Diction and idiom.*

1. εἶδον ἄγγελον καταβαίνοντα ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. The whole clause has already occurred in x. 1, xviii. 1, and the last four words also in iii. 12, xvi. 21, xxi. 2, 10.

τὴν κλεῖν τῆς ἀβύσσου: cf. ix. 1.

2. τὸν δράκοντα ὁ ὄφις ὁ ἀρχαῖος. The same words in the same characteristic and anomalous construction have already occurred in xii. 9. ὅς ἐστιν Διάβολος καὶ ὁ Σατανᾶς. Cf. xii. 9, ὁ καλούμενος Διάβολος καὶ ὁ Σατανᾶς.

ἔθρην αὐτόν. Cf. ix. 14, δεδεμένους.

3. ἔβαλεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον. For this use of βάλλειν cf. ii. 10, viii. 5, 7, 8, xii. 9, xix. 20, etc.

ἔκλεισεν: cf. iii. 7, 8, xi. 6, xxi. 25. ἐσφράγισεν—seven times elsewhere in our author. ἐπάνω: cf. vi. 8. ἵνα μὴ πληρῇ ἐπὶ τὰ ἔθνη: cf. xiii. 14, xii. 9. ἄχρι *cum subj.*—a rare use: cf. 5, vii. 3, xv. 8. τελεσθῇ: cf. 5, 7, x. 7, xv. 1, 8.

§ 3. *Order of words.*—Wholly Semitic.

1-3. The binding of the Dragon in the abyss for 1000 years.

1. καὶ εἶδον.—See note on iv. 1.

τὴν κλεῖν τῆς ἄβυσσου. See notes on i. 18, ix. 1. The abyss is regarded only as a temporary abode of punishment. Satan is finally cast into the lake of fire, xx. 10.

ἀλυσιν μεγάλῃν. ἀλυσις seems to be used here to denote a chain or bond by which the body is bound. In Mark v. 4 and frequently elsewhere it signifies hand fetters as opposed to πέναι. See note of Lightfoot on Phil., p. 8.

ἐπὶ τὴν χεῖρα. It is hard to explain the use of ἐπὶ here. The best parallel is to be found in v. 1, ἐπὶ τὴν δεξιὰν . . . βιβλίον. But in this latter case the idea implied is that the book is lying on the palm of the hand. It is perhaps best to regard the present instance as a loose use of ἐπὶ, which does not admit of any exact explanation. It is practically here equivalent to ἐν (cf. i. 16 with i. 20), and indeed ἐν is read here by κ 38 syr.^{1, 2}. Another difficult use of ἐπὶ, but with the dative, occurs in xxii. 16, where, however, the best authorities have ἐν.

2. τὸν δράκοντα, ὁ ὄφις ὁ ἀρχαῖος. For a like *anacolouthon* cf. i. 5. See note on xii. 9 on the identification of the old serpent and the devil. Gunkel on Gen.³ iii. 1 maintains that the text there implies that originally the serpent was an evil demon hostile to God and man and possessing a snakelike form. He further points out in support of this view that in 2 Kings xviii. 4 divine worship is offered to a snakelike form by the faithless Israelites, and that heathen gods and demons were frequently so conceived in the ancient world.

ἔθρην αὐτὸν χίλια ἔτη. This idea of binding the powers of evil in prison for an undefined period is already found in Isa. xxiv. 22, and of their final judgment in xxiv. 23. These powers consist of the host of heaven and the kings of the earth. This idea of the angels and the kings of the earth being judged together reappears in 1 Enoch liii. 4-liv. 5, and the idea of the binding of the fallen angels in a place of temporary punishment

till the day of the final judgment is found in 1 Enoch xviii. 12-16, xix. 1-2, xxi. 1-6, from which the final place of their punishment—an abyss of fire—is carefully distinguished, x. 13-15, xviii. 11, xxi. 7-10, liv. 6, xc. 24-25. Their leader Azazel is bound in a place by himself (x. 4-5) as a preliminary punishment, but at the final judgment is to be cast into a place of everlasting punishment (x. 6). In nearly all cases the evil spirits are spoken of in 1 Enoch as being "bound" in a preliminary place of punishment, just as in Isa. xxiv. 22 and in our text.

In the Zend religion the same idea is found. According to the Bundelesh iii. 26 (cf. xiii. 77) the evil serpent Azi-Dahâka was smitten by Thraëtaona and fettered in the mountain Damâvand for 9000 years, *S.B.E.* iv. 9 (note), 226, 245 sq., v. 234, 397, xviii. 110, 201, etc. He was released by Ahriman, *S.B.E.* v. 233-235, and reigned for 1000 years, v. 150, xxiv. 103, but was slain by Sâm or Keresâsp, v. 235. After the renovation of the world there would be no Azi-Dahâka, xviii. 118. But, since these Iranian myths belong to various periods before and after the Christian era, there is no ground for tracing any direct connection.

χλῖα ἔτη. Before the year 100 B.C. it was generally believed in Judaism that the Messianic Kingdom would last *for ever* on the present earth. Sometimes the conception was universalistic in character, especially in the greater prophets of the O.T., as Jeremiah, the Second Isaiah, Jonah, Malachi; but in others, as in Ezekiel, Haggai, Zechariah, Joel, it was particularistic. The idea of the everlastingness of this kingdom on earth persisted, as we have above said, till about 100 B.C. For such it appears to be in 1 Enoch lxxxiii.-xc., vi.-xxxvi., but by the date just mentioned the earth had come to be regarded in Judaism as wholly unfit for the manifestation of this kingdom except in a temporary character. The dualism which had begun to affect the religious forecasts of religious thinkers in the 2nd cent. B.C. succeeded in leavening wholly their expectations in the 1st. As a consequence of this breach between the things of earth and the things of heaven, the writers of this century were forced to entertain new conceptions of the kingdom. Hence in 1 Enoch xci.-civ., Pss. Sol. i.-xvi., the Messianic Kingdom is declared to be of temporary duration on the present earth, and the goal of the risen righteous to be not this transitory kingdom, but heaven itself after the final judgment, which from this period forwards was conceived of as taking place not at the beginning, but at the close of the Messianic Kingdom. Thus it is that the Millennium in our text, as in 2 Baruch and 4 Ezra, is really a late and attenuated form of the old Jewish expectation of an eternal Messianic Kingdom on the present earth. For a fuller treat-

ment of this question the reader can consult my *Eschatology*², pp. 103, 106-108, 110 sq., 113-116, 219 sq., 223, 248, 250 sq.

We have next to consider the duration of this kingdom. Apparently nowhere in earlier or contemporary literature is the duration of 1000 years assigned to the Messianic Kingdom save here. Its duration is not defined in 1 Enoch xci.-civ.; Pss. Sol. xi. 1 sqq.; Sibyll. Or. iii. 1-62; Jubilees xxiii. 27-29; Assumption of Moses x. 7; 2 Bar. xxix. 4-xxx. 1, xxxix. 7, xl. 3, lxxii. 2-4; 4 Ezra xiii. 32, 36. In 4 Ezra vii. 28 it is definitely said to last 400 years.

8. ἔβαλεν αὐτὸν εἰς τ. ἄβυσσον καὶ ἔκλεισεν. On the ἄβυσσος see ix. 1, note.

ἔκλεισεν καὶ ἐσφράγισεν ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ, i.e. closed the abyss and sealed it over him. Our text recalls the Prayer of Manasseh, 2-4, and the two passages are distantly connected, though our Seer has no thought of this passage nor of the myth that it presupposes.

For, whereas it is a literal Satan overcome by an angel that is presupposed in our text, it is a mythological monster that is overcome by God in the Prayer of Manasseh. What was originally a mythological idea concerning the uprising of the Chaos monster (i.e. the sea) against God at the world's beginning, had long ere our Seer's time been transformed into an eschatological expectation, i.e. the rebellion of Satan against God at the world's close, and his being cast into the abyss. The mythological idea is quite clearly set forth in the above-mentioned Prayer of Manasseh: ὁ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν σὺν παντὶ τῷ κόσμῳ αὐτοῦ, ὁ πεδήσας τὴν θάλασσαν τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ προσταγμάτων σου, ὁ κλείσας τὴν ἄβυσσον καὶ σφραγισάμενος αὐτὴν τῷ φοβερῷ καὶ ἐνδόξῳ ὀνόματί σου.

πλανήσῃ ἔτι τὰ ἔθνη. As he had done before: cf. xiii. 14, xvi. 13. See also xii. 9. As these words point to the future, they imply that there would still be heathen nations after the Messianic judgment executed in xix. 19-21. Now that Satan's chief agents, the Beast and the False Prophet, were cast into the lake of fire and Satan himself bound in the abyss, the time for the Millennial reign has arrived and for the evangelization of the surviving heathen nations: see xiv. 7, xv. 4, xxii. 17. The astonishing part in our Seer's forecast is that the preaching of the Gospel during the Millennium will only in part be successful, though the active impersonations of evil have been wholly removed from the earth for this period. The implication is that each man carries in his own bosom the possibilities of his own heaven and his own hell.

δεῖ: cf. i. 1, iv. 1.

XX. 4-XXII. THE TEXT INCOHERENT AND SELF-CONTRADICTORY AS IT STANDS.

XX. 4-XXII. These chapters have hitherto been a constant source of insurmountable difficulty to the exegete. They are full of confusion and contradiction if the text is honestly dealt with. And yet the Apocalypse exhibits, except in a few passages, and especially in chap. xviii., a structural unity and a steady development of thought from the first chapter to the close of xx. 3. Now this is just what we should expect in an Apocalypse which is designed to be a philosophy of history and religion from the standpoint of the author. It was a combination of *vision and reflection*. Though the book of a prophet did not necessarily show any structural unity or steady development of thought, it was far otherwise with the apocalypticist, in whose writings such characteristics were indispensable. While the ordinary man saw only the outside of things in all their incoherence and isolation, the apocalypticist sought to get behind the surface and penetrate to the essence of events, the spiritual motives and purposes that underlay and gave them their real significance—in fact, to lay bare their origin, course, and consummation. It was thus, in short, a Semitic philosophy of religion, and as such it was ever asking Whence? Wherefore? Whither? Apocalyptic, and not prophecy, was the first to grasp the great idea that all history, alike human, cosmological, and spiritual, is a unity—a unity following naturally as a corollary of the unity of God preached by the prophets.

I have emphasized these two points—structural unity and orderly development of thought to the final consummation of all things—as pre-eminently the characteristics of apocalyptic and not of prophecy or of any other form of writing in the Bible. This being so, we are all the more astonished that the three closing chapters of the Apocalypse are all but wholly wanting in these characteristics, and—so far from advancing steadily to the consummation that all the preceding chapters postulate—exhibit many incoherencies and self-contradictory elements.

To some of these I drew attention in my first edition of the Book of Enoch in 1893, where on p. 45 I wrote as follows: "We have here (*i.e.* Rev. xxi. 1, 2) a new heaven and a new earth, and a New Jerusalem coming down from heaven: yet in xxii. 15 all classes of sinners are said to be without the gates of the city. But if there were a new earth this would be impossible." This is only one of the many difficulties that confront the serious student of these chapters. Now to make the problem before us clear it will be best to deal shortly with a

few of the passages which make it impossible for us to accept the text as it stands.

1. In xx. 7-10, after the close of the Millennial Kingdom, Satan is loosed, and the heathen nations (Gog and Magog), which have refused to accept the Christian faith, march against Jerusalem and the camp of the saints, but are destroyed by fire from heaven. Satan also is cast finally into the lake of fire and brimstone, to be tormented there for ever and ever. *Thus the prime source of evil and his deluded followers (Gog and Magog) are removed finally from the world, and their power to influence the world for evil made impossible for ever.*

2. In xx. 11-15 the old earth and the old heaven are given over to annihilation. Then the final judgment takes place, and all the dead are judged according to their works, and death and Hades are cast into the lake of fire, together with all those whose names are not found written in the book of life. *At this stage we have arrived at the final condemnation and destruction of all evil, together with the destruction of death itself.*

3. Now that all evil and death itself are cast into the lake of fire, the new heaven and the new earth come into being, and the New Jerusalem comes down from heaven, and God Himself dwells with men (xxi. 1-4).

It is clear from this passage that we have arrived at the closing scene of the great world struggle between good and evil, and that henceforth there can be neither sin, nor crying, nor pain, nor death any more. In fact, there can be no place at all for these in the universe of God—the new heaven and the new earth, and the New Jerusalem that cometh down from God to the new earth.

The conclusion just arrived at is inevitable, if there is a steady development in the visions of the Seer. Now since such a development is manifest in chaps. i.-xx. 3, when certain verses and glosses are excised and a few disarrangements of the text set right—especially in xviii.—we naturally conclude that our author will not lightly fall into contradictions, even of a minor sort, in the last three chapters. But unhappily this is not our experience as we study them; and at last we stand aghast at the hopeless mental confusion which dominates the present structure of these chapters, and are compelled to ask if they can possibly come from his hand, and, in case they do, to ask further, if they have been preserved as they left his hand. But we must first justify the above statement, though we shall adduce here only the main contradictions in these chapters.

1. Inasmuch as according to our text the New Jerusalem does not come down from heaven till Satan is bound for ever in the lake of fire, and all sin and death itself are at an end, and the place of the old world has been taken by a new and glorious

world, wherein there is neither spot nor blemish nor any such thing, how is it that we are told that, outside the gates of the Holy City which has come down from God to the new earth, there are "the dogs and the sorcerers, and the fornicators, and the murderers, and the idolaters, and every one that loveth and maketh a lie" (xxii. 15)? A greater contradiction in thought and statement is hardly conceivable. But, if this statement were made in connection with the Millennial Kingdom which was to be established before the Final Judgment, everything would be intelligible.

2. Again, since the new earth is inhabited only by the blessed, on whom the second death could have no effect, and since these are all righteous, and God Himself tabernacles among them, how is it that in xxii. 2 the leaves of the tree of life are said to be for the healing of the nations? This statement can have no meaning unless it applies to the period of the Millennial Kingdom. During Christ's reign of 1000 years the surviving nations have still a further period of grace accorded to them. This evangelizing of the nations during this period has already been proclaimed in xiv. 6-7, xv. 4. It is thrice elsewhere referred to in the last two chapters, *i.e.* xxi. 24, xxii. 14, 17.

3. Only on the supposition that the Millennial Kingdom is still in existence can we explain xxi. 24-27:

"And the nations shall walk by the light thereof:

And the kings of the earth do bring their glory into it.

And the gates thereof shall not be shut day or night.¹

And they shall bring the glory and the honour of the nations into it:

And there shall not enter into it anything unclean, or he that maketh an abomination or a lie;

But only they which are written in the book of life of the Lamb."

Now from the above contradictions—the solution of which is in part already suggested—it follows either that (a) a considerable part of xx.-xxii. is not from the hand of our author, or that, (b) if it is from his hand, it is disarranged.

Now the first solution (a) is that adopted by most of the leading German scholars of the past thirty years. Thus while Völter (*Die Offenbarung Johannis*, 1904), Weyland (*Omverkingen Compilatie-Hypothesen toegepast op de Apocalypse van Johannes*, 1908), and J. Weiss (*Die Offenb. des Johannes*, 1908) assume that xx.-xxii. is derived from three different sources, and Spitta (*Die Offenb. des Johannes*, 1889) finds traces of four authors,

¹ A necessary emendation. The corruption in the text arose from the present disorder, and the influence of xxii. 5, "and there shall be no more night," where this clause is wholly justifiable.

Erbes (*Die Offenb. Johannis*, 1891) and, on the whole, Bousset (1906), are content with two. Bousset, in fact, regards xx.-xxii. as the work of our author, with the exception of the fragment xxi. 9-xxii. 5.

But, even though for the time being we accepted as a working hypothesis any one of the theories of these scholars based on a plurality of authorship, we have still two insuperable difficulties to face. (a) The first of these is that *the more closely we study i.-xx. 3, the more convinced we become of the structural unity of these chapters*—a fact which does not exclude the occasional use and adaptation of sources—and *the clear and masterly development in thought, working up steadily to a climax. This being so, how is it that xx.-xxii. shows no such orderly development, but rather a chaos of conflicting conceptions?* (β) But the second difficulty is still greater. The hypotheses of the above scholars, with the partial exception of Bousset, break down hopelessly in the face of the general linguistic unity of xx.-xxii. In fact, these scholars had failed to make a thorough study of the style, vocabulary, and grammar of the Apocalypse. Bousset, it is true, has done much to compensate for the deficiencies of his predecessors in this field, but a deeper study of his materials would have precluded his assuming the existence of xxi. 9-xxii. 5 as an independent source, seeing that it is internally self-contradictory and that yet *linguistically it is from the hand of our author*. To the conclusion, in fact, that, with the exception of a few verses, chaps. xx.-xxii. are from the same hand to which we owe the bulk of the preceding chapters, a close and prolonged study has slowly but irresistibly brought me. If, then, this is so, we must conclude that the text in xx.-xxii. *is disarranged in an astonishing degree and does not at present stand in the orderly sequence originally designed by our author*.

To what cause, we must now ask, is this almost incredible disorder due? It cannot be accounted for by accidental transpositions of the text in the MSS—a phenomenon with which the students of MSS in every ancient language are familiar. For no accident could explain the intolerable confusion of the text in xx. 4-xxii., and apparently the only hypothesis that can account for it is that which a comprehensive study of the facts forced upon me in the beginning of 1914, and this is that *John died either as a martyr or by a natural death, when he had completed i.-xx. 3 of his work, and that the materials for its completion, which were for the most part ready in a series of independent documents, were put together by a faithful but unintelligent disciple in the order which he thought right*.

This hypothesis we shall now proceed to establish by adequate proofs.

1. First of all it is a matter beyond dispute that xxii. 15, xxi. 27, which state that outside the gates of the Heavenly Jerusalem evil in every form exists, but that it can in no wise pass within the gates of the Holy City, prove that *the Heavenly Jerusalem here referred to was to descend before the disappearance of the first earth and the first heaven and the final judgment* described in xx. 11-15. A kindred expectation is found in 4 Ezra vii. 26-28, where the Heavenly Jerusalem,¹ the Messiah, and those who had been translated to heaven without seeing death, are to be manifested together on the earth for 400 years. The same view appears in the same work in xiii. 32-36. In this latter passage evil in every form exists outside the Heavenly City.

From later Jewish sources we are familiar with the connection of the rebuilt Jerusalem and the temporary reign of the Messiah. The advent of the Messiah determines the hour when the Temple and therefore Jerusalem should be rebuilt (Shemoth rab. c. 31). According to the Targum on Isa. liii. 5 (cf. Bammidbar rab. c. 13) the Messiah Himself was to build it.

From the above facts we conclude that in our author the account of the Heavenly Jerusalem (xxi. 9-xxii. 2, 14-15, 17) should have followed immediately on xx. 3 as the seat of the Messiah's Kingdom.

2. Verses xxi. 24-26, xxii. 2, 14-15, 17 assume that the nations are still upon earth, that the gospel is preached to them afresh from the Heavenly Jerusalem, that they are healed thereby of their spiritual evils, their sins washed away, that they can enter the Heavenly City and eat of the tree of life which was therein. And to this salvation they are bidden of the Spirit and the Heavenly Jerusalem (*i.e.* the bride, xxii. 17).

Now this expectation is derived from the Old Testament. In Zech. xiv. 16 sqq., when the blessed era sets in, the nations are to go up yearly to keep the Feast of Tabernacles at Jerusalem. In Tob. xiv. 6 the conversion of the Gentiles is to synchronize with the rebuilding of Jerusalem in a fashion far transcending all that Seer or prophet had hitherto dreamt of—when its gates should be “builded with sapphire and emerald,” and all its walls “with precious stones,” and its streets “paved with carbuncle and stones of Ophir” (xiii. 16-17). Similarly in 1 Enoch (161 B.C.) we find it prophesied that the conversion of the surviving Gentiles would follow on the setting up of the Holy City, which was to be done by none other than God Himself. Next, in the Test. XII Patriarchs the conversion of

¹ Box, it is true, regards vii. 26, which tells of the manifestation of the Heavenly Jerusalem, as an interpolation; but the evidence of our text and later Judaism supports the connection of the Messiah and the Holy City.

the Gentiles is associated with the advent of the Messiah, T. Levi xviii. 9, T. Jud. xxiv. 5, and that of the New Jerusalem in T. Dan v. 12. Like expectations are expressed in the Sibyll. Or. iii. 751-59, 767-95; 1 Enoch xlvi. 4 (where the Messiah is described as the light of the Gentiles); Pss. Sol. xvii. 27, 32.

Thus in many books in Judaism the hope is entertained, as in our text, that the Gentiles would turn to the worship of the true God, when either the earthly Jerusalem was rebuilt or a Heavenly Jerusalem set up on earth, or when the Messiah established His Kingdom upon the earth. It is true that Judaism associated this expectation with the First Advent of the Messiah; for it looked for no second. But in Christianity it was different. What had not been realized on the First Advent of Christ is, according to many a Christian prophet and Seer, as also to our author, to be realized in a far higher degree when Christ came the second time in glory.

That the conversion of the heathen nations in our text, therefore, was to be accomplished in connection with the Heavenly City, which as the seat of the Millennial Kingdom was to descend on the earth before the Final Judgment, needs no further demonstration.

3. The facts just stated in the preceding paragraph, that the Gentiles shall still be upon the earth on the advent of the Heavenly City, and have a right to enter therein, are already postulated in the earlier chapters of the Apocalypse. Thus in xv. 4 we read in the song sung by the triumphant martyrs before the throne of God—

“Who shall not fear, O Lord,
And glorify Thy name?
For Thou alone art holy;
For all the nations shall come
And worship before Thee;

For Thy righteous acts shall have been made manifest.”

Again, in xiv. 6-7 the Seer recounts a vision in which he hears an angel proclaiming the coming evangelization of the nations of the world:¹ “And I saw another angel flying in mid heaven, having an eternal gospel to proclaim unto them that dwell on the earth, and unto every nation and tribe and tongue and people, saying with a great voice,

¹ A somewhat analogous expectation is found in 1 Cor. xv. 23-28, where we have an account of the Messianic Kingdom. This kingdom is heralded by the resurrection of Christ: it is apparently established on Christ's (second) Advent with the risen righteous (23). Then follows the reign of Christ, in the course of which every evil power is overthrown (24^b-28). Then comes the end (the general resurrection, final judgment, the destruction of the old world and the creation of the new).

Fear God and give Him glory ;
 For the hour of His judgment is come :
 And worship Him that made the heaven and the earth
 And the sea and fountains of waters."

Now, according to the present form of the text of the last three chapters of our book, these prophecies, which definitely foretell the evangelization of the nations of the world and their acceptance of the Gospel preached, remain wholly unfulfilled. In fact, according to the present text, the nations are simply annihilated before the advent of the Heavenly City. On the other hand, if the account of the Heavenly Jerusalem as given in xxi. 9 to xxii. 2, 14-15, 17 is restored immediately after xx. 3, then these prophecies are fulfilled; for the nations, according to this account, walk by the light thereof, and the kings of the earth do bring their glory into it, and yet outside its gates there is still evil of every kind.

4. Again, in xi. 15 we read—

"The Kingdom of the world is become the Kingdom of our
 Lord and of His Christ,
 And He shall reign for ever and ever."

These words quite clearly assume that the rule of God and Christ will be extended over the whole world of the nations. But, as the text at present stands, not a single nation is mentioned as being brought beneath its sway, while in the verses (xx. 9-10) that precede the description of the Final Judgment (xx. 11-15) we are led to infer that they are wholly destroyed by fire from heaven. That is one way of establishing authority over the neutral or hostile nations, but it is not God's way. We have only to read chaps. xxi.-xxii., which deal ostensibly with events occurring only after the absolute destruction of all the nations and of the first heaven and the first earth, when we discover the nations, that had presumably passed out of existence, going up in pilgrimage to the Heavenly Jerusalem, each under its own king, passing within its blessed portals, bringing their glory and honour into it, receiving spiritual healing in the Holy City, and assimilating the divine truths that make them heirs to immortality, that is, eating of the tree of life. That all the nations do not avail themselves of these privileges is plainly asserted in the text; for outside the gates are sorcerers and whoremongers and idolaters and whosoever loveth and maketh a lie.

On this ground again we must transpose the description of the Holy City before the Final Judgment, and regard it as the seat of the Millennial Kingdom.

5. The city that is spiritually designated Sodom and Egypt (xi. 8) cannot be called "the beloved city" as in xx. 9, nor can

it become the seat of the Millennial Kingdom. Much less can the ruins of such a polluted city become the abode of Christ and of the risen martyrs come down from heaven to reign with Him for a thousand years.

6. Again, as we study xxi.-xxii. we discover that there are in reality two descriptions of the Heavenly City, and not one, as has hitherto been universally assumed. The Seer has two distinct visions, and they deal not with one and the same city, but with two quite distinct cities. The first (xxi. 9 to xxii. 2, 14-15, 17) presupposes the existence of the present earth. Thus the Seer tells how the angel, that had showed him the destruction of the great world-capital Rome in xvii., came again to him and carried him off *to a great high mountain* to show him the Heavenly City that was to take the place of Rome as the metropolis of the world. The very first words of the vision presuppose the co-existence of the Heavenly Jerusalem and the present earth. This city the Seer beheld coming down from heaven to earth (*i.e.* the first heaven and the first earth). It becomes the great spiritual centre of the world. The nations flock up to it from every side to share in its spiritual blessings, its gates are open day and night, and yet none of the evil individuals or nations that are without may enter into it (xxi. 24-27).

It is manifest that since sin, and therefore death, prevail outside the gates of the Heavenly City, the present order of things still prevails, the first heaven and the first earth are still in being.

But there is another Heavenly City (xxi. 1-4°, xxii. 3-5) described by our author, quite distinct from that just dealt with. The angel in xxi. 9 has apparently had no direct part in mediating this new vision. The vision, just as those in xx. 1-3, 11-15, xxi. 1, seems to be independent of any angelic agency. With regard to this Heavenly City there can be no question as to the hour of its manifestation. The very first words of the text imply that the vision of the Seer has outleapt the bounds of time, when the former heaven and earth have vanished for ever. This second Heavenly City does not appear *till the first heaven and the first earth have vanished and their place been taken by the new heaven and the new earth*. Hence as distinguished from the first Heavenly City, it is designated "new," *i.e.* *καινή*, that is, of a new sort or quality as distinct from the first, just as the second heaven and the second earth are themselves described as "new" (*καινός* and *καινή*). This epithet is never applied to the Heavenly City described at such length in xxi. 9-xxii. 2, 14-15, 17. Sin, of course, no longer exists in this new world. Hence there is no more crying, nor mourning, nor pain, nor curse, nor death (xxi. 4^{abc}, xxii. 3^a), though round about the first Heavenly City—close even to its very gates—sin in every form and death did

exist, and even within its stately walls sorrow for sin and repentance were never absent, for the nations of the earth flocked to it from every side to be healed of their spiritual ills and infirmities (xxi. 24-26, xxii. 2).

7. It is finally to be observed that, since the earthly Jerusalem was in ruins, and never in the opinion of the Seer to be rebuilt, a new city was of necessity to take its place as the seat of Christ's Kingdom and the abode of the blessed martyrs, who were to come down from heaven to reign for a thousand years with Him. Since this new city was to be the abode of Christ on His Second Advent from heaven, and of the martyrs coming down from heaven with Him in their glorified bodies, it follows that the new city must be from heaven also, if it was to be a fit abode for its inhabitants from heaven. Even as early as 161 B.C. (as we have already mentioned above), we have a like expectation in 1 Enoch xc. 28-38, where it is said in the vision that God Himself set up the New Jerusalem, to be the abode of the Messiah and the transformed and glorified Israel. A like expectation is attested in a work almost contemporary with our author, *i.e.* 4 Ezra, as we have already shown.

8. To the revision of John's literary executor we may probably ascribe the non-Johannine combinations τ. καθήμενον ἐπ' αὐτοῦ in xx. 11, where, though only A and some cursives attest this reading, they are to be followed; δ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τ. θρόνου in xxi. 5, where, since every MS is wrong, the error must go back to the editor; τῶν πεπελεκισμένων . . . καὶ οἵτινες οὐ προσεκύνησαν in xx. 4, where the οἵτινες is thrust in against John's usage (see i. 5, note). Possibly the normal construction τ. λίμνη τῇ καιομένῃ πυρὶ καὶ θεῷ in xxi. 8 may be due to him: contrast that in xix. 20. Again in xxi. 6 instead of τῷ διψῶντι δώσω the Johannine idiom is τῷ διψῶντι δώσω αὐτῷ (see note *in loc.*).

From the above facts the conclusion is inevitable that after xx. 3 *our author had intended to add a description of the Heavenly Jerusalem that was to come down from heaven to earth and be the habitation of Christ and the martyrs that accompanied Him from heaven in their glorified bodies: and also that this very description has been preserved in certain sections of xxi.-xxii.*

We have next to determine the extent of this description. Now even the cursory reader will observe that there are two accounts of the Heavenly Jerusalem in these chapters, which have been rudely thrust together by the Seer's literary executor.¹ A

¹ We might compare 2 Corinthians, which is now recognized by the learned world as consisting of two mutilated Epistles of St. Paul edited together as one, the last four chapters belonging to the earlier Epistle. In Cicero's letters Professor Purser shows that in several cases exactly the same phenomenon may be found.

close study of these chapters will show that the section xxi. 9-xxii. 2 constitutes a unity, though incomplete in itself, as we shall see presently, and gives a description of the Heavenly Jerusalem that was to be the centre of the Millennial Kingdom. Two further fragments of this description are to be found in xxii. 14-15 and 17. This description fits in perfectly with the conditions of the Millennial reign of Christ and the martyrs for a thousand years. It is conceived of as a period of beneficent rule and evangelizing effort in regard to the surviving nations who visit the Heavenly Jerusalem and bring all their glory and honour into it. Wickedness, of course, still exists without it, but nothing that is unclean, nor any liar or abominable person, is permitted to enter into it (xxii. 15, xxi. 27).

So far the first description. But what are we to make of the second, which begins with xxi. 1? Only the *disjecta membra* of this description remain. Two fragments of it are recoverable in xxi. 1-4^c and xxii. 3-5. These should be read together, as the first clause of xxii. 3 forms the fourth line of the stanza, the first three lines of which are preserved in xxi. 4^{abc}. In this second description the former heaven and earth have passed away for ever, with all the sin and sorrow and pain that prevailed on the former earth. Death itself shall be no more throughout the new heaven and the new earth and the New Jerusalem (xxi. 4). And whereas in the Heavenly Jerusalem that came down from God for the Millennial Kingdom the saints who had been martyred reigned only a thousand years, in the later New Jerusalem they are to reign for ever and ever (xxii. 5). It is noteworthy that even the very diction of xxi. 1-4^{abc} and of xxii. 3-5 testifies to the fact that they form part of one and the same poem. Thus οὐκ ἔσται ἔτι, which occurs three times in xxi. 1^c 4^{bc}, recurs twice in xxii. 3^a 5^a (contrast xxi. 26) and not elsewhere throughout our author. οὐκ . . . ἔτι occurs nine times in connection with other verbs. Thus while οὐκ ἔσται ἔτι is confined to xxi. 1-4^{abc}, xxii. 3-5, it is to be observed that οὐκ . . . ἔτι is characteristic of our author in the N.T., since outside our author it occurs in the N.T. only six times and twice of these in quotations.

We have now dealt with the chief difficulties in xx.-xxii. There are, of course, many of a subordinate nature affecting the original order of the text in xxii., but they are treated shortly in the introductions to the various sections of the rearranged translation that follows. Chaps. xx.-xxii. should provisionally be read in the following order:

xx. 1-3. Vision of the chaining of Satan for a thousand years.

xxi. 9-xxii. 2, 14-15, 17. Vision of the Heavenly Jerusalem

which comes down to be the abode of Christ and the glorified martyrs, and the centre of a new evangelization of the nations for a thousand years.

xx. 4-6. Vision of the glorified martyrs who reign with Christ for a thousand years.

xx. 7-10. Vision of the loosing of Satan, and the attack of Gog and Magog on the Beloved City; of the destruction of Gog and Magog, and the casting of Satan into the lake of fire.

xx. 11-15. Vision of the great white throne; of the vanishing of the former heaven and earth; of the judgment of the dead, and of the casting of death and Hades into the lake of fire.

xxi. 5^a, 4^d, 5^b, 1-4^{abc}, xxii. 3-5. The outworn world has vanished: God creates a new world. Vision of the new heaven and the new earth: of the New Jerusalem descending from God to the new earth, in which the saints are to reign for ever.

xxi. 5^c 6^b-8. Admonition of God conveyed through the Seer to his contemporaries.

xxii. 6-7, 18^a, 16, 13, 12, 10. Declaration of Christ as to the truth of the words of the Seer; His assurance of His almighty power and His speedy advent; and His command to the Seer to publish the prophecy: for the time is at hand.

xxii. 8-9, 20. John's testimony and closing words regarding Christ.¹

xxii. 21. The closing benediction.

VISION OF THE HEAVENLY JERUSALEM.

XXI. 9-XXII. 2, 14-15, 17: *Vision of the Heavenly Jerusalem coming down from heaven to be the abode of Christ and of the glorified martyrs, who are to reign with Him for 1000 years, and to be the centre of a new evangelisation of the nations.*

This vision forms (I.) an integral part of the Book, and (II.) is from the hand of the Seer. Since the question has already been discussed (see pp. 144-154) we shall sum up shortly the evidence for the above statements.

I. The vision forms an integral part of the Book.

1. There must be a fitting seat on earth for the kingdom of Christ during the Millennial reign with the glorified martyrs in their heavenly bodies. This city while obviously supramundane, as befitting Christ and the glorified saints, must yet be accessible to the actual dwellers on the earth, as in fact it is: cf. xxi. 24-27, xxii. 14-15, 17.

2. Such a kingdom or centre of the evangelization of the heathen nations is clearly foretold in xv. 3-4, and implied in v. 10,

¹ xxii. 11, 18^b-19 are most probably later additions.

xiv. 7. Without such a kingdom there would be a lacuna in the Book.

3. As one of the angels of the Seven Bowls showed the doomed city of the Antichrist to the Seer (xvii.-xviii.), so the same angel, or one of the same Seven, shows him the blessed city of the Christ (xxi. 9).

Thus so far as the subject-matter goes, the presence of this vision is indispensable.

II. It is from the hand of the Seer. Full evidence of this statement is given in the notes, but sufficient evidence will here be adduced to establish this point.

1. First, as to *diction*.

XXI. 9. καὶ ἦλθεν . . . δείξω σοι agrees exactly with xvii. 1. With φιάλας τῶν γεμόντων τῶν ἐπὶ πληγῶν cf. xv. 7. τ. ρυμφήν τ. γυναῖκα τοῦ ἀρνίου is prepared for in xix. 7-8.

10. ἀπήνεγκεν . . . πνεύματι. So also in xvii. 3. τὴν πόλιν τ. ἀγίαν Ἱερουσαλὴμ: cf. xxi. 2. καταβαίνουσιν ἐκ τ. οὐρανοῦ ἀπὸ τ. θεοῦ: cf. iii. 12, x. 1, xxi. 2, etc. ἔχουσιν τ. δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ (also in 23): cf. xv. 8.

11. ὡς λίθῳ ἰδοῦσι: cf. iv. 3, ὅμοιος . . . λῆθῳ ἰάσπιδι. Now we know (see vol. i. p. 36) that our author several times uses ὅμοιος as the equivalent of ὡς. κρυστάλλίζοντι: cf. iv. 6, ὁμοία κρυστάλλῳ.

13. ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς: cf. vii. 2, xvi. 12.

15. ὁ λαλῶν μετ' ἑμοῦ: cf. xvii. 1.

18. ὁ δάψ (ὑαλος, 21): cf. ὑάλινος, iv. 6, xv. 2.

22. Observe the divine title so frequent in our Book.

23. οὐ χρεῖαν ἔχει: cf. iii. 17, xxii. 5. φαίνωσιν: cf. i. 16, viii. 12.

24. περιπατήσουσιν: cf. ii. 1, iii. 4, xvi. 15.

26. τὴν δόξαν καὶ τ. τιμὴν: cf. iv. 9, 11, v. 12, 13.

27. γεγραμμένοι ἐν τ. βιβλίῳ τῆς ζωῆς: cf. xx. 12, 15. ποιῶν βδέλυγμα (cf. xxi. 8) καὶ ψεῦδος: cf. xxii. 15.

XXII. 1. λαμπρόν: cf. xv. 6, xix. 8. ποταμόν . . . ὡς κρύσταλλον: cf. iv. 6, θάλασσα . . . ὁμοία κρυστάλλῳ, and see above on xxi. 10. ἐκπορευόμενον ἐκ τ. θρόνου: cf. iv. 5.

14. πλύνοντες τ. στολὰς αὐτῶν. So vii. 14. ἐξουσία—a favourite Johanne word though here used with a slightly different meaning.

15. φαρμακοὶ . . . εἰδωλοδύται. For the same list of four see xxi. 8, though in a different order.

17. ρύμφη: cf. xxi. 2, 9. ἔρχου: cf. vi. 1. διψῶντι: cf. xxi. 6.

2. *Technical use of idioms.*

(a) Anomalous constructions: cf. xxi. 9, φιάλας τῶν γεμόντων. 14. τὸ τεῖχος . . . ἔχων. (b) Participle = finite verb, ἔχων = ἔχει, xxi. 12, 14: cf. iv. 1, etc. (c) Delicate distinction of our author preserved between ὕδωρ ζωῆς and ξύλον ζωῆς in xxii. 14,

17. This distinction is not made, so far as I am aware, in any other book before 100 A.D.: cf. vii. 17, xxi. 6 on ὕδωρ ζωῆς, and ii. 7 (note) on ξύλον ζωῆς. (d) Observe how the difficult phrase ὁ φωστὴρ αὐτῆς ὅμοιος . . . λίθῳ ἰάσπιδι (xxi. 11) is explained by the clause in iv. 3, ὁ καθήμενος ὅμοιος . . . λίθῳ ἰάσπιδι (see note on xxi. 11). (e) The use of ὡς and ὅμοιος as equivalents: cf. xxi. 11, 18, where ὅμοιος is used in this sense, and xxi. 11, 21, xxii. 1, where ὡς is so used. Observe also that whereas we have ὕδωρ ζωῆς δωρεάν in xxii. 17, we find τοῦ ὕδατος τῆς ζωῆς δωρεάν in xxi. 6—a fact which points to xxi. 6 having been written subsequently to xxii. 17. (f) The order observed by our author as to numerals but nowhere else rigidly observed, is attested in every instance in this vision. Thus our author also places δώδεκα after its noun when the noun is otherwise unqualified: so also in xxi. 12 (*his*), πυλῶνας δώδεκα, ἀγγέλους δώδεκα, and καρποὺς δώδεκα, xxii. 2; but before it when the noun has a dependent genitive: so also in xxi. 12, δώδεκα ὀνομάτα τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων. Finally, when the subject of a clause consists of δώδεκα preceded by the article and followed by a noun, and the same numeral recurs in the predicate with a noun, the δώδεκα precedes the noun. So also in xxi. 21, οἱ δώδεκα πυλῶνες δώδεκα μαργαρίται. See note on viii. 2.

XXI. 9-21. An angel of the Seven Bowls shows to the Seer the Heavenly Jerusalem which is to be the seat of the Millennial Kingdom.

9. καὶ ἦλθεν . . . φιάλας. Repeated from xvii. 1. φιάλας τῶν γεμόντων. This is certainly an extraordinary construction even in our author. It is best, perhaps, to explain it as an oversight. καὶ ἐλάλησεν. . . δείξω σοι. Repeated from xvii. 1.

τὴν νύμφην [τὴν γυναῖκα] τοῦ ἀρνίου. The phrase in brackets is with Bousset to be excised. It can be explained as a marginal gloss on τ. νύμφην based on xix. 7. The great variation in the MSS points to this phrase being an intrusion.

10. καὶ ἀπήνεγκέν με ἐν πνεύματι. This clause has already occurred in xvii. 3, and the phrase that follows here, ἐπὶ ὄρος μέγα, suggests the present earth just as explicitly as does εἰς ἔρημον in xvii. 3. The implication is that the present earth and the Heavenly Jerusalem would coexist. But there is no such implication in regard to the New Jerusalem. The former heaven and earth have already vanished (xxi. 1). Ezek. xl. appears to have been in the mind of our author when he committed this vision to writing. 10^a is practically an echo of Ezek. xl. 2, "In the visions of God brought he me . . . and set me down upon a very high mountain." Here, as the LXX renders ἦγαγέν με ἐν ὁράσει θεοῦ . . . καὶ ἔθηκεν με ἐπ' ὄρος ὑψηλὸν σφόδρα, our author has thought of the Hebrew only. On this very high mountain

(cf. Ezek. xvii. 22; Isa. ii. 2) stood what appeared to be the structure of a city.

There he met a man with a measuring line (Ezek. xl. 3) where-with he measured the Temple.

ἐπὶ ὄρος μέγα καὶ ὄψηλόν. Paradise and a lofty mountain are associated together in 1 Enoch xxiv. sq., and again in lxxxvii. 3, and probably in Jub. iv. 26. But this association may go back to primitive times, when the mountain of God (Ezek. xxviii. 14, Ps. xlviii. 2) was associated with the glorified Jerusalem (Isa. ii. 2); see Oesterley, *Evolution of Mess. Idea*, p. 129 sqq.

τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἁγίαν Ἱερουσαλήμ. If we compare this phrase with that in xxi. 2, which refers to the New Jerusalem which descends after the Judgment and the creation of the new heaven and the new earth, we observe that it is word for word the same save that the latter adds the significant word *καινὴν*. This seems to imply that the Heavenly City is itself renewed or replaced by another.

But there are other questions which call for discussion in connection with this conception. We have four titles of this future abode of the blessed in our author: 1. ἡ πόλις τοῦ θεοῦ μου (iii. 12). 2. ἡ πόλις ἡ ἁγία Ἱερουσαλήμ καινὴ (xxi. 2.), or ἡ καινὴ Ἱερουσαλήμ (iii. 12). 3. ἡ πόλις ἡ ἁγία Ἱερουσαλήμ (xxi. 10). 4. ὁ παραδείσος τοῦ θεοῦ μου (ii. 7). This list we can at once reduce to three by referring to iii. 12, where 1 and 2 are identified. Next, by comparing xxi. 10 and ii. 7, we are enabled to identify 3 and 4; for both these are the seat of the ξύλον ζωῆς (cf. xxii. 2). We have now to consider in what relation does (α) ἡ πόλις ἡ ἁγία Ἱερ. (= ὁ παραδείσος τοῦ θεοῦ μου) stand to (β) ἡ πόλις ἡ ἁγία Ἱερ. καινὴ (= ἡ πόλις τοῦ θεοῦ μου). Are they really different or are they identical? They are closely related in the mind of our author, but *they are not identical*.

(α) The first, i.e. ἡ πόλις ἡ ἁγία Ἱερουσαλήμ, is the seat of the Millennial Kingdom. It contains the tree of life (ii. 7, xxii. 2). At the close of the Millennial Kingdom and before the Final Judgment, when both the heaven and the earth vanish, its removal from the earth is presupposed together with Christ and the glorified martyrs. This removal from the earth is not expressly stated, but it is undoubtedly presupposed. There are analogous expectations in contemporary Judaism. Thus in 2 Bar. vi. 6-10 it is said that even the sacred vessels of the Holy of Holies were removed by angels before the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. For an analogous account see 2 Macc. ii. 4-8. In 4 Ezra vi. 2-3, iii. 6, moreover, where the main source (= S: see Box) identifies the heavenly and earthly Paradises, Paradise, which had been prepared by God before the creation of the world, was placed afterwards on the earth as Adam's abode, iii. 6, but with-

drawn after Adam's fall (see Box on 4 *Ezra*, p. 197). Hence we might reasonably conclude that it is the same city—the Holy City, Jerusalem—that is spoken of in xxi. 10 sqq. and in xxi. 2, but *that it has been transformed* (καινή) in order to adapt it to the new heaven and the new earth. Further, in this connection we might remark that just as the Heavenly Jerusalem is associated with the manifestation of Christ on earth in our text, so also we find the same association in 4 *Ezra* vii. 26, xiii. 36. It is true that Box rejects both these passages as interpolations. But if it was believed that the heavenly Paradise had come down to earth to be Adam's abode, there could be no objection to the hope that the Heavenly City should come down to be the abode of the Messiah.

(β) But, though the Holy City, Jerusalem, has been removed from the earth before the Final Judgment, when the former heaven and earth vanish into nothingness, this city is not to be absolutely identified with "the Holy City, New Jerusalem," which comes down from the new heaven to the new earth to be the *everlasting* abode of the blessed. This new city is either wholly new in every respect, or it is the former city *transformed*. It belongs to the new creation, xxi. 5^b. As opposed to the former Holy City, this Holy City is "new" (καινή); that is, it is here contemplated not under aspects of time but of *quality*: it is new as set over against that which is in some respects materialistic, or outworn, or marred, or unfit.

In β, as we have already remarked, there is an identification of ἡ καὶνὴ Ἱερουσαλήμ (iii. 12) and ἡ πόλις τοῦ θεοῦ. It seems as if β is distinguished also in another respect from α. There is no mention of the presence of the tree of life in β, though this is a characteristic feature of α. But the tree of life is unnecessary in β, since death itself is wholly at an end, xxi. 4^b, and the blessed live in the light of God's presence and reign for ever and ever, xxii. 5.

In the conception of the New Jerusalem our author has fused together 1 and 2 and discarded 4 (see above). But these ideas were originally very different, as the following notes will show.

1. *The city of God*.—The idea of the heavenly city or the *city of the gods*, found in many nations of the ancient world, was taken over by Judaism.

The city of the gods was originally suggested by the heaven with the sun and moon and the twelve signs of the Zodiac and the twelve gates through which they were conceived to pass, on the north three gates, on the east three gates, on the south three gates, and on the west three gates. There was also the great Milky Way, which was conceived as the great street of the heavenly city.

It has been said that our author had before him the descrip-

tion of Ezekiel's city (Ezek. xlviii. 31 sqq.) with its twelve gates, three in each of the four walls, and that this description with the enumeration of the twelve precious stones in the high priest's breastplate (Ex. xxviii. 17 sqq., xxxix. 10 sqq.) was all that our author drew upon in the ideas and facts of the past for his own description of the Heavenly City. But our text itself refutes such a view. For the fact that in this city are twelve gates,¹ which are respectively composed of the twelve precious stones, shows that some of the ideas in our text go back ultimately to the heavenly city itself. There is some hint of this connection in 1 Enoch lxii. 2 sqq., lxxv. 6, lxxxii. 4 sqq., where there are said to be twelve portals in the heaven through which the sun, moon, and stars go forth at different seasons. The connection is here very slight, but the connection between these gates and the precious stones mentioned in our text recalls the fact that Philo (*De Monarchia*, ii. 5 : cf. *Vita Mos.* iii. 14) and Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 7. 7) interpret the twelve precious stones on the breastplate of the high priest of the signs of the Zodiac ; and Kircher (*Oedipus Aegyptiacus*, 1653, II. ii. 177 sq.) has shown that according to Egyptian and Arabian monuments these stones correspond to these signs.

The peculiar shape of the city, that it is equally long, broad, and high, may possibly be explained from this standpoint ; for to the human vision the heaven appears to be of this character. We might here compare the Holy of Holies in Solomon's Temple, which was a cube, being 20 cubits each way : cf. 1 Kings vi. 20.

But our author disassociates (see p. 167 sq.) the Heavenly Jerusalem from this ethnic conception of the city of the gods, which had impressed itself slowly, and perhaps for the most part imperceptibly, on the Judaism of the past. As the stars were naturally compared with precious stones, and as we have just seen that a clear association between the signs of the Zodiac and certain precious stones was established before the Christian era, it is not improbable that in Isa. liv. 11-12, where the earthly Zion is referred to, we have traces of the heavenly city :

"Behold I will set thy bases in rubies,
And thy foundations in sapphires.
And I will make of jasper thy pinnacles,
And thy gates of carbuncles, and all thy border of jewels"

(Box's translation) ; and also in Tob. xiii. 16-18,

"And the gates of Jerusalem shall be builded with sapphire
and emerald,

¹ The Babylonians were already familiar with the idea of heavenly gates ; see Zimmern, *KAT*³, p. 619.

And all thy walls with precious stones.
 The towers of Jerusalem shall be builded with gold,
 And their battlements with pure gold.
 The streets of Jerusalem shall be paved
 With carbuncle and stones of Ophir,
 And the gates of Jerusalem shall utter hymns of gladness,
 And all her houses shall say, Hallelujah."

In a much later work, Sibyll. Or. v. 420 sq., we find

καὶ πόλιν ἣν ἐπόθησε θεός, ταύτην ἐποίησεν
 φαιδρότεραν ἀστρων τε καὶ ἡλίου ἥδε σελήνης.

Now from the contents of these passages it appears clear that we have to do not with the heavenly city of God, but with the earthly Jerusalem, and yet the descriptions reflect the characteristics of the heavenly city.¹

2. *Paradise*.—Paradise² is very variously conceived at different times and in different writings. First of all the term is used of the Garden of Eden in Gen. ii.-iii. In the 2nd cent. B.C. it has become the abode of the righteous and elect after this life, and is called the Garden of Righteousness, or of the Righteous, or the Garden of Life, 1 Enoch lx. 8, 23, lxi. 12, and is situated at the ends of the earth, lxx. 2, cvi. 8 (lxxxix. 52), or on the N.W., lxx. 3, lxxvii. 3, or to the east of the seven great mountains, xxxii. 1-2, xxiv. 1-4 sqq. In Test. Levi xviii. 10, 2 Bar. li. 10-11, 2 Enoch ix. 1 sqq., xlii. 2-4, Paradise does not become the abode of the righteous till the Advent of the Messiah or the last judgment, 1 Enoch xxii. In nearly all these passages it is the heavenly and not the earthly Paradise that is meant, or rather the earthly Paradise has assumed a heavenly character. In 2 Enoch viii. 1-6 the heavenly and earthly Paradises are mentioned in succession. The earthly Paradise was created on the third day, Jub. ii. 7, 2 Enoch xxx. 1, whereas according to later Judaism the heavenly Paradise is described as existing before the world either actually or in the thought of God, Pesach. 54^a; Ned. 39^b.

In 4 Ezra (source S) the heavenly and the earthly Paradises are identified. This Paradise was prepared by God before the Creation as Adam's first abode, iii. 6 (cf. 2 Bar. iv. 3), but afterwards withdrawn from the earth and reserved for the righteous after the final Judgment. In this author Paradise has become identical with heaven and is set over against Gehenna, 4 Ezra

¹ See Zimmern, *KAT*, p. 619; Gunkel, *Zum Verständnis des NT.*, p. 48 sqq.; Bousset *in loc.*; Jeremias, *Babylonisches im NT.*, p. 68.

² The Talmudists are almost unanimous in maintaining that there was both a heavenly and an earthly Paradise. The Rabbis distinguish between Gan and Eden. Thus Samuel bar Nahman declares that Adam dwelt only in the Gan, whereas no mortal eye had ever seen Eden (Ber. 34^b).

vii. 36-38, 123. See Box, 4 *Ezra*, 195 sqq. But in 2 Bar. iv. 3 the two Paradises are distinguished apparently; for Adam did not live in the heavenly Paradise, but only enjoyed the vision of it before his fall.

3. *The New Jerusalem*.—In the O.T. such passages as Isa. liv. 11 sq., lx. 10-14, Hag. ii. 7-9, Zech. ii. 1-5, refer only to the earthly Jerusalem, though in Isa. liv. this conception has been influenced by the conception of the city of God. In Tob. xiii. 16-18 this influence is still clearer, while in 2 Bar. iv. 2-4 the heavenly Jerusalem is definitely affirmed and distinguished from the earthly and likewise from Paradise. But it is an error to suppose, as some do, that it was only after the destruction of the earthly Jerusalem that the idea of the heavenly was evolved, for we find it clearly stated early in the second century B.C. in 1 Enoch xc. 29, where God Himself builds what is symbolically called "the New House" on the site of the earthly Jerusalem, which He had removed. In 2 Bar. iv. 3 the manifestation of this city is connected with the manifestation of God, just as in 4 Ezra vii. 26, xiii. 36 the heavenly Zion is to appear along with the Messiah, and in our own text the Holy City, Jerusalem, with Christ and the glorified martyrs. If the heavenly Paradise could appear on earth for Adam, it was only natural that the heavenly Jerusalem should appear on earth for Christ—the Second and greater Adam. Finally, we should observe that the transference of the tree of life from Paradise to Jerusalem, 1 Enoch xxv. 4-5, implies the identification even at this early date of Paradise and Jerusalem: also in Test. Dan v. 12,

"And the saints shall rest in Eden (*i.e.* Paradise),
And in the New Jerusalem shall the righteous rejoice."

καταβαίνουσιν . . . τοῦ θεοῦ. For parallel phrases in our author see above, p. 155.

τὴν δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ. See note on 23, xviii. 1.

11. ὁ φωστὴρ αὐτῆς = "the light thereof." This phrase is practically equivalent to that which immediately precedes, *i.e.* ἔχουσιν τὴν δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ. The city is lighted up by the glory of God Himself, and this light was "like a most precious stone as it were a jasper (ὁμοίως λίθῳ τιμωτάτῳ, ὡς λίθῳ ἱάσπιδι). ὁ φωστὴρ αὐτῆς does not mean "the luminary thereof" and is not equivalent to ὁ λύχνος αὐτῆς in 23, but is to be rendered as given above. This is clear when the words that follow ὁμοίως λίθῳ . . . ὡς λίθῳ ἱάσπιδι are compared with iv. 3, where "He that sat on the throne" is described as being "to look upon like a jasper stone" (ὁμοίως λίθῳ ἱάσπιδι). Thus the light that pervades the Holy City is in colour like to that which flashes through the nimbus that surrounded the throne of God (iv. 3). Moreover, we are

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told that it is the glory of God that gives light to the city (xxi. 23, ἡ γὰρ δόξα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐφώτισεν αὐτήν). This use of φωστὴρ = light, is very rare. Cf. 1 Esdr. viii. 79. Thayer quotes *Anthol.* ii. 359 as another instance of this use.

12. ἔχουσα = ἔχει. See p. 155 *ad fin.* The second ἔχουσα is an ordinary participle.

τείχος. Cf. 2 Enoch lxv. 10, "And there shall be to them a great wall that cannot be broken down."

πυλῶνας δώδεκα. Twelve gates, as in the city of Ezekiel: cf. Ezek. xlviii. 30 sqq., corresponding to the Twelve Tribes. In 1 Enoch xxxiii.-xxxv. there is a similar distribution of the gates of heaven whence the stars issue. In Classical Greek πυλὼν meant a gatehouse, gatetower, or porch, and was, therefore, distinct from πύλη. It has this meaning in Acts xii. 13, τὴν θύραν τοῦ πυλῶνος: cf. *ibid.* xii. 14; Matt. xxvi. 71. But it came in late Greek (see the LXX) to mean simply a large gate: cf. Luke xvi. 20; Acts x. 17, xiv. 13. It is in this sense that it appears to be used by our author—in all eleven times. This is clear from xxi. 21, οἱ δώδεκα πυλῶνες δώδεκα μαργαρίται. He does not use πύλη. In the LXX πυλὼν is often used as a rendering of Πηϋ and sometimes of ῥηϋ, while πύλη very often renders ῥηϋ and sometimes Πηϋ. Hence it is no guide here. It is noteworthy that whereas the Fourth Gospel does not use πυλὼν or πύλη, it employs θύρα many times in the same sense (x. 1, 2, 7, 9, xviii. 16, xx. 19), as does our author (iii. 8, 20, iv. 1).

ἀγγέλους δώδεκα. Cf. Isa. lxii. 6, "I have set watchmen upon thy walls, O Jerusalem."

δνόματα ἐπιγεγραμμένα κτλ. The twelve gates are entrusted respectively to the Twelve Tribes, and the names of the latter inscribed respectively on these gates, as in Ezek. xlviii. 31, "The gates of the city (LXX, πύλαι τῆς πόλεως) shall be after the names of the tribes of Israel." If the gates bear the names of the Twelve Tribes, the names of the Twelve Apostles (14) are engraven on the foundations. Thereby the Seer maintains the continuity of the O.T. and the Christian Church.

13. The order of the points of the compass in this verse are E.N.S.W., whereas in Num. ii. 3 sqq. it is E.S.W.N. and in Ezek. xlviii. N.E.S.W. How the gates were respectively inscribed we have no means of determining.

14. τεῖχος . . . ἔχων. See above, p. 155 *ad fin.*

θεμελίους δώδεκα. Since there are twelve gates, the wall surrounding the City is divided into twelve sections, each section of which rests upon a single foundation stone. These twelve foundation stones consist of twelve precious stones, which are enumerated in 19 sq., and form apparently an unbroken and continuous basement.

ἐπ' αὐτῶν δώδεκα ὀνόματα τ. δώδεκα ἀποστόλων. Elsewhere in the N.T. we have a similar combination of the Christian and Jewish Churches. In Matt. xix. 28, καθήσεσθε καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐπὶ δώδεκα θρόνους κρίνοντες τὰς δώδεκα φυλὰς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ, which may contain a reminiscence of T. Jud. xxv. 1. A remote parallel is to be found in Eph. ii. 20, ἐποικοδομηθέντες ἐπὶ τῷ θεμελίῳ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν, ὅντος ἀκρογωνιαίου αὐτοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ. In Eph. the whole spiritual Church is the theme of St. Paul: here it is only the foundations of the wall that encircles the Holy City. We have really a nearer parallel in Heb. xi. 10, ἐξεδέχετο γὰρ τὴν τοὺς θεμελίους ἔχουσαν πόλιν, ἧς τεχνίτης . . . ὁ θεός. τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων. The Twelve are here referred to as a corporate body, and there is no hint as to its exact composition. "The absence of Paul's name," as Moffatt remarks, "is no more significant than the failure to emphasize that of Peter."

15. This and some of the verses that follow have been suggested by Ezek. xl. 3 sqq. The measuring in each case has to do with the respective ideal cities of the O.T. prophet and the N.T. Seer, and not as in xi. 2, where the actual Jerusalem is referred to. The act of measuring here has none of the meanings given in the note on xi. 1. The measures are given to the Seer in order to elucidate the vision.

16. ἡ πόλις τετράγωνος. Babylon, according to Herodotus (i. 178), was a square (τετράγωνος), each side of the square being 120 stades. The Greeks regarded the square as a symbol for perfection: cf. Simonides in Plato's *Prot.* 344 A, ἀνδρ' ἀγαθόν, χερσὶ τε καὶ ποσὶ καὶ νόῳ τετράγωνον, ἀνευ ψόγου τετυγμένον, χαλεπὸν ἀλαθείας: Aristotle, *Rhet.* iii. 11. 2, τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα φάναι τετράγωνον: cf. *Eth. Nic.* i. 10, 11, ἀγαθὸς ἀληθῶς καὶ τετράγωνος ἀνευ ψόγου. κείται = "stood." Cf. iv. 2; Jer. xxiv. 1, δύο καλὰ θόους . . . κειμένους (כִּיְיָיָו): John ii. 6, xix. 29.

ἐπὶ σταδίους δώδεκα χιλιάδων. This reading, which is that of AQ and most of the cursives, is very difficult. ἐπὶ σταδίους is in itself the usual classical construction, but the genitive (so KP) also is found: see Thuc. ii. 90; Xen. *Cyr.* ii. 4. 2, ἐγένοντο τὸ μέτρωπον ἐπὶ τριακοσίων . . . τὸ δὲ βάθος ἐφ' ἑκατον. But how, if we adopt the σταδίους, are we to explain δώδεκα χιλιάδων? Winer (p. 244 n.) describes it as a genitive of quality and compares πηχῶν (see Blass, p. 99, n. 1) in the next line. But the cases are not analogous. If it is original, it is perhaps to be rendered "to the length of furlongs of the amount of 12,000." Possibly, however, σταδίους is a primitive error and KP have rightly emended the text: ἐπὶ σταδίων δ. χ. = "at 12,000 furlongs." Cf. xiv. 20, ἀπὸ σταδίων χιλίων ἑξακοσίων.

δώδεκα χιλιάδων. 12,000 stades = nearly 1500 miles. This is either the length of one side of the square or of the four sides

combined, but the words that follow are in favour of the former view. These huge figures are not, of course, to be taken literally. Our Seer is using the language of symbolism. When dealing with the subject of Paradise later Jewish writers make statements of a kindred nature. Amongst the more moderate computations is that found in Sibyll. Or. v. 251 (88-130 A.D.):

ἄχρι δὲ καὶ Ἰόπης τείχος μέγα κυκλώσαντες
ὕψος' αἰείρονται ἄχρι καὶ νεφέων ἐρεβεννῶν.

Here the circumference of the city would be about 280 miles.

A larger estimate (quoted from Wetstein) appears in the Shir R. vii. 5, where it is said that Jerusalem would be enlarged till it reached the gates of Damascus, and exalted till it reached the throne of God (ix. 1). In the Baba Bathra, 75^b, its height is defined as twelve miles. But the imagination is wholly baffled by the amazing figures in Taanith, 10^a, where the whole world is declared to be the sixtieth part of the Garden, and the Garden the sixtieth part of Eden.

17. ἑκατον τεσσαράκοντα τεσσάρων πηχῶν. This wall of 144 cubits is wholly out of proportion in view of the gigantic magnitude of the City. It cannot rightly be described as μέγα καὶ ὑψηλόν in connection with the City, and so it may be either a fragmentary and now unintelligible survival of some archaic element, or else merely a poetical detail, and without symbolic significance. But if we might take the wall as an outer line of defence distinct from the City, then it could well serve as a defence against the entrance of the wicked and unclean (xxi. 27, xxii. 15).

μέτρον ἀνθρώπου ὃ ἐστὶν ἀγγέλου. The measures used by the angel are those in common use amongst mankind. This is not unreasonable, since both angels and men are fellow-servants of God (xix. 10, xxii. 9).

18-XXII. 2. This section is in verse, and deals with the appearance and character of the City.

18-21. The materials of which the city is constructed.

18. ἡ ἐνδόμησις . . . ἱασπις. ἐνδόμησις found only here and in Joseph. Ant. xv. 9. 6 (ἡ δὲ ἐνδόμησις ὅσον ἦν ἐβάλλετο κατὰ τῆς θαλάσσης διακοσίους πόδας), and in a pre-Christian inscription, τὴν ἐνδόμησιν τοῦ τεμένου (Dittenberger's *Sylloge Inscript. Graec.*² 583, 31, quoted from Moffatt), appears to mean materials or fabric. Thus not only was the radiance that came forth from Him that sat on the throne (iv. 3) of a jasper hue, and likewise that of the whole atmosphere of the Holy City (xxi. 11), but the wall itself was constructed of jasper. This structure of jasper was based on twelve precious stones, each of which formed one-twelfth of the entire foundation (cf. 12, 19).

ἡ πόλις χρυσίον καθαρὸν κτλ. The city itself was composed of transparent gold.

19. The twelve precious stones which compose the twelve foundations of the wall correspond on the whole to those that were set in gold on the high priest's breastplate in Ex. xxviii. 17-20, xxxix. 10-13 (cf. also Ezek. xxviii. 13 on the dress of the King of Tyre, where, however, in the Hebrew only nine stones are mentioned though twelve are given in the LXX).

Whereas, according to Ex. xxviii. 17 sqq., the names of the Twelve Tribes were written on the twelve stones on the high priest's breastplate, in our text the names of the Twelve Tribes are written, as in Ezek. xlvi. 31, on the twelve gates; but it is the names of the Twelve Apostles that are written on the twelve precious stones which form the foundations of the wall of the City. By means of xxi. 13, where the order in which the angel measured the four sides of the city (*i.e.* E.N.S.W.), and xxi. 19-20, where the twelve stones are enumerated, we are able to discover the probable order in which these foundations were laid. This order has nothing whatever to do with the order given in Ex. xxviii. 17 sqq., as Myers, *Encyc. Bib.* iv. 4811, and Bousset, following the same principle in his commentary, assume; nor is it to be explained from any accidental inversion or misreading of the twelve stones arranged in four lines, each line containing three stones. Bousset's explanation is as follows. Our author read the second three stones in Ex. xxviii. 17 sq. before the first three, and the fourth three before the third three, and thus arrived at the following order:

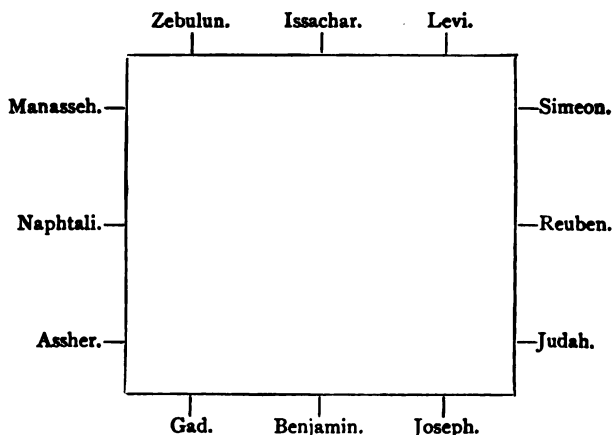
I. ἀνθραξ	σάπφειρος	ἰασπις
II. σάρδιον	τοπάζιον	σμάραγδος
III. χρυσόλιθος	βηρύλλιον	όνύχιον
IV. λιγύριον	ἀχάτης	ἀμέθυστος.

Next, he or his source had read the stones in I. and II. from right to left, and in III. and IV. from left to right. Now, only in the last resort could such a complicated hypothesis—in itself a confession of failure—be accepted.

While rejecting such an hypothesis, it is advisable to state the actual relations between our text and Ex. xxviii. 17-20. 1. Our author has not followed the LXX of Ex. xxviii. 17 sqq., seeing that his list differs in the renderings of four of the Hebrew words. 2. Our author's list presupposes a transposition of the sixth and twelfth stones, *i.e.* the ὄνυχ (= τοπάζιον) and ἰασπ (= ἰασπις). This was probably the original Hebrew order (see *Encyc. Bib.* iv. 4810). 3. It is not credible that, using as he did the Hebrew text first hand, he should accidentally invert the order of the first and second rows and of the third and fourth,

and in addition read the first pair of rows from right to left and the second pair from left to right. *In short, the order of the stones in our text cannot be explained from the order in Ex. xxviii. 17-20.* We have now to discover the grounds which gave rise to the difference in order between our text and Ex. xxviii. 17-20. First of all let us arrange the list of stones in 19-20 in conjunction with the sides of the city as they were measured by the angel.

Now whereas in Num. ii. the tribes are arranged in a square, the sides of which look E.S.W.N., and the gates of the Holy City in Ezek. xlviii. which bear the names of the Tribes are enumerated in the order N.E.S.W., we are tempted to ask why does the angel adopt an apparently capricious order and measure the sides of the Holy City E.N.S.W.? I know of no certain explanation, but it is possible that we may discover some ground for it, if we take the reconstructed list of the Tribes in vii. 5-8 and combine it with xxi. 13. As a result of this combination we have the following result :



In this diagram we see that the six sons of Leah, *i.e.* Judah, Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Issachar, Zebulun (see vol. i. p. 208), are arranged along the E. and N. Immediately adjoining the children of Leah come the children of Rachel in our author's list, Joseph and Benjamin (see i. 208), and since the S. was preferred to the W. among the Jews, and the angel measures the city in the order E.N.S.W. (xxi. 13), these two must be arranged along the S. Next (see i. 208) come the sons of Leah's hand-maid, *i.e.* Gad and Assher. These take the next position of honour, *i.e.* S.W.S. and W.S.W.

This solution of the difficulties of vii. 5-8, xxi. 13, 19-20 has this recommendation, that it explains all three passages as part of one coherent conception. If it is rejected, some other explanation must be discovered, else the direction pursued by the angel in measuring the walls—E.N.S.W.—is highly capricious.

The angel measures the walls in the order E.N.S.W. Now, let us take the twelve stones enumerated in 19-20 and beginning with the S.E. corner place the first three on E., which the angel measured first, the second three on N., which the angel measured next, the third three on S., which the angel measured next, and the fourth three on W., as is done below. But it is not till we combine these data with the following fact that we arrive at the solution of the problem. This fact is that, according to Kircher's *Oedipus Aegyptiacus*, II. ii. 177 sq. (1653), each of the twelve precious stones¹ in our text is connected respectively with one of the twelve signs of the Zodiac on Egyptian and Arabian monuments. That this connection was already recognized by the Jews we learn from the express statements of Philo and Josephus (see references in note, p. 159). The following table (from Kircher) gives the connections between the signs and the precious stones :

1. The Ram—the amethyst.
2. The Bull—the hyacinth.
3. The Twins—the chrysoprase.
4. The Crab—the topaz.
5. The Lion—the beryl.
6. The Virgin—the chrysolite,
7. The Balance—the sardius.
8. The Scorpion—the sardonyx.
9. The Archer—the smaragdus.
10. The Goat—the chalcedon.
11. The Water-carrier—the sapphire.
12. The Fishes—the jasper.

In the diagram that follows I have placed the precious stones in the order suggested by our text in 13, 19-20 and added the signs of the Zodiac with which they were respectively connected. Now, if we read the signs of the Zodiac as there given in the order prescribed in 19-20 we arrive at the following result. *The signs or constellations are given in a certain order, and that exactly the reverse order of the actual path of the sun through the signs.* Thus we have the Fishes, Water-carrier, Goat, Archer, Scorpion, Balance, Virgin, Lion, Crab, Twins, Bull, Ram; for the order to be followed is that given in xxi. 13, *i.e.* E.N.S.W. But in the apparent movement of the sun, the sun is said when

¹ In Pliny's *H.N.* xxxiii. the definite number twelve is connected with precious stones.

crossing the equator towards the north to be at the first point of the Ram, thirty days later it enters the Bull, and so on through the Twins, Crab, Lion, etc., till it reaches the Fishes. Now *this cannot be an accident*. The conclusion that our author is acquainted with these current beliefs as to the connection of the twelve precious stones with the signs of the Zodiac, and the sun's progress through the signs of the Zodiac cannot in the face of the above facts be questioned, while the further fact that he gives the stones in exactly the reverse order to that required by astronomical science, shows that he regards *the Holy City which he describes as having nothing to do with the ethnic speculations of his own and past ages regarding the city of the gods*. Thus he deliberately disconnects the Holy City with the city of the gods, in which the twelve gates were connected with the twelve precious stones and the signs of the Zodiac, (1) by connecting the gates of the Holy City with the names of the Twelve Tribes, and by representing each gate as composed of a single pearl, and (2) by using the twelve precious stones in an ornamental sense and describing them as engraved with the names of the Twelve Apostles.

Table giving the stones of the foundations in their probable order and their probable equivalents in Ex. xxviii. 17-20.

	σάρδιον (=σῤῥῖ), Balance.	σαρδόνυξ (τοπάzion in LXX=σῤῥῖ), Scorpion.	σμάραγδος (=σῤῥῖ), Archer.
ἀμέθυστος (=πῤῥῖ), Ram. }			{ χαλκηδών (ἀνθραξ in LXX=πῤῥῖ), Goat.
βάκιθος (ἀχάτης) in LXX=ἰσῥῖ), Bull. }			{ σάπφειρος (=ῤῥῖ), Water-carrier.
χρυσόπρασος (λιγ- ύριον in LXX= σῤῥῖ), Twins. }			{ ἰασπς (=πῤῥῖ), Fishes.
	τοπάzion (=δνύχιον in LXX=σῤῥῖ), Crab.	βήρυλλος (=σῤῥῖ), Lion.	χρυσόλιθος (=σῤῥῖ), Virgin.

In the above diagram it will be observed that our author has rendered the Hebrew words נֶפֶשׁ, פַּרְדֵּי, שֹׁשׁ, and יָכֹנֹ respectively by χαλκηδών, σαρδόνιξ, χρυσόπρασος, and ἰάκινθος, whereas the LXX in Ex. xxviii. 17-20 renders them respectively by ἀνθραξ, τοπάζιον, λιγύριον, ἀχάτης. Of the twelve stones enumerated in our text¹ three have already been mentioned, the ἱασπις, σμάραγδος, and σάρδιον in iv. 3, while ἰάκινθος is implied in ix. 17. ἱασπις. This was probably of a green or emerald colour. See iv. 3.

σάπφειρος. This stone "is identified (Theophr. 37 ; cf. 55. κύανος σκίυης, and Pliny, *H.N.* xxxvii. 120) with the opaque blue 'lapis lazuli' of Turkestan" (*Encyc. Bib.* iv. 4805).

χαλκηδών. This word occurs only here in Biblical Greek. This gem is taken to be of a green colour (= a copper silicate), and as we have seen already is substituted for ἀνθραξ (a red garnet) in the LXX.

σμάραγδος. See note on iv. 3.

20. σαρδόνιξ (= the פַּרְדֵּי). If we may identify this stone with the topaz, it was, according to Strabo (770), translucent and golden coloured (χρυσοειδὲς ἀποστίλβον φέγγος) or yellow green; according to Pliny (*H.N.* xxxvii. 8), yellow green (e virenti genere). The LXX renders פַּרְדֵּי by τοπάζιον in Ex. xxviii. 17-20. But the σαρδόνιξ was properly a variety of the δύνιξ in which the white background was variegated by layers of red or brown (Pliny, *H.N.* xxxvii. 23). But what is the Hebrew?

σάρδιον. See iv. 3 (π.).

χρυσόλιθος (= שֹׁשׁ). This gold stone is hard to identify: it may be golden yellow and opaque—i.e. yellow jasper or yellow serpentine: or it may be golden yellow and translucent (see *Encyc. Bib.* iv. 4807). These stones are described by Pliny, *H.N.* xxxvii. 42, as "aureo fulgore translucentes."

βήρυλλος (= הַשֵּׁשׁ). This is thought to be the malachite by Myres in the *Encyc. Bib.* iv. 4808, "with its wavy . . . bands and cloudy patches of light vivid and dark green." In Ex. xxvii. 20, xxxix. 13, הַשֵּׁשׁ is rendered by δύνιχιν.

¹ The identification of the Greek with the Hebrew names for these precious stones is in several cases purely hypothetical. This is in part due to the confusion of the order in the Massoretic. Although the same order in the four rows on the high priest's breastplate is given in Ex. xxviii. 17-20 and xxxix. 10-13 both in the Massoretic and the LXX respectively, yet the LXX implies a transposition of יָהֹל and יָסָפִיד. But the confusion is further aggravated by the two accounts in Josephus, *Ant.* iii. 7. 5 and *Bell.* v. 5, 7, which differ from each other as to the order of the stones in the third and fourth rows, and while the first account gives for the first stone in the first row σαρδόνιξ, the second gives σάρδιον. Since Josephus states (*Ant.* iii. 7. 5) that the names of the Twelve Tribes were engraven on the stones, each stone having the honour of a name in the order in which they were born, this confusion is all the more disturbing.

τοπάξιον. See under *σαρδόνυξ* above.

χρυσόπρασος. This word, which does not occur in the LXX, which has *λιγύριον*, is the Greek equivalent of *נֶזֶף*. It was probably of a greenish yellow colour. According to Pliny, *H.N.* xxxvii. 20, it was like the beryl but paler: "vicinum genus huic (beryllo) est pallidius, et a quibusdam proprii generis existimatur vocaturque chrysoprasus."

δάκινθος (*i.e.* *דכין*, where LXX has *ἀχάτης*). According to Pliny, *H.N.* xxxvii. 41, it was of a violet colour, resembling the amethyst but less bright: "ille emicans in amethysto fulgor violaceus dilutus est in hyacintho."

ἀμέθυστος (*i.e.* *מֵהֵמֶה*)—a transparent purple quartz.

21. οἱ δώδεκα πυλῶνες . . . μαργαρίται. Cf. *Sanh.* 100^a: "Rabbi Jochanan sat one day and preached: One day will the Holy One—blessed be He—bring precious stones and pearls thirty cubits long by thirty cubits broad and excavate (openings) in them of ten cubits (in breadth and) twenty cubits in height, and they shall stand in the gates of Jerusalem": cf. also *Baba Bathra* 75^b. *ἀνά εἰς ἕκαστος*. This is a "barbaric" construction: cf. *Matt.* xxvi. 22, etc. For this distributive use of *ἀνά* cf. *iv.* 8, *John* ii. 6; but the *ἀνά* is here an adverb, not a preposition. In *καθ' εἰς* in *Mark* xiv. 19, *Rom.* xii. 5 the *κατά* is an adverb also (*Robertson*, pp. 460, 555). A somewhat parallel construction is found in *Eph.* v. 33, *καθ' ἕνα ἕκαστος* (*Blass*, p. 179). *ἡ πλατεῖα*. Probably to be taken generically "the streets," as *ξύλον ζωῆς* in *xxii.* 2. *χρυσίον καθαρόν*. The whole city is described as "pure gold" in *ver.* 18. *ὡς ὁστος διαυγής*. This may be rendered either "transparent as glass" or "as it were transparent glass." The latter is decidedly weak, but either is admissible: cf. *i.* 14, *iv.* 6, *ix.* 9, *xv.* 2, *xxii.* 1. *διαυγής* is found only here in the N.T. and not at all in the LXX. It occurs in *Philo*, *Lucian*, *Plutarch*, *Apollonius Rhodius*.

22. In the Holy City there would be no temple (see note on *vii.* 15), nor ark of the covenant—the restoration of which was so eagerly looked for by the Jews; for that the Lord God would be the Temple thereof and the Lamb the Ark of the Covenant thereof. The absolute destruction of the earthly temple was foretold by our Lord, *Mark* xiii. 2; *John* iv. 21; but even the heavenly temple so often referred to in the earlier chapters would have no place as the Heavenly Jerusalem. This verse like those which precede and follow it was originally a tristich, but some words have been lost after *καὶ τὸ ἄρνιον*. Not improbably the missing words are to be recovered from *xi.* 19, and thus the last two lines may have run

ὁ γὰρ κύριος, ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ, ναὸς αὐτῆς ἐστίν,
καὶ τὸ ἄρνιον ἡ κιβωτὸς τῆς διαθήκης αὐτῆς.

The temple that was in the first heaven will disappear (cf. vii. 15, xi. 19). God Himself is henceforth the only Temple, and Christ the Ark of the Covenant. By this restoration the complete parallelism between 22 and 23 is restored. In vii. 9-16 the vision is concerned with the martyr host before the throne of God in heaven, still incomplete and still growing with fresh accessions from the great tribulation on the earth. This host serve God day and night in the temple in heaven, but this temple has no part in the Heavenly Jerusalem: still less in the New; for it belongs to the former things that have passed away (xxi. 4^d). See note on xxi. 3. In the Ep. Barn. xvi. the idea of anything but a spiritual temple is looked upon with disfavour. Man, when redeemed, forms the habitation of God—"a spiritual temple built up to the Lord" (πνευματικὸς ναὸς οἰκοδομούμενος τῷ κυρίῳ).

Our restoration of the missing words ἡ κιβωτὸς τῆς διαθήκης αὐτῆς is confirmed by Jer. iii. 16, where it is prophesied that on the advent of the kingdom of God "the ark of the covenant of the Lord" (אֲרוֹן בְּרִית יְיָ) should no longer be thought of nor needed nor restored. That the Jews of the century before the Christian era expected the restoration of the ark on the advent of the kingdom is clear from 2 Macc. ii. 4 sqq., where it is told that the ark had not been destroyed but had been hidden by Jeremiah on Mount Nebo with a view to its safe keeping. That this belief was current in the first century A.D. is to be inferred from 2 Bar. vi. 7-9, where the ark and certain other holy things belonging to the first temple are said to have been hidden by angels in the earth till the Messianic kingdom was established. That this expectation persisted long afterwards in Judaism we learn from Bammidbar rabba 15. For another kindred legend see Yoma, 54^a. Against such materialistic expectations our author declares boldly that there will be no restoration of the ark of the covenant, for that its place was taken by the Lamb.¹

23. With the whole verse cf. Isa. lx. 19 sqq., καὶ οὐκ ἔσται σοι ἔτι ὁ ἥλιος εἰς φῶς ἡμέρας, οὐδὲ ἀνατολὴ σελήνης φωτίζει σοι τὴν νύκτα ἀλλ' ἔσται σοι Κύριος φῶς αἰώνιον . . . οὐ γὰρ δύσεται ὁ ἥλιός σοι, καὶ ἡ σελήνη σοι οὐκ ἐκλείψει, ἔσται γὰρ Κύριός σοι φῶς αἰώνιον. As in Isaiah the sun and moon do not cease to exist: their splendour is simply put to shame by the glory of God Himself: cf. Isa. xxiv. 23. Our author does not seem to have used the LXX here.

οὐ χράσιον ἔχει τοῦ ἡλίου οὐδὲ τῆς σελήνης . . . αὐτῇ: cf. xxii. 5; Isa. lx. 19 sq. Here the glory of God—see 11, ἔχουσιν τὴν δόξαν

¹ The ark was at all events a symbol of the divine presence. To the popular mind, however, it was more; it was conceived as the actual abode of Jahveh: cf. Num. x. 35, 36; 2 Sam. xv. 25.

τοῦ θεοῦ (note)—lights up the Heavenly City, and not the sun and moon as we see from the next clause, though these still give light to the world outside the City. Cf. Midrash Tillin, xxxvi. 2, "Neque in mundo futuro necesse habebunt lumen solis interdiu, aut lunae noctu" (Wetstein).

ἡ δόξα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐφώτισεν αὐτήν: cf. 11, xviii. 1. The "glory" of God manifests itself in light. This δόξα is probably the *וִי* or brightness which went forth from the Shekinah or the glory (*קִרָא*) of God: cf. Targ. Jer. 1 on Ex. xxxiii. 11, *וִי אֶפְרַיִם*, and Jarg. Jon. on Ezek. xliii. 2, where we have "the brightness of His glory" (*וִי אֶפְרַיִם*). The brightness of Moses' face (*וַיִּבְרַח מִן הַפָּנִים*), according to Jarg. Jer. 1 on Ex. xxxiv. 29, was derived from the brightness of the glory of the Shekinah of Yahveh (*כִּי אֵין שְׂכִינְתָא דִּי*). This last expression will explain xviii. 1, where it is said of an angel, *ἡ γῆ ἐφωτίσθη ἐκ τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ*: cf. xxi. 3, note.

καὶ ὁ λύχνος αὐτῆς τὸ ἀρνίον. Here ὁ λύχνος αὐτῆς is the predicate and corresponds to ἐφώτισεν αὐτήν in the preceding line, just as τὸ ἀρνίον is the parallel to ἡ δόξα τοῦ θεοῦ. There is no comparison here with the sun and moon as Bousset suggests.

24-27. The necessity of interpreting these verses with regard to the present earth and the nations surviving the advent of the Millennium has already been pointed out (see p. 146 sqq.). The evangelizing of the nations is already foretold in xiv. 7 by an angel flying in the midst of heaven, and the going up of the nations to worship God is proclaimed as an event of the future by the glorified martyrs in heaven (xv. 4). The Seer at last beholds in vision the fulfilment of these prophecies. Unless we explain xxi. 9-xxii. 2, 14-15, 17 as the Heavenly City which was to come down from heaven to be the seat of the Millennial reign, then the prophecies in xiv. 7, xv. 3 remain unfulfilled.

The conversion of the Gentiles to Judaism was looked for by Zechariah, ii. 11, viii. 23, and the writer of Isa. lxxv.-lxxvi.; Dan. vii. 14; Tob. xiii. 11, xiv. 6; 1 Enoch x. 21, xc. 32 sqq.; Test. Levi xviii. 9; Test. Jud. xxv. 5; Test. Asher vii. 3; Test. Naph. viii. 4; Pss. Sol. xvii. 32; 4 Ezra xi. 46, amongst other Jewish writers. This expectation became a central truth of Christianity, but the conversion of the heathen nations is to be due, not to Judaism, but to Christianity.

24. This verse consists of a stanza of three lines, the second line of which is corrupt. The whole stanza is based on Isa. lx. 3, 11—not on the LXX of these verses, which runs as follows:

3. καὶ πορεύσονται βασιλεῖς τῷ φωτί σου,
καὶ ἔθνη τῇ λαμπρότητί σου.

11. καὶ ἀνοιχθήσονται αἱ πύλαι σου διὰ παντός,
 ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς οὐ κλεισθήσονται
 εἰσαγαγεῖν πρὸς σε δύναμιν ἔθνων,
 καὶ βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν ἀγομένους.

The words in heavy type have their equivalents in our text, in 24-25, but our author has here rendered the Hebrew independently of the LXX. We might compare Pss. Sol. xvii. 34-35.

διὰ τοῦ φωτός. Here διὰ may be rendered "amidst" or "by."

25. ἡμέρας † νύξ γὰρ οὐκ ἔσται ἐκεῖ †. The obelized clause was probably a marginal gloss originally, based on xxii. 5, which subsequently displaced the true text, καὶ νυκτὸς. In xxii. 5 the definite statement is made that there shall be no longer any night at all. That is what we should expect in the New Jerusalem and the new heaven and the new earth. But there are the following objections to this clause in its present context. 1. We should expect ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς as in Isa. lx. 11, on which the text is confessedly based. 2. The parallelism is against it. 24-25 form a tristich occurring in the midst of a succession of tristicha, and the last line of this tristich is formed of 25. Hence instead of

καὶ οἱ πυλῶνες αὐτῆς οὐ μὴ κλεισθῶσιν ἡμέρας, νύξ γὰρ οὐκ
 ἔσται ἐκεῖ

we should read

καὶ οἱ πυλῶνες αὐτῆς οὐ μὴ κλεισθῶσιν ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς.

3. We should then have the familiar phraseology of our author: cf. iv. 8, vii. 15, xx. 10.

It might, of course, be urged that the adverb ἐκεῖ justifies the clause in the present context by limiting the statement to the city itself. But this emphatic use of ἐκεῖ implies clearly that day and night alternate as usual outside the City. What meaning is then to be attached to ἡμέρας? Does this word denote the unbroken day that prevails *within the City*, or the usual period of light without it? The obelized clause introduces hopeless confusion into the context.

26. Based on Isa. lx. 11. See on 24: cf. also lx. 5, "the wealth of the nations shall come unto thee." Here the LXX differs: *ὅτι μεταβαλεῖ εἰς σὲ πλοῦτος θαλάσσης καὶ ἔθνων καὶ λαῶν. καὶ ἔξουσίν σοι ἀγγέλαι.*

27. The unclean and the abominable and the liars are still on the earth, but, though the gates are open day and night, they cannot enter.

οὐ μὴ εἰσελθῇ . . . πᾶν κοινόν: cf. LXX of Isa. lii. 1, οὐκ ἐτι προστεθήσεται διελθεῖν διὰ σοῦ ἀπερίτμητος καὶ ἀκάθαρτος; xxxv 8,

οὐ μὴ παρέλθῃ ἐκεῖ ἀκάθαρτος: also Ezek. xlv. 9. That our author is using the Hebrew text and not the LXX is evident here; for though ἀκάθαρτος has already occurred four times, he does not use it here but κοινός. But there seems to be some primitive error in the text. Alike the passages in the O.T., of which our text is a reminiscence, and the following phrase ποιῶν βδέλυγμα lead us to expect πᾶς κοινός instead of πᾶν κοινόν. Moreover, the final clause εἰ μὴ οἱ γεγραμμένοι presupposes only persons to be mentioned here. If this is right, then we should render: "and there shall in no wise enter into it any that is unclean or that maketh an abomination or a lie." אַחַד־לֶחֶם could represent πᾶς κοινός or πᾶν κοινόν.

ποιῶν βδέλυγμα. Contrast Babylon (xvii. 4) which was full of βδελύγματα: cf. xxi. 8. ποιῶν . . . ψεῦδος: and xxii. 15, πᾶς φιλῶν καὶ ποιῶν ψεῦδος.

εἰ μὴ οἱ γεγραμμένοι (= עֲמֻסָּה כְּתוּבִים). This construction, as I have pointed out above, implies that only persons should be mentioned in the two preceding lines: i.e., οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθῃ εἰς αὐτήν πᾶς κοινός καὶ ποιῶν βδέλυγμα.

τῷ βιβλίῳ τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ ἀρνίου. See notes on iii. 5, xiii. 8.

CHAPTER XXII.

1-2. The description of the Heavenly City that descends from heaven for the Millennial reign is continued in these verses. The καὶ ἔδειξέν μοι points back to xxi. 9, 10, where the same phrase occurs. In this vision the spirit of the Seer is actually translated (cf. xvii. 3) to the Heavenly City, which is shown to him by an angel (cf. xvii. 1). There is no such translation of the Seer's spirit in the vision of the New Jerusalem that is to descend from heaven after the Judgment and the creation of the new heaven and the new earth (xxi. 5^a, 4^d, 5^b, 6^a, 1-4^{abc}, xxii. 3-5). This latter vision is part and parcel of the vision of the Judgment: cf. καὶ εἶδον in xxi. 1, 2 with the same phrase in xx. 11, 12. In this vision there is no angelic intermediary. The Seer sees the great white throne and Him that sat thereon (xx. 11, 12): he hears God proclaiming the end of the old world and the creation of the new (xxi. 5^a, 4^d, 5^b): he sees the new heaven and the new earth and the descent of the New Jerusalem, and hears a great voice from the throne declaring that God Himself will henceforth abide with men (xxi. 1-3).

1. καὶ ἔδειξέν μοι: cf. i. 1, iv. 1, and the preceding note.

ποταμὸν ὕδατος ζωῆς. Has "the river of the water of life" the same spiritual significance as "the fountains (or 'fountain')"

of the waters (or 'water') of life" in vii. 17, xxi. 6 and "the water of life" in xxii. 17? It is probable, since the river goes forth from the throne of God, and "the fountains of the waters of life" may be conceived as forming the source of this river in the throne of God. But it is noteworthy that no spiritual significance is attached to this river here, whereas the tree of life (xxii. 2) is full of significance in this respect.

Whatever the relation of "the river of life" and "the fountains of the waters of life" may be in our author, their origin and meaning were originally different. The idea of the river in the Heavenly City springs ultimately from the river in the Garden of Eden (Gen. ii. 10). The object of the river in Eden was simply to supply the garden richly with water. When, however, we come down to Ezekiel, we find that the river which flowed forth from beneath the Temple in the coming Kingdom of God was possessed of healing powers as regards the natural products of the earth (Ezek. xlvii. 8-11). Zechariah (xiv. 8) speaks of these waters as issuing forth from Jerusalem eastward and westward, but attributes no transforming influence to them. Perhaps Ps. xli. 5 might be cited here, but both the text and its meaning are uncertain. Lastly, in 2 Enoch viii. 5 it is stated that the river in Paradise in the third heaven flows from beneath the tree of life and divides into four streams of honey and milk and oil and wine. Thus so far as the O.T. and Judaistic literature down to 100 A.D. are concerned, this river in Paradise was not associated with any powers of spiritual transformation such as we find frequently with the phrase "fountain of life" or "water of life."

So far for "the river of the water of life." Turning now to the phrase "fountain of life," we find that this and analogous phrases had in Jewish literature a spiritual significance—cf. Jer. ii. 13; Prov. x. 11, xiii. 14, xiv. 27, xvi. 22; Ps. xxxvi. 10; 1 Enoch xcvi. 6—just as they have in our author.

λαμπρὸν ὡς κρύσταλλον. For λαμπρός cf. xv. 6, xix. 8, xxii. 16, and with ὡς κρύσταλλον cf. iv. 6, ὁμοία . . . κρυστάλλῳ—the two phrases being exact equivalents (see vol. i. p. 36).

2. ἐκπορεύμενον: cf. Ezek. xlvii. 1, καὶ ἰδοὺ ὕδωρ ἔξεπορεύετο ὑποκάτωθεν τοῦ αἵθριου κατ' ἀνατολάς: also 8; Zech. xiv. 8.

τοῦ θρόνου τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀρνίου. There is no difficulty in this conception nor is there any ground for regarding καὶ τοῦ ἀρνίου with the most recent German critics as an addition. This idea with regard to the Messiah is pre-Christian: cf. 1 Enoch li. 3, "And the Elect One shall in those days sit on My throne." Likewise the Elect One is described as sitting on "the throne of glory, xlv. 3, lv. 4, and as sitting on the throne of His (i.e. God's) glory," lxii. 3, 5 (cf. li. 3). Similarly the Lord of Spirits places the Elect One "on the throne of glory" (lxi. 8), "on the throne

of His glory," lxii. 2. This throne is called the Son of Man's throne, lxix. 27, 29. Finally, it is to be observed that though the Lord of Spirits places the Elect One on the throne of glory in lxi. 8, and he judges all men, yet in lxi. 9, the praises of all are directed to the Lord of Spirits. On the other hand, in xxii. 3 of our text the phrase καὶ τοῦ ἀρνίου may be an addition, though there is no conclusive evidence for so regarding it.

ἐν μέσῳ τῆς πλατείας αὐτῆς. This phrase can be taken either with what precedes or with what follows. 1. In the former case we are to translate as in the R.V. "he shewed me a river . . . in the midst of the street thereof." The next sentence then proceeds: "And on this side of the river and on that." Here ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ἐκεῖθεν have a prepositional force as in Dan. xii. 5 (Theod.), εἰς ἐντεῦθεν τοῦ χείλους τοῦ ποταμοῦ (אֶרֶץ הַיְּרֵדָה וְהַיְּרֵדָה): cf. ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν τῆς κιβωτοῦ, בְּרֵאשִׁית הַיָּרְדֵּן וְהַיָּרְדֵּן, in Jos. viii. 33. According to this view the river runs down the midst of the great heavenly way, and is flanked on either side by the trees of life. 2. But it is possible to take the passage differently and connect the words ἐν μέσῳ τῆς πλατείας αὐτῆς with what follows, and treat ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ἐκεῖθεν as genuine adverbs (cf. Ezek. xlvii. 7, δένδρα πολλὰ σφόδρα ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν (וְהָיָה הַיָּרְדֵּן), and John xix. 18, ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ἐντεῦθεν). The resulting construction is quite grammatical but the sense is unsatisfactory: "Between the street of the City and the river on either side of it was there the tree of life." These words presuppose that there was a space between the street and the river, and suggest that they ran side by side. There are two possible ways of conceiving the arrangement of the trees of life. Either these trees are arranged in two rows, one on either bank of the river (one row thus coming between the street and the river), or they are placed on either side of the space that lies between the street and the river. The unsymmetrical character of 2. is certainly against it.

ξύλον ζωῆς. See note on xxii. 14. This expression is used here collectively. In Gen. i. 11 sq. γῆ is used collectively. Hence our author departs here from the conception of a single tree of life as in Gen. ii. 9, iii. 22; 1 Enoch xxiv. 4, xxv. 4-6—perhaps under the influence of Ezek. xlvii. 7, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐπὶ τοῦ χείλους τοῦ ποταμοῦ δένδρα πολλὰ (בְּרֵאשִׁית הַיָּרְדֵּן) σφόδρα ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν, and 12, ἐπὶ τοῦ χείλους αὐτοῦ ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν πᾶν ξύλον βρώσιμον . . . καὶ ἔσται ὁ καρπὸς αὐτῶν εἰς βρώσιν καὶ ἡ ἀνάβασις αὐτῶν εἰς ὑγίαν.

ποιοῦν καρποὺς δώδεκα. This is suggested by Ezek. xlvii. 12, which speaks of fresh fruit being produced every month.

κατὰ μῆνα ἕκαστον ἀποδίδουν τὸν καρπὸν αὐτοῦ. This is a free rendering of Ezek. xlvii. 12, בְּכָל יוֹם יִפְרֹץ, where the LXX (AQ,

other uncials omitting) has τῆς καινότητος αὐτοῦ πρωτοβολήσει—a fact which proves our author's independent use of the Hebrew text. The greater part of this verse is based on Ezek. xlvii. 12.

τὰ φύλλα τοῦ ξύλου εἰς θεραπείαν τῶν ἐθνῶν. Here again our author draws directly from Ezek. xlvii. 12, פְּרִי־הָעֵץ וְהַגִּבֹּרֹת, which the LXX has rendered ἀνάβασις αὐτῶν (= ὁπλῆς (?): cf. Ezek. xl. 6) εἰς ὑγίαιαν. The nations here are those that have survived the visitations in chap. xix. and are evangelized by the inhabitants of the Heavenly City.

14-15. This is the next fragment of the description of the Heavenly City which is to be the seat of the Millennial Kingdom. The persons referred to here are the nations who are contemporaries of this kingdom.

14. οἱ πλύνοντες τὰς στολὰς αὐτῶν. See additional note on vi. 11, vol. i. p. 187 sq.

The phrase is the equivalent spiritually of οἱ νικῶντες. Each class alike has endured and overcome, and as access to the tree of life is here promised to those who have cleansed their robes, so in ii. 7 the right to eat of the tree of life is given to those who have overcome.

ἵνα ἔσται . . . καὶ . . . εἰσελθωσιν. On this combination of the future and subjunctive cf. iii. 9. ἵνα is frequently followed by the future in our author: cf. vi. 4, 11, viii. 3, ix. 5, xii. 6, xiii. 12, xiv. 13.

The καὶ here = "and so"; for the faithful must first enter the City before they can eat of the tree of life: "that they may have the right to the tree of life and so may enter, etc." To ἵνα ἔσται ἡ ἐξουσία αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς we have a remarkable parallel in 1 Enoch xxv. 4, οὐδεμία σὰρξ ἐξουσίαν ἔχει ἁμασθαι αὐτοῦ μέχρι τῆς μεγάλης κρίσεως.

τὸ ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς. See note on ii. 7.

15. ἔξω. There can be no question as to the meaning of this term here. Our author clearly states that *outside* the City or the gates of the City are all classes of sinners. We might compare Ps. ci. 7, "He that worketh deceit shall not dwell within my house." In the Pss. of Solomon xvii. 29 the writer declares of the Messiah:

"And he shall not suffer unrighteousness to lodge in their midst,

Nor shall there dwell with them any that knoweth wickedness."

Nay, more, like Joel iii. 17 (ἀλλογενεῖς οὐ διελεύσονται δι' αὐτῆς οὐκέτι) the writer of this Psalm maintains the exclusion of the Gentiles in 31, "And the sojourner and the alien shall dwell with them no more." But in our author race distinctions are taken no

account of. Character alone is decisive of a man's fitness or unfitness.

οἱ κύνες. If we compare this verse with xxi. 8 we observe that they are practically doublets. Thus the οἱ φαρμακοὶ καὶ οἱ πόρνοι καὶ οἱ φονεῖς καὶ οἱ εἰδωλόλατραι as well as πᾶς ποιὼν ψεύδος are repeated almost verbally in xxi. 8. To τοῖς δειλοῖς καὶ ἀπίστοις in xxi. 8 there is no equivalent, but we may reasonably infer with Swete that the κύνες of the verse before us denote the same persons as the ἐβδελυγμένους in xxi. 8. In other words, the persons referred to were either heathens or Jews stained with the abominable vice which excluded them from the Heavenly Jerusalem, the Spiritual Israel. Anciently the word was used to denounce the moral impurities of heathen worship: cf. Deut. xxiii. 18, "Thou shalt not bring the hire of a whore or the wages of a dog unto the house of the Lord thy God." Here "dog" is the technical term for a *ῥῆρ*, or male prostitute, according to the inscription in the temple of Astarte at Larnaka. It was likewise employed by the Jews of the 1st century A.D. to designate the heathen: cf. Matt. xv. 22 sq. In Phil. iii. 2 St. Paul applies the term to the Judaizing faction in the Christian Church (*βλέπετε τοὺς κύνας*). See Lightfoot, who well paraphrases iii. 2-3: "*We are the children, for we banquet on the spiritual feast which God has spread before us: they are the dogs, for they greedily devour the garbage of carnal ordinances, the very refuse of God's table.*"

Ὅν οἱ φαρμακοὶ . . . καὶ οἱ εἰδωλόλατραι see xxi. 8 (notes).

πᾶς φιλῶν καὶ ποιὼν ψεύδος. Cf. xxi. 8, πᾶσι τοῖς ψευδέσιν. Unless we attach to ποιὼν here the sense of doing with regard to a certain object or end, we should have an anticlimax in the phrase before us. The meaning then would be: "every one that loveth and maketh falsehood his systematic object." In this case ὁ ποιὼν ψ. would differ from ὁ πρᾶσσων ψ. The latter would mean simply "one who tells lies," "one who practises lying," whereas the former would mean rather "one who lies deliberately with an object" (see Plato, *Charmides*, 162d, on this meaning of ποιεῖν as distinguished from πρᾶσσειν). The φιλῶν ψεύδος denotes one who loves lying for its own sake. Here we might compare Rom. i. 32, οὐ μόνον αὐτὰ ποιοῦσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ συνευδοκοῦσιν τοῖς πρᾶσσουσιν.

17. This is the last verse belonging to the description of the Heavenly Jerusalem, xxi. 9-xxii. 2, 14-15, 17. It cannot belong to any other section of the work. It deals with the evangelization of the heathen nations as foretold in xiv. 7, xv. 4, and implied in xi. 15.

This expectation is in harmony with most O.T. prophecies—as in the Second Isaiah, Haggai, Zechariah, Daniel, and also in

the Apocryphal literature—in Sirach, 1 Enoch, Testaments XII Patriarchs. See my *Eschatology*, and Wicks, *The Doctrine of God* (in the indexes of both).

τὸ πνεῦμα. πνεῦμα has many different meanings in our author. 1. Either alone, as in xiii. 15, or with ζωῆς appended, xii. 11, it simply means "life." 2. It means personalized living beings either (a) as angels, τὰ πνεύματα τοῦ θεοῦ, iii. 1, iv. 5, v. 6: (b) as men, though in the passages that follow it is the spiritual element that is alone emphasized, ἐν πνεύματι, i. 10, iv. 2, xvii. 3, xxi. 10, ὁ θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων τῶν προφητῶν, xxii. 6: (c) as unclean spirits or demons, πνεύματα ἀκάθαρτα, xvi. 13, xviii. 2, πν. δαιμονίων, xvi. 14. 3. It means the Spirit of Christ. Thus in τὸ πνεῦμα λέγει, ii. 7, 11, 17, 29, iii. 6, 13, 22, xiv. 13^c (where ναί, λέγει τὸ πνεῦμα—the utterance of the Seer—answers like an echo the voice from heaven in xiv. 13^{ab}) it is the Spirit of Christ speaking through the Seer. For in all the Seven Letters the Speaker is Christ: cf. ii. 1, 8, 12, etc. Similarly in the present passage, xxii. 17, it is the Spirit of Christ that is speaking through John. Thus the entire phrase τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ ἡ νύμφη means concretely "Christ and the Church in the Heavenly Jerusalem"—that is the Church after the Second Advent, not before it: see next note. In such expressions of the prophet the human intermediary is wholly overlooked, and his utterance assigned directly to the Spirit, just as in the O.T. the prophet introduced his message with the words: "Thus saith the Lord." We might compare 1 Tim. iv. 1, where τὸ πνεῦμα ῥητὶς λέγει means in concrete language: "a certain prophet says expressly": cf. Acts xxi. 11.

ἡ νύμφη. In xxi. 9 at the beginning of the description of the Heavenly Jerusalem this City is called ἡ νύμφη: cf. xxi. 2. Thus the term has a double meaning: it can denote either the Heavenly Jerusalem or its inhabitants, i.e. the Spiritual Israel, which is to be the Bride of Christ, just as Israel in the O.T. was conceived of as the Bride of Yahweh. It is as the Spiritual Israel, as the Church triumphant in the Heavenly Jerusalem, that the Bride evangelizes the earth afresh—an evangelization which was promised in xiv. 7, xv. 4, and which, when it is accomplished, will make true in fact what was already declared as accomplished in the counsels of heaven in xi. 15, ἐγένετο ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ κόσμου τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ. England can mean either a certain geographical expanse of country or the people who live in it. See xix. 9^a, p. 129.

ἔρχου. Cf. vi. 1. This word seems to be taken universally as the reply of the Church to the voice of Jesus in ver. 12. But, as we have seen above, the Bride is the Heavenly Jerusalem or its blessed inhabitants in the Millennial Kingdom and not the

Church before the Advent. Thus Christ has already come in this vision. Further, in line 17^a, there can be no question that *ἐρχέσθω* refers to the coming of him that is athirst to Christ. It is, therefore, only natural, apart wholly from the force of the term ἡ νύμφη, to take *ἐρχου* in 17^{ab} in the same sense: *i.e.* as the invitation of the Spirit of Christ, of the Heavenly Jerusalem, and of those who accepted the message, to the world of men that were still thirsting for life and truth or were willing to accept them. Cf. John vi. 35, ὁ ἐρχόμενος πρὸς ἐμὲ οὐ μὴ πεινάσῃ, καὶ ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμὲ οὐ μὴ διψήσῃ πώποτε: vii. 37, εἴαν τις διψᾷ, ἐρχέσθω πρὸς με καὶ πινέτω. Cf. the Didache, x. 6, in the post-Communion prayer of the Church.

“Let grace come (ἐλθέτω)
And let this world go.
Hosanna to the Son of David,
If any one is holy, let him come (ἐρχέσθω):
If any one is not, let him repent.
Come, Lord (*i.e.* μαρναθά).”

We have here a spiritual adaptation of certain parts of our text. Here, since the Second Advent of Christ is still in the distance, the prayer “Come, Lord” can be taken eschatologically as well as spiritually.

καὶ ὁ ἀκούων κτλ. The call was to be taken up by such as heard it and repented. The hearer is to be regarded as one who heard and accepted. ὁ διψῶν ἐρχέσθω. Cf. Isa. lv. 1 (מִי־לִי לֵבָרֶם); John vii. 37, εἴαν τις διψᾷ, ἐρχέσθω πρὸς με καὶ πινέτω. Cf. also xxi. 6 of our text.

Ἰδὼν ζωῆς δωρεάν. The phrase recurs in xxi. 6 where it rightly has the article τοῦ ὕδατος τῆς ζωῆς δωρεάν—a fact which points to xxi. 6 as really coming later in the text.

CHAPTER XX. 4-15.

§ 1. Contents.

This section follows naturally on the elaborate description of the Heavenly Jerusalem, which had come down from heaven to be the abode of Christ and the glorified martyrs. After this vision we have another vision of the glorified martyrs who alone had part in the first resurrection (xx. 4-6). Then, at the close of the Millennial Kingdom, Satan is loosed and leads Gog and Magog to the assault of the Beloved City, whereupon follows their destruction by fire from heaven, and Satan is cast into the lake of fire (7-10). This section closes with a vision of

the great white throne, before whose presence the former heaven and earth had vanished, of the raising of the righteous and wicked from the "treasuries" and from Sheol to be judged, and the casting of death and Hades into the lake of fire (11-15).

This section has suffered from a transposition of the text in 4. Most probably 13 stood originally before 12. Glosses have been added at the close of 12 and 14, and the text tampered with in 13 on dogmatical grounds. 13^a is meaningless as it stands. 4-15 with the above exceptions comes from the hand of John as we shall now show alike by its diction and idiom. That it forms an organic and indispensable element of the Book is obvious.

§ 2. *Diction.*

4. διὰ τ. μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ καὶ διὰ τ. λόγον τ. θεοῦ: cf. i. 2, 9, vi. 9, xii. 11. οὐ . . . τὸ θηρίον οὐδὲ τ. εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ: cf. xiv. 9. τὸ χάραγμα ἐπὶ τ. μέτωπον καὶ ἐπὶ τ. χεῖρα: cf. xiii. 16. ἐβασίλευσαν κτλ.: cf. v. 10.

5. ἔζησαν = "came to life": cf. ii. 8 (xiii. 14). ἄχρι τελεσθῆ: cf. xv. 8, xvii. 17, xx. 3.

6. ὁ δεύτερος θάνατος: cf. ii. 11, xxi. 8. ἱερεῖς . . . βασιλεύσουσιν: cf. i. 6, v. 10.

7. ἐκ τῆς φυλακῆς: cf. ii. 10 for phrase.

8. πλανῆσαι τὰ ἔθνη: cf. xii. 9, xiii. 14 (xviii. 23), xix. 20, xx. 3, 10. ἐν ταῖς τέσσαρσι γωνίαις τῆς γῆς: cf. vii. 1 for the phrase. συναγαγεῖν αὐτοὺς εἰς τ. πόλεμον: cf. xvi. 14 for the phrase.

10. ὁ διάβολος ὁ πλανῶν: cf. xii. 9, ὁ Σατανᾶς ὁ πλανῶν. ἐβλήθη εἰς τ. λίμνην τοῦ πυρός: cf. xix. 20, xx. 14, 15. θπου καί: cf. xi. 8. βασανισθήσονται: cf. ix. 5, xiv. 10. ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός: cf. iv. 8, vii. 15, etc. εἰς τ. αἰῶνας τ. αἰώνων: cf. i. 6, 18, iv. 9, etc.

11. ἔφυγεν . . . καὶ . . . οὐχ εὗρέθη: cf. xvi. 20, ἔφυγεν καὶ . . . οὐχ εὗρέθησαν. τόπος οὐχ εὗρέθη αὐτοῖς: cf. xii. 8.

12. ἐστῶτας ἐνώπιον τ. θρόνου: cf. vii. 9, ἐστῶτες ἐνώπιον τ. θρόνου, viii. 2, etc. γεγραμμένων ἐν τοῖς βιβλίοις: cf. i. 3. ἐν αὐτῇ γεγραμμένα: xiii. 8, xx. 15, xxi. 27.

13. ἐκρίθησαν ἕκαστος κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν. For ἕκαστος with plural verb cf. v. 8 (cf. John xvi. 32), and for κατὰ τὰ ἔργα, ii. 23.

14. ἐβλήθησαν εἰς τ. λίμνην τοῦ πυρός: cf. 10, 15, xix. 20.

15. εὗρέθη . . . γεγραμμένος: cf. iii. 2 for construction. ἐν τ. βίβλῃ τῆς ζωῆς: cf. iii. 5, xxi. 27.

§ 3. *Idioms.*

4. προσεκύνησαν τὸ θηρίον: see note on vii. 11.

ἐπὶ τὸ μέτωπον καὶ ἐπὶ τ. χεῖρα : see note on xiii. 16, vii. 3.

5. ἄχρι with subj. : cf. ii. 25, note, vii. 4, xv. 8, etc.

6. ἐπὶ τούτων . . . οὐκ ἔχει ἐξουσίαν : cf. ii. 26.

8. ὧν . . . αὐτῶν : cf. iii. 8, vii. 2, 9, ix. 11, etc.

13. ἔδωκεν = "gave up"—a Hebraism in this sense = [תן].

In two cases the text abandons our author's idiom owing to the ignorance of the editor.

4. Abandonment of the author's idiom by insertion of οἵτινες by editor in τῶν πεπελεκισμένων . . . καὶ οἵτινες οὐ προσεκύνησαν. See note on i. 5.

11. τὸν καθήμενον ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ : see note on iv. 2. Our author wrote ἐπὶ αὐτόν, but of our author's unique treatment of this phrase the editor of xxi. 4–xxii. was ignorant.

4–6. *Vision of the glorified martyrs who reign with Christ for a thousand years.*

4. The construction of this verse is difficult. Thus we have two clauses, καὶ ἐκάθισαν ἐπ' αὐτούς, καὶ κρίμα ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς, intervening between εἶδον and its accusative τὰς ψυχὰς. But not only is the construction irregular, but the sense is hopelessly uncertain from the standpoint of our author. For if we ask who are those who seat themselves on the thrones, no satisfactory answer can be given. It is not the glorified martyrs ; for they are first referred to in the words τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν πεπελεκισμένων. And yet from iii. 21, where it is said that the martyrs are to share the throne of Christ, we should expect them to be referred to here and to sit on the thrones as Christ's assessors. Somewhat in favour of this view is Christ's promise to His Apostles in Matt. xix. 28, καθήσεσθε καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐπὶ δώδεκα θρόνους. Likewise in Dan. vii. 9 (LXX Theod.), ἐθεώρουν ἕως ὅτε (ὅτου, Theod.) θρόνοι ἐτέθησαν, and vii. 26 (Theod.), τὸ κριτήριον ἐκάθισεν (LXX, ἡ κρίσις καθίσεται), and vii. 22 (Theod.), καὶ τὸ κρίμα (LXX, τὴν κρίσιν) ἔδωκεν (+ τοῖς, LXX) ἀγίοις (+ τοῦ, LXX), ὑψίστου, we have passages which not only speak of the function of judgment as assigned by the Most High to the saints, but appear to have suggested the clauses in our text. Cf. 1 Cor. vi. 2 sq., οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι οἱ ἅγιοι τὸν κόσμον κρινούσιν . . . ὅτι ἀγγέλους κρινοῦμεν.

Thus owing both to the ungrammatical structure of the text and its unintelligibility it is not improbable that θρόνους, καὶ ἐκάθισαν ἐπ' αὐτούς καὶ κρίμα ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς καὶ was originally a marginal gloss based on Daniel, or rather that this passage has got displaced and should be restored after καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν χεῖρα αὐτῶν. By adopting the latter alternative, as the present editor has done, we restore sanity to the text by making it at once grammatical and intelligible, and recovering the lost parallelism of the passage : *i.e.*

καὶ εἶδον τ. ψυχὰς τ. πεπελεκισμένων διὰ τ. μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ
καὶ διὰ τ. λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ,
καὶ [οἵτινες] οὐ προσεκύνησαν τὸ θηρίον
οὐδὲ τ. εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ,
καὶ οὐκ ἔλαβον τὸ χάραγμα ἐπὶ τὸ μέτωπον
καὶ ἐπὶ τ. χεῖρα αὐτῶν
<καὶ εἶδον> θρόνους καὶ ἐκάθισαν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς
καὶ κρίμα ἔδόθη αὐτοῖς.

This signifies that authority is now vested in the hands of the righteous, and not in those of the oppressors of the Church as aforetime.

τῶν πεπελεκισμένων, *i.e.* beheaded by the *πελεκύς*—the instrument of capital punishment in republican Rome. Cf. Diod. Sic. xix. 101, *ῥαβδίσας ἐπελέκισε κατὰ τὸ πάτριον ἔθος*. Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 7. 4, *Σικελίων δέ, ἐπιστεῖλαντος αὐτῷ Πομπηίου ἀποκτεῖναι Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Ἀριστοβούλου, αἰτιασάμενος τὸν νεανίσκον ἐπὶ τοῖς τὸ πρῶτον εἰς Ῥωμαίους ἐξημαρτημένοις τῷ πελέκει διεχρήσατο*. In vi. 9, xviii. 24 we find *ἐσφαγμένων*, the word used in connection with the Lamb that was sacrificed, v. 6, 9, 12, xiii. 8.

διὰ τ. μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ καὶ διὰ τ. λόγον τ. θεοῦ. These phrases are found in the opposite order in i. 2, 9, vi. 9. Cf. xii. 11.

[οἵτινες] οὐ προσεκύνησαν κτλ. These had all suffered martyrdom according to xiii. 15. The clause gives a further definition of those who had been faithful unto death. To regard these as forming a second class of the faithful, *i.e.* the surviving faithful, is against the actual statement in xiii. 15, and the presuppositions that underlie xiv.–xix. (see pp. 4, 26, 40, 96 *ad fin.*) and also against the immediate context; for in that case we should have to attach two conflicting meanings to *ἔζησαν* which immediately follows: *i.e.* "lived again" and "continued to live" according as we connect it with the first class, the actual martyrs, or the second class, the confessors. Moreover, the opening words of 5, οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν νεκρῶν, clearly imply that the persons referred to in 4 were among the *νεκροί* according to the usual phraseology.

[οἵτινες]. This is probably an addition made by the disciple who edited these last chapters. See note on i. 5^b–6. By its omission we should recover our author's *normal* resolution of the participle into a finite verb, *i.e.* τ. πεπελεκισμένων . . . καὶ οὐ προσεκύνησαν = "who had been beheaded and had not worshipped."

προσεκύνησαν τὸ θηρίον κτλ. See vii. 11 n.
τὸ χάραγμα ἐπὶ τ. μέτωπον καὶ ἐπὶ τ. χεῖρα. See xiii. 16 (n.), vii. 3 (n.).

ἔζησαν, *i.e.* "came to life" (cf. ii. 8, xiii. 14; Rom. xiv. 9) in human parlance, though in their life in heaven they had been

more truly alive than when they had been on earth. With this first resurrection or manifestation of the glorified martyrs in the Millennial Kingdom we should compare that of all the departed saints with Christ in 1 Thess. iv. 14-17, and that of certain saints who had been taken up alive into heaven in 4 Ezra vii. 28 (cf. vi. 26). This line resumes briefly the preceding eight lines.

ἐβασίλευσαν μετὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ χίλια ἔτη. Cf. v. 10. The earliest authorities for the belief in a temporary kingdom of the Messiah are 1 Enoch xci.-civ. (xciii. 1-14, xci. 12-19), Pss. Sol. xi., xvii.; Sibyll. Or. iii. 1-62; Jub. xxiii. 27-29, 31, 11; 2 Bar. xxx., xl. 3, lxxiv. 2, xii. 34; 1 Cor. xv. 23-28. The limits assigned to its duration are various. In 4 Ezra vii. 28 sq. this kingdom is to endure for four hundred years, and to come to a close with the death of the Messiah and all His companions, and the world is to return to primeval silence—a statement apparently without parallel for its explicitness in Jewish literature. In 2 Bar. xxx., on the other hand, Christ returns in glory to heaven at the close of the Messianic reign. In 2 Enoch xxxii. 2-xxxiii. 2 there is a reference to a period of Sabbatic rest of a thousand years after the close of six thousand years of the world's history. Barnabas, *Ep.* xv. 2-8, accepts this view, and adds that the Son of God will appear at the close of the six thousand years to put an end to the reign of the Lawless one, to judge the wicked and to change the sun, moon, and stars. At the close of the Millennial period there will be the beginning of another world (ἄλλου κόσμου ἀρχήν). See my *Eschatology*², pp. 248, 250 sq., 270 sq., 301 sq., 330, etc. Weber², 373. The reckoning of a thousand years was based on a combination of Gen. i. 2 and Ps. xc. 4 = 2 Pet. iii. 8. From this it was concluded that as each day of creation stood for a world-day of a thousand years, so the history of the world would embrace a world-week of seven thousand years, six thousand years till the final judgment and a thousand years of blessedness and rest.

5. οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν νεκρῶν οὐκ ἔζησαν. Therefore not even the righteous, who had died a peaceful death, have part in this first resurrection. We should observe that John, who must have been well acquainted with the traditional and current belief, that the righteous survivors would be blessed on the advent of the kingdom, deliberately ignores it. This can only mean, as has been frequently shown in the preceding pages (see p. 183), that John held that there would be no righteous survivors on the advent of the kingdom. The traditional belief is attested in Dan. xii. 12; Pss. Sol. xvii. 50; Sibyll. Or. iii. 371; 1 Thess. iv. 17; 1 Cor. xv. 51-52; Asc. Isa. iv. 15.

αὕτη ἡ ἀνάστασις ἡ πρώτη. This must not be construed in a purely spiritual sense and taken to mean a death to sin and a

new birth unto righteousness. 1. The earliest expounders of the Apocalypse, such as Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Irenæus, Hippolytus, and Victorinus, quite rightly take the words in a literal sense of an actual reign of Christ with the glorified martyrs on earth. The spiritualizing method which emanated from Alexandria put an end to all trustworthy exegesis of the Apocalypse, when adopted in its entirety with reference to the Apocalypse. The meaning assigned by the votaries of this method became wholly arbitrary, and every student found in the Apocalypse what he wished to find (see my *Studies in the Apocalypse*, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 28, 30, 36, 38, 48, etc.). The earliest expounders were right, as they were in close touch with the apostolic time.

2. Moreover, the Talmud, and other Jewish writings, and specially the Jewish Apocalypses, attest a literal reign—and no other—of the Messiah, so far as they deal with the question.

3. The context itself is wholly against taking the words in a spiritual sense; for (a) this resurrection is obviously the guerdon of martyrdom, and begins *not with the beginning of the Christian life but after its earthly close*. (b) As Alford rightly urges: “no legitimate treatment of it (*i.e.* the text itself) will extort what is known as the spiritual interpretation now in fashion. If, in a passage where *two resurrections* are mentioned, where certain *ψυχαι ἔζησαν* at the first, and the rest of the *νεκροὶ ἔζησαν* only at the end of a specified period after the first,—if in such a passage the first resurrection may be understood to mean *spiritual* rising with Christ, while the second means *literal* rising from the grave;—then there is an end of all significance in language, and Scripture is wiped out as a definite testimony to anything.” Hence attempts to revive the spiritualizing interpretation of the Millennial Kingdom are to be deplored from every standpoint.

But since the first resurrection embraces only the glorified martyrs, who return to earth to share the Millennial Kingdom with Christ in the Jerusalem which comes down from heaven, it is different in character from the second. For only the faithful who had undergone martyrdom have part in it, whereas at the second resurrection the rest of the faithful and all the unfaithful rise to judgment. As we shall see on xx. 12, these two classes appear before the great white throne, the former, as we must conclude, in their glorified spiritual bodies, and the latter simply as disembodied souls—*i.e.* naked.

6. By meeting martyrdom on behalf of their faith the martyrs are admitted to share in the Millennial Kingdom, are not subject to the second death, and accordingly are exempt from the Judgment that is to follow on the close of the kingdom. Moreover, their priestly character in bringing the knowledge of

God and Christ to the nations during the Millennial Kingdom appears to be referred to in the expression *ἱερεῖς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ* (see below).

μακάριος καὶ ἅγιος. *Μακάριος* is used seven times—in each case in connection with a beatitude—cf. i. 3, xiv. 13, xvi. 15, xix. 9, xx. 6, xxii. 7, 14. *ἅγιος* though of frequent occurrence is not used in this connection elsewhere in our author. Hence it is possible, as Wetstein suggests, that *ἅγιος* refers to the blessed in their priestly capacity (*ἱερεῖς τοῦ θεοῦ*) and *μακάριος* in their kingly (*βασιλεύουσιν*). The combination “blessed and holy” is found in Jub. ii. 23.

ὁ ἔχων μέρος ἐν. Cf. John xiii. 8, *οὐκ ἔχεις μέρος μετ’ ἐμοῦ*: also in xxi. 8 in a different form, *τὸ μέρος αὐτῶν*, and xxii. 19.

ἐπὶ τούτων. For *ἐπὶ* in this sense with the genitive cf. ii. 26 [xi. 6], [xiv. 18].

ὁ δεύτερος θάνατος. This death is defined in xxi. 8 (cf. Matt. x. 28). It is mentioned already in ii. 11 as a punishment, from which those, who are faithful to the end, are exempt. In xx. 14 it is clearly an interpolation.

οὐκ ἔχει ἐξουσίαν. Cf. ii. 26, vi. 8, ix. 3, etc.

ἱερεῖς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Cf. i. 6, *ἱερεῖς τῷ θεῷ*. Now it is to be observed that in i. 6 (see note *in loc.*), v. 10, and here the priesthood and the kingship of those whom John addressed are conjoined (in 1 Pet. ii. 9 they are combined in one expression, *βασιλειον ἱεράτευμα*). But it is further noteworthy that v. 10 (*ἐποίησας αὐτοὺς . . . βασιλείαν καὶ ἱερεῖς καὶ βασιλεύουσιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*) and the present passage *connect the priesthood with a special period of kingship, i.e. that which they are to exercise in the Millennial Kingdom, and share with Christ (xx. 6) on the earth (v. 10)*. These facts suggest that *the priestly offices of the blessed in the Millennial Kingdom have to do with the nations, who are to be evangelized during this period (xiv. 6–7, xv. 4), and this suggestion receives some support from xxii. 5 where, when the eternal reign of all the saints after the Judgment is mentioned (βασιλεύουσιν εἰς τ. αἰῶνας τ. αἰώνων)*, there is not the remotest reference to any special or other priesthood of the faithful.

βασιλεύουσιν μετ’ αὐτοῦ. The scene of this reign is given in the proleptic vision, v. 10, as *ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*.

7–10. *Close of the Millennial Kingdom and of its evangelizing activities. Thereupon follow the loosing of Satan, the march of Gog and Magog—all the faithless upon the earth—against the Beloved City, their destruction by supernatural means, and the casting of Satan into the lake of fire*. The Seer does not say what became of the Heavenly Jerusalem, but its withdrawal from the earth with Christ and the glorified martyrs before the

Judgment is presupposed, while its return to the new earth in a renewed form is definitely stated in xxi. 2. Since "the Beloved City" in xx. 9 is the Heavenly Jerusalem, the saints referred to in the same verse include the risen martyrs and the converts from among the nations.

The same order of events appears in Sibyll. Or. iii. 662-701, *i.e.* the advent of the Messiah, the establishment of His kingdom, the attack of the nations on Jerusalem, and the destruction of the invading hosts by God. In certain sections (A¹, A², A³) of 2 Baruch (1st century A.D.; see my edition, pp. liii. sqq.) the writers look forward to a temporary Messianic kingdom preceded by the Messianic woes, a beneficent domination of the world by the Messiah preceded by the destruction of the antichristian powers, and of such heathen powers as had been in any way associated with them. In the Son of Man Vision in 4 Ezra xiii. the Messianic woes come first (xiii. 30-31), then the manifestation of the Messiah (xiii. 32), the assault of the heathen nations on the Messiah, and their destruction by Him, xiii. 33-34, and the manifestation of the Heavenly Jerusalem, xiii. 36. For yet another scheme of the last things see 4 Ezra iv. 56-v. 13^a, vi. 11-28, vii. 26-44 (Box's edition, p. 111). According to a contemporary of our author, R. Eliezer ben Hyrkanos or R. Eliezer the Great, the woes of the Messiah were to come first, then the day of Gog and Magog, and then the Judgment. If we pass on to the Coptic Apocalypse of Elias (a Jewish work edited by a Christian, 2nd century A.D.) we find the order of events as follows: the destruction of Antichrist and his adherents, the advent of Christ with His saints, the creation of the new heaven and the new earth and the Millennial Kingdom! In the Hebrew Apocalypse of Elijah (3rd century A.D.) Gog and Magog appear after a Messianic reign of forty years. On their annihilation follow the Judgment and the descent of Jerusalem from heaven.

It will be observed that, though each of the works above cited differs in some respect from our text, in some respects they all agree with it.

It is obvious at a glance that our author here forsakes the apocalyptic style and adopts the prophetic. But he has already done so in 6^{cd}, and in 9-10 he reverts to his apocalyptic style. Further, there are no grounds in this section itself for assuming a source, since there is not a single construction at variance with our author's style, though there are new phrases as might be expected in describing new events.

7. λυθίσεται. Cf. λυθῆναι in 3 and the same verb in ix. 14 used in the same sense. ἐκ τ. φυλακῆς αὐτοῦ. Cf. ii. 10 [xviii. 2] for the word φυλακή.

8. ἐξελεύσεται (cf. iii. 12, vi. 2, 4, ix. 3, etc.) πληῖσαι τὰ ἔθνη. In 3 Satan was cast into the abyss, *ἵνα μὴ πλανήσῃ ἐν τὰ ἔθνη.* ἐν ταῖς τέσσαρσι γωνίαις τῆς γῆς. Cf. vii. 1 where this phrase has already occurred.

τὸν Γὼγ καὶ Μαγώ. Three matters call for consideration here: 1. The names. 2. The duplication of the invasion by and the judgment of the heathen nations, *i.e.* before and after the setting up of the Messianic Kingdom. 3. The comprehension of these terms in our text. 1. Magog first appears in Gen. x. 2 as a son of Japheth, but in the Mass. of Ezek. xxxviii. 2 Magog is represented as the land from which Gog came: *i.e.* "Gog of the land of Magog." The LXX (ἐπὶ Γὼγ καὶ τὴν γῆν τοῦ Μαγώγ) and Peshitto, however, have "toward Gog and (+ 'toward,' Pesh.) the land of Magog," a reading which prepares the way for the later view current in Judaism, which conceived Gog and Magog to be two different leaders. In Ezek. xxxix. 6 Magog seems to be the name of a people. Gog is the foe whose invasion from the north had been prophesied by Jeremiah (iii.-vi.) and by Zephaniah (i. 7), but whose coming had hitherto been looked for in vain. The name Gog is undoubtedly ancient; for it is found in the Tel Amarna letters (1400 B.C.) in the form Gāgaja as a designation of the northern nations. In Jubilees viii. 25 the land of Gog is mentioned. Gog is identified with the Scythians by Josephus (*Ant.* i. 6. 1) and by the Chronicles of Jerahmeel (xxi. 4). In Jub. vii. 19, ix. 8, Magog appears as a son of Japheth, as in Gen. x. 2. The same idea that underlies the LXX of Ezek. xxxviii. 2 is definitely set forth in Sibyll. Or. iii. 512, 519:

αἰαὶ σοι, Γὼγ καὶ πᾶσι ἐφεξῆς ἄμα Μαγώγ . . .
 Ὑψίστος δεινὴν ἐπιπέμψει ἔθνεσι πληγὴν.

and 319 sq.:

αἰαὶ σοι, χώρα Γὼγ ἥδε Μαγώγ μέσον οὐσα
 Αἰθιόπων ποταμῶν, πόσον αἵματος ἔκχυμα δέξη.

By the second century B.C. this invasion of Palestine by the two peoples Gog and Magog was clearly expected.

2. The duplication of the attack on Jerusalem (see p. 46), *i.e.* before and after the establishment of the Messianic Kingdom and of the judgment on the heathen nations. The first attestation of this conception is, of course, in Ezek. xxxvii. 21-xxxix. In xxxvii. 21-28 the kingdom with the Messiah, the son of David, is established after the Captivity. Thereupon follows the final attack of the heathen nations upon it in xxxviii.-ix. In the fragment, 1 Enoch lvi. 5-8, we have a description of such an attack. In 4 Ezra xiii. 5, 8-9, 28-35 there is another account

of this final assault of the heathen nations on the Messiah and on Mount Zion, or the Heavenly City, xiii. 35-36 (cf. 6), just as in our text.

In many of the authorities it is only the hostile heathen hosts that are destroyed: cf. Pss. Sol. xvii. 32; 2 Bar. lxxii. 4; Tobit xiii. 11, xiv. 6 sq.; Sanh. 105a; but in most Jewish writings after 100 A.D. a harsher view prevails as to the future destiny of all the Gentiles.

Gog and Magog are frequently mentioned in Rabbinic works. These nations march against God and the Messiah, Aboda-zara, 3^b. This war and the last judgment were to last twelve months according to the Rabbi Aqiba, Edujoth, ii. 10. Other references to Gog and Magog will be found in Ber. 7^b and also in the Targ. Jer. on Num. xi. 26, where it is recorded that Medad prophesied: "In fine extremitatis dierum Gog et Magog et exercitus ejus ascendent contra Jerusalem, et per manus regis Messiae cadent, et septem annis integris ignem accendent filii Israel ex eorum instrumentis bellicis" (cf. also Targ. Jon. *in loc.*). In the Targ. Jon. on Ex. xl. 11, Num. xxiv. 17, Gog's armies are mentioned, and in the Targ. Jer. on Deut. xxxii. 39 and on Isa. xxxiii. 22. See Weber, Bousset, and Volz *in loc.*

3. The terms "Gog and Magog" comprehend all the faithless upon the earth. These are all destroyed by fire from heaven in 9. *Hence the earth is left without inhabitant at the close of the Millennial Kingdom.* Since the faithful at the close of the thousand years withdraw from the earth along with the Heavenly Jerusalem, *there is no longer upon the earth any in whom is the breath of human life.* At this point our Apocalypse agrees with 4 Ezra vii. 29-30, which declares that the world will revert "into the primeval silence . . . like as in the first beginnings, so that no man is left": cf. 2 Bar. iii. 7, "Shall the world return to its nature (of aforetime) and the age revert to primeval silence?"

συναγαγεῖν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον. This phrase has already occurred in xvi. 14.

ὢν ὁ ἀριθμὸς αὐτῶν ὡς κτλ. On the Hebraism iii. 8, xiii. 8, 12, etc. On the metaphor ὡς ἡ ἄμμος τῆς θαλάσσης, cf. Gen. xxii. 17; Jos. xi. 4; Judg. vii. 12, etc. The phrase ἡ ἄμμος τῆς θαλάσσης has already occurred in a literal sense in xii. 18.

9. ἀνέβησαν. Cf. 1 Enoch lvi. 6 sq. where the Parthians and Medes are mentioned:

"And they shall go up and tread under foot the land of His elect ones . . .

But the city of My righteous shall be a hindrance to their horses."

Also Zech. xii. 3. ἀναβαίρω is the word always used in connec-

tion with the pilgrims *going up* to Jerusalem. We might compare the "Songs of the Ascents"—the title of certain of the later Psalms sung by the pilgrims as they approached the Holy City. Cf. Ezek. xxxviii. 9, 11, 16 of the going up of Gog to Jerusalem. Bousset and Gunkel explain the ἀνέβησαν of the march of Gog and Magog from the outlying periphery of the earth to the mountain of God lying in the centre of the earth.

ἐπὶ τὸ πλάτος τῆς γῆς. There are two ways of rendering these words. 1. "Through the breadth of the earth." This phrase is found in the LXX of Hab. i. 6 (in connection with the march of the Chaldean army against Jerusalem) where it is a translation of לְמַרְכָּבֵי אֲרָץ. 2. It is suggested that this phrase describes the goal, towards which Gog and Magog were marching, *i.e.* Jerusalem, which in Ezek. xxxviii. 12 is called the centre or navel of the earth. Wellhausen suggests that the Greek phrase before us = תוֹרֵן אֶרֶץ (Ezek. xxxviii. 11) and is actually identical with תוֹרֵן הָאֵרֶץ = ὁμφαλὸς τῆς γῆς (xxxviii. 12).

ἐκύκλευσαν. Here and in John x. 24 only in the N.T.

τὴν παρεμβολὴν τῶν ἁγίων. *i.e.* the same as the Heavenly City. If the heathen nations had the daring to attack the supernatural Messiah and His elect (xvii. 14) it is not surprising that they should assault His city.

τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἡγαπημένην. The "Holy City" is rightly here designated "the beloved." For a thousand years it has been the seat of Christ's Kingdom and the centre of the evangelizing efforts of the Church. Thus its record stands out in strong contrast with that of the earthly Jerusalem, which according to our author "is called spiritually Sodom and Egypt" (xi. 8). As such it rightly perished at the hands of the antichristian power of Rome. But far other is the destiny of "the beloved city." When Gog and Magog have been destroyed by fire and Satan cast down into the lake of fire, the Holy City, which had come down from heaven, is presupposed to be withdrawn from the sphere of the former heaven and the former earth, and after that it has itself been renewed (observe xxi. 2, τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἁγίαν Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ τὴν) to return from heaven from God to the new earth.

That an assault on Christ and the Holy City should be deemed an inconceivable event by a few scholars can only be due to their want of acquaintance not only with Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic but even with the text of our author. For in our author we find the Parthian kings making war upon the Lamb and the elect (xvii. 14), while in xix. 19 the kings of the earth and their armies levy war on Christ and His hosts from heaven (xix. 14). These passages refer to events at the initiation of the Millennial Kingdom. In 4 Ezra xiii., as in our text, the heathen nations (xiii. 5, 33, 34) assail the Messiah, who came

flying with the clouds of heaven (xiii. 3) and brought with Him the Heavenly Jerusalem (xiii. 6, 35, 36), but with a flaming breath from His lips He burnt them all up so that there was nothing more to be seen of them "save only dust of ashes and smell of smoke" (xiii. 10-11, 38). We have here almost a perfect parallel to the account in our text from what was practically a contemporary Jewish source. For we have a supernatural Messiah, a Heavenly Jerusalem established on Mount Zion, an assault of the heathen nations, and their destruction by fire. There is, of course, one outstanding difference between the two accounts, *i.e.* that whereas these events are connected with the first advent of the Messiah in the Jewish document, they are incidents belonging to the second advent of Christ in the Christian Apocalypse.

Likewise in 4 Ezra xii. 32-34 we have a description of the Messiah destroying the heathen nations — especially Rome. Similarly in 2 Bar. xl. 1 sq., lxxii. 2 sqq. That He is a supernatural Messiah whom the nations have attacked is to be inferred from the description in 4 Ezra xiii. 3^b, 26, xiv. 9, and 2 Bar. xxx. 1. We have already become familiar with this conception of the Messiah in 1 Enoch xxxvii.-lxxi.

κατέβη πῦρ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. Cf. Ezek. xxxviii. 22, πῦρ καὶ θεῖον βρέξω ἐπ' αὐτὸν (τὸν Γώγ) καὶ ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ: xxxix. 6, ἀποστελῶ πῦρ ἐπὶ Γώγ, and the references given in the preceding note from 4 Ezra in exactly analogous circumstances: 2 Thess. i. 8, ii. 8; Asc. Is. iv. 18. So far as words go, a perfect parallel to κατέβη . . . αὐτοῦς is found in 2 Kings i. 10.

κατέφαγεν αὐτούς. All the hosts of Gog and Magog are burnt up—that is all the faithless upon the earth (see note 3 on 8 above). At the close of 10 we are left to infer that the Holy City has withdrawn with all the faithful from the earth. Thereupon follows the Judgment of *the risen dead* by God Himself, from whose presence the former outworn heaven and earth vanish into nothingness.

10. ὁ διάβολος ὁ πλανῶν. Cf. xii. 9, ὁ Σατανᾶς ὁ πλανῶν: [xiii. 14] xix. 20. ἐβλήθη εἰς τὴν λίμνην κτλ. Cf. xix. 20. ὅπου καί. Cf. xi. 8: also (for ὅπου without καί) ii. 13, ὅπου . . . ἐκεῖ, xii. 6, 14. Cf. xvii. 9. βασανισθήσονται (cf. ix. 5, xiv. 10). ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός (cf. iv. 8, vii. 15, xii. 10, xiv. 11). εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων (i. 6, 18, iv. 9, 10, v. 13, vii. 12, x. 6, xi. 15, etc.).

11-15. *Vision of the great white throne and of Him who sat thereon. Disappearance of the former heaven and earth. Judgment of the dead. Death and hell cast into the lake of fire.* This vision consists of four stanzas of three lines each. This vision has suffered at the hands of interpolators.

11. εἶδον θρόνον μέγαν. As distinct from those mentioned in

iv. 4, xx. 4, this throne is designated μέγαν. Moreover, whereas God has assessors seated on adjoining thrones in Dan. vii. 9, here He judges alone. With this line and the text which refers to God we might compare Isa. vi. 1, "I saw the Lord sitting upon a throne . . . and His train filled the temple." In our text there is not the same explicitness. God is referred to indeed under the unmistakable designation ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον, but *the place of the judgment is not specified*. The latter is only natural; for before the judgment has taken place (12-15) *the former heaven and earth have vanished into nothingness* (11^b). Hence the great white throne is conceived as the only thing (save the Heavenly Jerusalem which was to be renewed) that survives the annihilation of all that belongs to the first heaven and the first earth, and as situated somewhere in illimitable space. It is before this great white throne that the risen *souls* clothed in spiritual bodies and unclothed, *i.e.* those of the righteous and of the wicked, appear. Since this throne was created before the world (Berisheth rab. i.), as the eternal place of God, it could well be conceived as surviving the world's annihilation. According to 4 Ezra vii. 33 also, "the Most High shall be revealed upon the throne of judgment" after the first world has disappeared (vii. 31; see p. 198). It was different, however, in earlier Apocalypses, where the Messianic Kingdom was everlasting on the present earth and was of necessity preceded by the Final Judgment. In such cases the Final Judgment took place upon the earth, and the throne of judgment was set up in Palestine, 1 Enoch xc. 20. In Joel iii. 2, 12, 14-16 and 1 Enoch liii. 1 the valley of Jehoshaphat is the scene of this judgment and the agents are the angels (Joel iii. 13).

The Final Judgment is reserved in our text for God Himself; but this Judgment has to do only *with the dead, or rather those risen from the dead, both good and bad*, whereas *the judgment of the living* in xiv. 14, 18-20, xvii. 14, xix. 11-21, xx. 7-10 is committed wholly to Christ. In assigning the Final Judgment exclusively to the Father even in this limited form (see, however, xxii. 13, 12) our author stands apart from the doctrine presented in John v. 22, οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ κρίνει οὐδένα, ἀλλὰ τὴν κρίσιν πᾶσαν δέδωκεν τῷ υἱῷ, and Matt. vii. 22, 23, xvi. 27, xxv. 31-46; Acts xvii. 31; 2 Cor. v. 10. Cf. 1 Enoch xlv. 3, lxix. 27; 2 Bar. lxxii. 2-6. On the other hand, God alone is mentioned in this relation in Matt. vi. 4, 6, 14, 15, 18, xviii. 35, while St. Paul sometimes ascribes the Final Judgment to God, Rom. xiv. 10, and sometimes to Christ, 2 Cor. v. 10.

λευκόν. This epithet may point to the absolute equity of the Judgment. Or since according to our text and 4 Ezra vii. 31 the first world and all that belongs to it have vanished, and

according to 4 Ezra vii. 41-42, "there is neither sun nor moon nor stars . . . neither shining nor brightness nor light, but only the *splendour of the glory of the Most High*" (= כבוד עליון), the throne of God is lighted up with the splendour of the Shekinah, and hence it is the centre of light in the illimitable vastness of space. Whether this is so or not, it is the glory of God alone that lights up the universe. See note on τ. δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ, xxi. 10; also xxi. 23, note.

οὐδ' ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου ἔφυγεν ἡ γῆ καὶ ὁ οὐρανός. Cf. xvi. 20. When we take this line in connection with that which follows, it is clear that there is here taught the literal vanishing of the former heaven and earth into nothingness. As I have shown in my *Eschatology*², 127-128, the older doctrine in the O.T. was the eternity of the present order of things. This was the received view down to the 2nd century B.C. From the 1st century B.C. onward in Judaism and Christianity, the transitoriness of the present heaven and earth was universally accepted. Cf. Mark xiii. 31, ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ παρελεύσονται.

From the words before us we must conclude that before the Judgment began both *heaven and earth had vanished into nothingness*. This conclusion is of great importance when we come to deal with 13. That this was a contemporary Jewish doctrine we find from 2 Enoch lxv. 6, "when all creation visible and invisible . . . shall end, then every man goes to the great judgment." See also 4 Ezra vii. 31-36 (in the note on 13 below) where the same view is taught.

καὶ τόπος οὐχ εὐρέθη αὐτοῖς. See xii. 8 n.

12. Since the verses that precede and follow 12 consist each of three lines, we naturally expect that 12 originally consisted of three lines also. When we examine the text we discover one or two disturbing glosses. When these are excised this verse is parallel in structure to that which precedes and that which follows it. But this verse should be transposed after 13, since it presupposes it.

τοὺς νεκρούς, *i.e.* the rest of the dead who had no share in the first resurrection. Only the dead appear before the great white throne. As Christ had judged the quick in a series of judgments (see note on 11), so God Himself judges all the dead save those who had part in the first resurrection. From 11 taken in conjunction with 13 it is to be concluded that our author has no thought here of a bodily resurrection—save in the case of the righteous dead, who would naturally as in 1 Cor. xv. appear in their spiritual bodies. As regards the wicked, however, the case is different. These would appear simply as disembodied souls—"naked"—in a spiritual environment without a body—without the capacity for communication with or means of expres-

sion in that environment. Every wicked soul, therefore, would be thus shut up within itself and form its own hell even before it was cast into the lake of fire.

[τοὺς μεγάλους καὶ τοὺς μικροὺς.] Elsewhere our author writes τοὺς μικροὺς καὶ τοὺς μεγάλους: cf. xi. 18, xiii. 16, xix. 5, 18 (the usual order in the O.T.). But he may have here deliberately changed the order to emphasize the judgment which awaits the great ones of the earth, and which they so often escaped on earth. In the O.T. the order τ. μεγ. καὶ τ. μικροὺς is found in Jonah iii. 5, but in 1 Sam. v. 9; Jer. vi. 13, xxxi. 34; Ps. cxv. 13 we have the usual order τοὺς μικροὺς καὶ τοὺς μεγάλους.

καὶ βιβλία ἠνοίχθησαν. These books contain a record of all that men have done: cf. Dan. vii. 10, βίβλοι ἠνοίχθησαν: 1 Enoch² xc. 20, "The other took the sealed books and opened those books before the Lord of the Sheep"; 4 Ezra vi. 20, "The books shall be opened before the face of the firmament"; 2 Bar. xxiv. 1, "Behold the days come and the books shall be opened in which are written the sins of all who have sinned"; Asc. Isa. ix. 22. On these books see my note on 1 Enoch² xlvii. 3, which deals with three distinct classes of heavenly books, two of which are mentioned in our text.

καὶ ἄλλο βιβλίον ἠνοίχθη ὃ ἐστὶν τῆς ζωῆς. This book is the register of the righteous. Cf. 1 Enoch xlvii. 3, "The books of the living were opened before Him" (see note *in loc.*; also on iii. 5 of the present text). The explanatory clause looks like a gloss. Seeing that this book has already been mentioned with the article in iii. 5, xiii. 8, xvii. 8, such a clause is needless at all events. The relation of the book of life and the books is well stated by Alford. These "books and the book of life bore independent witness to the fact of men being or not being among the saved: the one by inference from the works recorded: the other by inscription or non-inscription of the name in the list. So the books could be as the 'vouchers' for the book of life."

[κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν]. This phrase is a mere tautology here. It is interpolated from 13, where it rightly occurs. If the dead are judged, ἐκ τῶν γεγραμμένων ἐν τοῖς βιβλίοις, that is the same thing as saying ἐκρίθησαν ἕκαστος κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν (13).

13. This verse should be transferred before 12.

καὶ ἔδωκεν † ἡ θάλασσα † τοὺς νεκροὺς τοὺς ἐν † αὐτῇ †,
καὶ ὁ θάνατος καὶ ὁ ᾠδης ἔδωκεν τοὺς νεκροὺς τοὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς,
καὶ ἐκρίθησαν ἕκαστος κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ.

This stanza betrays in its present form a hopeless confusion of thought, which can only be due to deliberate change of the text. The context cannot admit of a resurrection of the physical body from the sea—seeing that the sea and everything pertaining to it

had vanished. And yet this is the only natural meaning of 13^a . Hence, if 13^a is original and we hold fast to the natural sense, 11^b cannot be original. But the originality of 11^b cannot be questioned, for xxi. 4^d, 5 presuppose it. Accordingly we must either interpret 13^a in a wholly non-natural sense as defining not the place of departed souls but the means by which certain men perished, *i.e.* the sea, and 13^b as giving the intermediate abode of *all souls*, which had died on sea or land, save only those of the martyrs. The general sense then would be : all souls together with their bodies—even those lost at sea (13^a)—are given up by Hades for judgment before the great white throne.

But it is only by a quite illegitimate *tour de force* that such a meaning can be wrested from the words. 13^a clearly presupposes the sea at once as existing and delivering up the *bodies* that had been engulfed in it, at the same time that Hades is represented as delivering up the *souls* that were in it. Body and soul would thus be reunited. The only natural meaning, then, of 13^{ab} is in conflict with the unmistakable statement in 11^b that sea is now non-existent, and with the presupposition that underlies the entire book, *i.e.* that the wicked rise as disembodied souls (see additional note on vi. 11).¹ Only the righteous are to possess

¹ The doctrine of a bodily resurrection is consistently taught in 1 Enoch xxxvii.-lxxi. There the general resurrection takes place before the Judgment, while the former heaven and the former earth still subsist. In lxi. 5 we find an account of the resurrection of

"Those who had been destroyed by the desert,
And those who had been devoured by the beasts,
And those who had been devoured by the fish of the sea."

Here quite distinctly a physical resurrection is described. Further in the same work in li. 1 the body and soul are raised separately and reunited at the Final Judgment. In the case of the righteous a transformation of the physical body into a spiritual is presupposed in the rest of this section (lxii. 15, 16).

"And in those days shall the earth also give back that which was entrusted to it,

And Sheol also shall give back that which it has received,
And hell (= Abaddon) shall give back that which it owes."

Cf. also Ps.-Philo, *de Biblic. Antiquitatibus*, iii. 10 :

"Reddet infernus (= Hades) debitum suum,
Et perditio (= Abaddon) restituet paratecen suam,
Ut reddam unicuique secundum opera sua."

There is a remarkable parallelism here with our text (13). The doctrine of a physical resurrection is enforced dogmatically in 2 Bar. xlix.-li. and Sanh. 91^a. This was the orthodox Rabbinic belief, and it is expressed in the ancient Benediction (Ber. 60^b) still recited by the pious Jew every morning : "O my God, the soul which Thou gavest me is pure : Thou didst create it . . . and Thou wilt take it from me, but wilt restore it unto me hereafter . . . Blessed art Thou, O Lord, *who restorest souls to dead bodies*" (see Singer, *Authorised Daily Prayer Book—Hebrew and English*, p. 5).

But this crass materialistic doctrine does not belong to the N.T. Such a

bodies, *i.e.* spiritual bodies. Finally, Sheol in our author is the abode, not of righteous but of wicked or indifferent souls. As we shall see presently, righteous souls (save those of the martyrs) were preserved in "the treasures."

Hence we conclude that in ἡ θάλασσα τοὺς νεκροὺς τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ there is a deliberate change of τὰ ταμεία into ἡ θάλασσα in order to introduce the idea of a physical resurrection. These ταμεία (or "treasuries") contained the souls of the righteous (with the exception of the martyrs who were already in heaven), whereas ᾗδης was the abode of the wicked souls. Thus we should have:

"And the treasures gave up the dead that were in them,
And death and Hades gave up the dead that were in them,
And they were judged every man according to their works."

Our text thus, like the Pauline Epistles, teaches a resurrection of persons ("the dead" so called), not a resurrection of dead bodies even though in company with souls. The personality of the righteous is complete—the soul clothed with a spiritual body: the personality of the unrighteous is incomplete—the soul is without a body—without the power of expressing itself or receiving impressions from without. Sin is ultimately self-destructive.

That such deliberate perversions of the text took place early—probably in the 2nd century A.D.—I shall show presently. In the meantime it is our task to prove that in apocalyptic circles, to which our author belonged, it was *the accepted belief* that the souls of the righteous were preserved in certain "treasuries." The word "treasuries" (in the Latin of 4 Ezra promptuaria, and in the Syriac of 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch ܐܬܝܪܝܐ) clearly goes back to the Hebrew אֲצִיזִים, which is used also in the Talmud occasionally in this sense, and which in the Midr. rabba on Ecclesiastes iii. 21 (Weber², 338) is said to be placed in the heavenly height. These treasures are first referred to in 1 Enoch c. 5, though not by name:

"And over all the righteous and holy He will appoint guardians from among the holy angels,
To guard them as the apple of an eye,

doctrine has no part in the Pauline Epistles, Hebrews, or in the Fourth Evangelist, nor does it find any countenance in our author, though it was enforced by many of the Fathers in the Christian Church from the 3rd century onward in opposition to Gnosticism, and other more legitimate doctrines within the Church on this question.

Until He makes an end of all wickedness and all sin,
And though the righteous sleep a long sleep, they have
nought to fear."

To these treasures only the souls of the righteous were admitted. From this passage in 1 Enoch (early in the 1st century B.C.) we come down to two Jewish works practically contemporary with our author, *i.e.* 2 Bar. and 4 Ezra. In 2 Bar. xxi. 23, we have a remarkable confirmation of the above emendation of 13^a; for in xxi. 23 the angel of death is mentioned, then Sheol as the intermediate abode of wicked souls, and then the treasures of the souls of the righteous. These treasures are to be opened after the close of the Messianic Kingdom, 2 Bar. xxx. 2, and the souls of the righteous to come forth at the Final Judgment. In 4 Ezra iv. 41-42 we find a second confirmation of the above restoration of 13^a.

"And he said unto me: Sheol and the treasures of souls are like the womb: 42. For just as she who is in travail makes haste to escape the anguish of the travail; even so do these places hasten to deliver what has been entrusted to them from the beginning." Here as Sheol (cf. viii. 53) is the abode of unrighteous souls, so the treasures are the abode of righteous souls (cf. iv. 35, vii. 80). These treasures were to restore the souls of the righteous at the Final Judgment, vii. 32, 95. These treasures are likewise designated "habitations" (*habitacula*: cf. "mansions" or "abiding places," *moval*, John xiv. 2) in vii. 85, 101, 121.

We have thus proved that towards the close of the 1st century A.D. as well as earlier and later the souls of the righteous were conceived of as being guarded and at rest (cf. 1 Enoch c. 5; 4 Ezra vii. 95) in certain places called "treasures," and that from these the souls of the righteous came forth at the Final Judgment.

Such a conception as the above would suit our text perfectly; for the Final Judgment has come, and *since it is a judgment both of the righteous and the wicked, we expect some reference to the former in our text. By the proposed restoration we recover this reference.*

But the evidence in favour of this restoration is not yet complete. For an examination of our author's use of the word *q̄d̄n̄s* shows that he uses it in a bad sense as *the temporary abode of wicked souls*. This is evident from the next verse (xx. 14), where it is said that death and Hades are cast down into the lake of fire. Hence *q̄d̄n̄s* bears no neutral complexion in our author. Had it done so, it would simply have vanished into nothingness like the earth (11^b), but it is hurled into the abyss where Satan and his servants are tormented for ever and ever.

Thus, unless the text is restored as above suggested, there

would only be a judgment of wicked souls, but by the above restoration we have a General Judgment of the righteous and the wicked.

It is significant that in 4 Ezra vii. 31-36 we find an analogous deprivation of the text with a like object, that is, to introduce the idea of a physical resurrection. As might be expected, the thought of the text is thereby hopelessly confused. In vii. 31-36 we have a description in couplets of the new heaven and the new earth taking the place of the old which as corruptible *had passed away*.

31. "And it shall be that after seven days the Age,
which is not yet awake, shall be aroused,
And that which is corruptible shall perish."¹
- 32^a. : : : : : : : : : :
b. : : : : : : : : : :
32^c. And the treasures shall restore those that were committed
unto them.
33. And the Most High shall be revealed upon the throne
of judgment.²
And compassion shall pass away
And longsuffering shall disappear.³
34. But judgment alone shall remain,
Truth shall stand and faithfulness flourish.
35. And recompense shall follow,
And the reward be made manifest."

Box, following Kabisch, has through a strange misconception obelized 32^c as an interpolation. But manifestly 32^{ab} is the intruder.

ἔδωκεν . . ἔδωκαν. Here διδόναι is used absolutely like נתן =

¹ Here a couplet has been displaced and another interpolated to introduce the idea of a physical resurrection.

- 32^a. "And the earth shall restore those that sleep in her,
b. And the dust those that are at rest therein."

Seeing that the new world has already displaced the old in 31 this couplet is wholly at variance with the context. Its aim is to assert the resurrection of the body, to rejoin the souls which come forth from the treasures, 32^c. But since the treasures are prepared for righteous souls only (cf. iv. 35, vii. 80, 95; 2 Bar. xxi. 23, xxx. 2; 1 Enoch c. 5) the text would then teach only a resurrection of the righteous. But every couplet that follows proves that we have here a *general resurrection*. The lost couplet clearly spoke of Sheol giving up the souls of the wicked for judgment, as the treasures in 32^c yield up the souls of the righteous.

² The Syriac here interpolates "And then cometh the end" against all the other versions.

³ The Syriac adds "And pity shall be afar off" against the Latin and the first Arabic versions. The Syr. is supported by the Eth. and Arab². The line appears to be a doublet.

"to give up." It is not a classical use, nor so far as I am aware a Hellenistic one.

ὁ θάνατος καὶ ὁ ᾗδης. As pointed out in the preceding note, ᾗδης can be here only the abode of unrighteous souls (as in 1 Enoch lxiii. 10 xcix. 11, ciii. 7; Pss. Sol. xiv. 6, xv. 11), seeing that in the next verse it is cast into the lake of fire. Death and Hades have already been found together in i. 18 (n.), vi. 8: also in Ps.-Philo, *De Bibl. Antiquitatibus*. In the latter work the destruction of death and Hades are followed as in our text by the creation of a new heaven and a new earth.

"Et extinguetur mors,
Et infernus (= Hades) claudet os suum . . .
Et erit terra alia et caelum aliud."

The alia and aliud here obviously go back to *ἔτερος* which as distinguished from *ἄλλος* involves a distinction in kind. While *ἄλλος* simply asserts the negation of identity, *ἔτερος* asserts the negation of likeness in kind. In 2 Bar. xxi. 23, when Sheol and the treasures have yielded up the souls in them, the new world promised by God was to be manifested, xxi. 25. This accords with the order of events in our text, xx. 13, xxi. 1. In 2 Enoch lxv. 10 it is said that "all corruptible things shall pass away, and there shall be eternal life."

ἐκρίθησαν ἕκαστος κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν. Cf. ii. 23; Ps. xxviii. 4, lxii. 13; Jer. xvii. 10; Matt. x. 32, 33.

14-15. These two verses originally formed the concluding stanza of this section. The text as it stands is impossible. The statement οὗτος ὁ θάνατος δεύτερός ἐστιν, ἡ λίμνη τοῦ πυρός can only be made in reference to human beings, who have undergone the first death, *i.e.* the physical one. Hence, if it belongs to the text, it does not do so in its present position. Here, though a number of cursives, the Sabidic Version and Primasius omit this line, the grounds for its rejection in its present position are not to be sought in textual evidence, since its intrusion is anterior to all such evidence. The real grounds for its rejection are that the statement is absolutely devoid of meaning. Even if death and Hades be regarded as persons, we cannot conceive (cf. Haussleiter, *Die Lateinische Apocalypse*, 213) how the words ὁ θάνατος ὁ δεύτερος can be applied to them. Moffatt suggests that this line was displaced from its original position after 15. There are, in fact, only these two alternatives. Either (1) the line is to be rejected as a gloss, and we must read as follows:

καὶ ὁ θάνατος καὶ ὁ ᾗδης
ἐβλήθησαν εἰς τὴν λίμνην τοῦ πυρός,
καὶ εἰ τις οὐχ εὗρεθῇ ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ τῆς ζωῆς γεγραμμένος
ἐβλήθη εἰς τὴν λίμνην τοῦ πυρός.

Or (2) what appears here as the first and second lines must be read as the first, and what appears here as the third and fourth lines must be read as the second, and οὗτος ὁ θάνατος ὁ δεύτερός ἐστιν, ἡ λίμνη τοῦ πυρός be read as the third. This latter arrangement is not free from serious objections. These are two. First, there does not appear any reasonable ground for the misplacement of the clause. In the next place, the clause in itself is an unmeaning mis-statement. The lake of fire is not the second death, but the second death is the lot of those who are cast into the lake of fire. The right definition of the second death is given in xxi. 8. The present writer, therefore, regards the clause as originally a marginal gloss drawn from xxi. 8 and subsequently incorporated into the text.

14. ἐβλήθησαν εἰς τὴν λίμνην τοῦ πυρός. Cf. 10, xix. 20; Petr. Apoc. 8, λίμνη τις ἦν μεγάλη πεπληρωμένη βορβόρου φλεγομένου ἐν ᾧ ἦσαν ἄνθρωποι τινες ἀποστρέφοντες τὴν δικαιοσύνην.

[οὗτος ὁ θάνατος κτλ.] See note above and cf. xxi. 8.

15. ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ τῆς ζωῆς κτλ. Cf. xxi. 27, iii. 5, note. τὴν λίμνην τοῦ πυρός. See note on ix. 1 on the significance of this phrase.

CHAPTER XXI. 5^a, 4^a, 5^b, 6^a, 1-4^{abc}, XXII. 3-5.

INTRODUCTION.

*The New Heaven, the New Earth, and the New Jerusalem,
with its blest inhabitants.*

§ 1. Now that all evil has been destroyed for ever, and all evil agents have been cast into the lake of fire, that the former heaven and earth have vanished, the final judgment brought to a close, and death and Hades destroyed, God creates a new heaven and a new earth, and summons into being the New Jerusalem. In this city, which would never know tears, nor grief, nor crying, nor any pain nor curse, God will dwell with men, and His throne, which is also that of the Lamb, will be in it, and His servants, whose character, as God's own possession, shall henceforth be blazoned on their brows, shall serve Him and they shall see His Face. And God will cause the light of His Face to shine upon them in perpetual benediction, and they shall reign for ever and ever.

That this section was written by our author is undeniable. It forms the natural climax and the fitting close to all that has gone before, and the nature of the blessedness of the new heaven and the new earth and the new city is in keeping with all that is foreshadowed in the earlier visions of the Seer. The diction and the idiom are our author's.

§ 2. *Diction.*

XXI. 4^d. τὰ πρῶτα ἀπῆλθαν: for this use of ἀπελθεῖν cf. ix. 12, xi. 14, xxi. 1. παρελθεῖν is used in this connection in Synoptics and St. Paul: cf. Mark xiii. 31 = Matt. xxiv. 35 = Luke xxi. 33; 2 Cor. v. 17, τὰ ἀρχαία παρῆλθον.

5^b. καινὰ ποιῶ πάντα. These words summarize the action of God on the world. The faithful receive a new name, ii. 17, iii. 12; they sing a new song, v. 9, xiv. 3; and a new heaven, earth, and a new city are created to be their habitation, xxi. 1, 2.

6^a. γέγοναν. Cf. xvi. 17, φωνή . . . λέγουσα Γέγονεν.

1. ὁ πρῶτος οὐρανός. For this position of πρῶτος cf. ii. 5. ἀπῆλθαν. See note on xxi. 4^d above.

2. τὴν πόλιν τ. ἁγίαν: cf. xxi. 10. Ἰερουσαλὴμ καινὴν: cf. iii. 12. καταβαίνουσιν ἐκ τ. οὐρανοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ: cf. iii. 12, xxi. 10. ἡτοιμασμένην ὡς νύμφην: cf. xix. 7.

3. φωνῆς μεγάλης ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου: cf. xvi. 17, xix. 5. σκηνώσει: cf. vii. 15, xii. 12, xiii. 6. αὐτοὶ λαοὶ αὐτοῦ ἔσονται καὶ αὐτὸς ἔσται θεὸς αὐτῶν: cf. xxi. 7^b.

4^{ab}. ἐξαλείψει κτλ.: cf. vii. 17. οὐκ ἔσται ἔτι: cf. xxii. 3, 5. πόνος: cf. xvi. 10, 11.

XXII. 3. οὐκ ἔσται ἔτι: cf. xxi. 4^a. ὁ θρόνος τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀρνίου: cf. xxii. 1. οἱ δοῦλοι αὐτοῦ λατρεύσουσιν: cf. vii. 15.

5. οὐκ ἔχουσιν χρεῖαν φωτὸς λύχνου κτλ.: cf. xxi. 23. βασιλεύσουσιν εἰς τ. αἰῶνας τ. αἰώνων: cf. xx. 4.

Idiom.

Johannine: **XXII. 4.** τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν μετώπων: see notes on vii. 3, xiii. 16.

5. οὐχ ἔχουσιν χρεῖαν . . . φῶς ἡλίου: cf. iii. 17 for this extraordinary construction. Φωτίζει ἐπ' αὐτούς: a pure Hebraism: see note *in loc.* Contrast construction in xviii. 1, xxi. 23.

Non-Johannine: **XXI. 5.** ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ: see note on iv. 2.

God will Create the World afresh—Heaven, Earth, and the Holy City. This New Jerusalem—which is not created till after the Millennial Kingdom—is always spoken of as belonging to the future (*i.e.* every verb is in the future): whereas the Jerusalem described in xxi. 9–xxii. 2, 14–15, 17 is described as already existing, though as yet in heaven.

XXI. 5^a, 4^d, 5^b. *God's Declaration at the close of the Final Judgment.*

*"The former things have passed away:
Behold I make all things new."*

We have already (see pp. 151–153) shown that xxi. 1–4^o and

xxii. 3-5 belong together and form a description by the Seer of the New Jerusalem which is to be the eternal abode of the blessed. This poem consists of six stanzas, the first two of three lines each and the remaining four of four lines each. Next, since it is obvious that xxi. 4^d, 5^{ab} do not really belong to what follows nor yet to what precedes in the present text, these dislocated lines, as representing the words of Him, from whose presence the former heaven and earth had vanished into nothingness, who has just judged the world (xx. 11-15), and who has cast all wickedness into the lake of fire, at once claim their rightful position as forming the close of the first creation and the beginning of the new.

5^a. καὶ εἶπεν ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ †,

4^d. τὰ πρῶτα ἀπῆλθαν,

5^b. Ἴδου καινὰ ποιῶ πάντα.

This restoration of the order of the text is supported by the remarkable parallel in 2 Cor. v. 17, εἴ τις ἐν Χριστῷ καινὴ κτίσις· τὰ ἀρχαία παρῆλθεν, ἰδοὺ γέγονεν καινὰ. St. Paul here, it is true, refers to the new or spiritual creation of the individual. But in this respect man is a microcosm—an epitome of the universe or the macrocosm.

5^a. καὶ εἶπεν. The Speaker here as in i. 8, xvi. 1, 17, is God Himself, and He speaks, not to the Seer—hence no *μοι* is added as generally elsewhere in our author: cf. vii. 14, xvii. 7, xxi. 6, xxii. 6—but to the entire world of the blessed. The words are most probably conceived as pronounced from the great white throne at the close of the Final Judgment.

† ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ †. We have an error here traceable probably to the disciple of the Seer who edited xx. 4-xxii. When he makes an addition, he generally makes a mistake. Cf. xix. 10, προσκυνῆσαι αὐτῷ, which should be αὐτόν. We should, of course, have ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον: see iv. 2, note.

The words ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τ. θρόνον go back to xx. 11, where God is so described at the beginning of the Final Judgment. Now that character has attained finality and all men have entered on the issues of their conduct, and death and Hades have come to an end, He that sitteth on the throne makes the solemn pronouncement with regard to all that the past: τὰ πρῶτα ἀπῆλθαν. The first world and all that essentially belongs to it as distinct from the second and spiritual world have vanished for ever.

4^d. τὰ πρῶτα ἀπῆλθαν. With τὰ πρῶτα cf. xxi. 1, ὁ γὰρ πρῶτος οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ πρώτη γῆ ἀπῆλθαν. With ἀπῆλθαν cf. ix. 12, xi. 14, xxi. 1. That τὰ πρῶτα ἀπῆλθαν is to be taken immediately in connection with Ἴδου καινὰ ποιῶ πάντα is obvious

in itself. But there is some external evidence that confirms the combination of 4^a and 5^b; for, while it is recognized on all hands that Isa. xliii. 18, 19 was in the mind of our author here, we find on turning to this passage that the two main ideas in 4^a and 5^b are already brought together (though in a more primitive and limited form), and set forth as a divine utterance as here:

18. *μη μνημονεύετε τὰ πρῶτα
καὶ τὰ ἀρχαῖα μη συλλογίζεσθε*
19. *Ἴδὸν ἐγὼ ποιῶ καινὰ.*

The two ideas are also brought together in 2 Cor. v. 17, τὰ ἀρχαῖα παρήλθεν, ἰδὸν γέγονεν καινὰ.

5^b. *Ἴδὸν καινὰ ποιῶ πάντα.* On the idea of a new heaven and a new earth cf. Isa. lxi. 17, lxvi. 22; Ps. cii. 25-26: see note on xxii. 1 of our text. But in the current Apocalypses this idea was a familiar one. Thus in 1 Enoch xci. 16 (before 170 B.C.?) we find:

“The first heaven shall depart and pass away,
And a new heaven shall appear”;

in lxxii. 1 (before 110 B.C.): “Till the new creation is accomplished which dureth till eternity”; in xlv. 4 (94-64 B.C.):

“And I will transform the heaven and make it an eternal blessing and light,
And I will transform the earth and make it a blessing”;

Jub. i. 29 (before 107 A.D.): “From the day of the creation till the heavens and the earth are renewed”; also in 2 Bar. lvii. 2 (before 70 A.D.):

“And belief in the coming judgment was then generated,
And hope of the world that was to be renewed was then built up,
And the promise of the life that should come hereafter was implanted”;

xliv. 12 (after 70 A.D.): “And the new world which does not turn to corruption those who depart to its blessedness”; xxxii. 6: “When the Mighty One will renew His creation”; 4 Ezra vii. 75: “Until those times come in which Thou shalt renew Thy creation.” In the N.T. cf. Matt. xix. 28; Acts iii. 21; 2 Pet. iii. 13. The passage in Barnabas vi. 13 (*λέγει δὲ κύριος Ἴδὸν ποιῶ τὰ ἔσχατα ὡς τὰ πρῶτα*) has nothing in common with our text.

5^c. [*καὶ λέγει· Γράψον ὅτι οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι πιστοὶ καὶ ἀληθινοὶ εἰσιν*]. As these words cannot be assigned to God, they are assigned to an angel. But if we accept this explanation we should here have an instance of bathos—an error in style of

which our author is never guilty. When God Himself declares in the hearing of the Seer that He recreates the world, His words do not require to be confirmed either directly or indirectly by any angel or archangel. The clause οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι . . . ἀληθινοί is repeated from xxii. 6, where it is full of significance in the mouth of Christ. *ὅτι* may (1) introduce a statement or (2) give a reason. But it is not used in the first sense elsewhere in our author after *γράφον*, cf. ii. 1, 8, 12, 18, iii. 1, 7, 14, xiv. 13. Even if we take it in the second sense ("because") the bathos of the statement still remains unrelieved. Hence 5^c appears to be an interpolation. That Christ should solemnly authenticate the truth of these visions in xxii. 6 is wholly fitting.

[6^a. καὶ εἶπεν μοι Γέγοναν.] Cf. xvi. 17. See note on xxi. 5^b (English translation: see vol. ii. 443, note 3). An interpolation? If original, the words come from God or from the *angelus interpretis*. The Seer hears God's first declaration: "Behold I make all things new," and following immediately thereupon the words: "They have become (new)." After this the Seer sees the new heaven and the new earth and the New Jerusalem (xxi. 1-4^{abc}, xxii. 3-5). On the form *γέγοναν* see Blass, *Gram.* p. 46.

XXI. 1-4^{abc}, XXII. 3-5. *The vision of the new heaven and the new earth and the descent of the New Jerusalem adorned as a bride for her husband. God is to tabernacle with men, and never more is there to be grief or pain or tears or death, and all the faithful are to reign for ever and ever.*

1. εἶδον οὐρανὸν καινὸν καὶ γῆν καινήν. On the meaning of *καινός* as distinguished from *νέος* see iii. 12, note. On the new heaven and the new earth see the note on xxi. 4^a above, p. 203. In Isa. lxv. 17 the actual phrase used by our author is found: "For behold I create a new heaven and a new earth" (כִּי־הֵנִי בּוֹרֵא שָׁמַיִם חֲדָשִׁים וָאָרֶץ חֲדָשָׁה) γὰρ ὁ οὐρανὸς καινὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ καινή. Wetstein quotes the Debarim rab. S. xi.: "Cum Moses ante obitum oraret, coelum et terra et omnis ordo creaturarum commotus est. Tunc dixerunt: Fortasse adest tempus a Deo praestitutum, quo renovandus est orbis universus (לְחַדֵּשׁ אֶת־עֲלָמוֹ). Exivit autem vox dicens illud tempus nondum advenisse." See Volz, 296 sqq.; Bousset, *Rel. d. Judenth.* 268 sq.

ὁ γὰρ πρῶτος οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ. This disappearance of the first heaven and the first earth has already been referred to: cf. xx. 11^b.

καὶ ἡ θάλασσα οὐκ ἔστιν ἔτι. The earliest parallel to this statement is found in Test. Levi (109-106 B.C.), iv. 1: "Now know that the Lord shall execute judgment upon the sons of men. Because when the rocks are being rent . . . and the waters dried up." Next in the Assumption of Moses, x. 6:

“And the sea shall retire into its abyss,
And the fountains of waters shall fail,
And the rivers shall dry up.”

Also in Sibyll. Or. v. 159, 160, 447, ἔσται δ' ὑστατίῳ καιρῷ ξηρός ποτε πόντος: viii. 236, πᾶσα θάλασσα οὐκέτι πλοῦν ἔξει. All these passages point not wholly to any Semitic horror of the sea in itself, but in some degree perhaps unconsciously to its mythological connection with the Babylonian myth of the Creation, in which the sea is the water monster Tiāmat, the special opponent of the gods. The omission of the sea by John may thus be owing to its evil associations, many traces of which survive in the O.T. See articles Dragon, Leviathan, Rahab, Serpent, in the *Encyc. Biblica*. A remarkable parallel in Plutarch's *De Iside et Osiride* 7 should be observed. There the sea is regarded as an alien element in nature, fraught with destruction and disease: ὅλως δὲ καὶ τὴν θάλατταν ἐκ πυρός ἡγοῦνται καὶ παρωρισμένην, οὐδὲ μέρος οὐδὲ στοιχείον ἀλλ' ἄλλοιον περίττωμα διεφθορὸς καὶ νοσῶδες.

2. τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἁγίαν Ἱερουσαλὴμ καινὴν. This city is either wholly distinct from that described in xxi. 9-xxii. 2—the seat of the Millennial Kingdom—or it is that city wholly transformed and hence described καινὴν: see xxi. 10, note. Since God re-creates all things, xxi. 5^b, the Holy City is either transformed or created afresh as are the heaven and the earth. This city is clearly distinguished from that in xxi. 9-xxii. 2. In the latter the saints reign for a thousand years, and the tree of life stands in the street thereof in order that all who were worthy might eat thereof, that is, attain to immortality. But in this city there is no mention of the tree of life: it is not needed; for all its inhabitants are immortal (xxi. 4^b) and reign with God for ever and ever (xxii. 5). With this New Jerusalem we might compare Heb. xii. 22, Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐπουρανίῳ: Gal. iv. 26, ἡ δὲ ἄνω Ἱερουσαλὴμ: and Phil. iii. 20, ἡμῶν γὰρ τὸ πολίτευμα ἐν οὐρανοῖς ὑπάρχει.

καταβαίνουσιν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ. Cf. iii. 12, xxi. 10. ἡτοιμασμένην ὡς νύμφην. Cf. xxi. 9; Isa. xlix. 18, lxi. 10. τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς. Cf. 2 Cor. xi. 2; Eph. v. 23.

3. φωνῆς μεγάλης ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου. The throne is that in xix. 11. The speaker is probably one of the Cherubim.

ἴδου ἡ σκηνὴ τοῦ θεοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων,
καὶ σκηνώσει μετ' αὐτῶν.

The word σκηνή here has nothing to do with the Tabernacle (πνῶ). For in Jewish writings there is no expectation of the restoration of the *Tabernacle* in the Heavenly Jerusalem. Its

place is always taken by the Temple (cf. Weber², 375-77). But, since our author expressly states (xxi. 22) that there will be no Temple in the Holy City, that is to be the seat of the Millennial Kingdom, it follows that he could not have looked for a restored Tabernacle in the New Jerusalem which was to be the everlasting abode of the blessed. The word *σκηνή* has already occurred twice. In xiii. 6 it means God's dwelling, *i.e.* heaven, or rather (?) "His Shekinah" (see note *in loc.*). In xv. 5, where it is found a second time, we have seen that the text is either corrupt or interpolated; for *ὁ ναὸς τῆς σκηνῆς τοῦ μαρτυρίου ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ* is an intolerable, because an unintelligible, expression.

What, then, is the meaning of *σκηνή* here? The context appears certainly to favour the interpretation suggested by Dr. Taylor (*Pirke Aboth*², p. 44). "The two ('Shekinah' and 'Memra') are brought together by St. John . . . *ὁ Λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν* (John i. 14). The word *σκηνή* and its derivatives are chosen on account of their assonance with the Hebrew to express the Shekinah and its dwelling with men—compare especially Rev. xxi. 3: *Ἰδοὺ ἡ σκαηνὴ τοῦ θεοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ σκαηνώσκει μετ' αὐτῶν.*" Even in xiii. 6, where our author is adapting to a new situation an earlier source, the probability is that he gives a new meaning to the phrase *τῇ σκαηνῇ αὐτοῦ*, *i.e.* "His Shekinah."

Moreover, in Lev. xxvi. 11 we have a confirmation of the above view. Here the Targum regards the Tabernacle simply as the manifestation of the divine presence. The Hebrew (*וַתְּחַן בְּתוֹכָם*) "I will set my tabernacle among them"—LXX *καὶ θήσω τὴν διαθήκην μου ἐν ὑμῖν*—is paraphrased by the Targ. Jon. *וְאִתָּן שְׂכִינָת יְקִירִי בִּינְיָן*, "I will set the Shekinah of My glory among you." In the next verse we have "the glory of My Shekinah." The word Shekinah which is used as a periphrasis for the divine name is closely associated with the conception of the divine glory (*יקרא*, *אִיקר*, Heb. *יקר*) as we see from the last two passages and throughout the Targums. Cf. also Targ. Jon. on Gen. xlix. 1, "the glory of the Shekinah of Yahweh": or simply "the glory of God" as in Onk. on Gen. xviii. 33. It is employed also as a rendering of "face" when used of God: cf. Deut. xxxi. 18, where *אֶסְתִּיר פָּנַי* ("I will hide my face") is rendered *אֶסְלֵק שְׂכִנְתִּי*, "I will remove my Shekinah": and of "name" in the same connection: cf. Targums of Onk. and Jon. on Ex. xx. 24.

In the Mishnah and Talmud the Shekinah is the mediator of God's presence and activity in the world. Wherever ten persons pray together, the Shekinah is in the midst of them (*Pirke Aboth* iii. 9 (150-200 A.D.); *Berach.* 6^a): also where three are gathered together to administer justice or where two

meet to study the Law (Pirke Aboth iii. 9). Where a man and his wife lead a pious life the Shekinah is present. Before Israel sinned the Shekinah dwelt in each individual (Sota, 3^b): and this relation was possible afterwards: cf. Pirke Aboth iii. 9.

From the Shekinah proceeded a brilliancy or splendour (*i.e.* יו). In this the blessed were to share in the next word: cf. Berach. 17^a, "They delighted themselves in the brightness of the Shekinah (נהנים מיו השכינה). On this "brightness," which is apparently rendered by our author by δόξα, see note on xxi. 23.

As our author thought in Hebrew, this line and the next would probably have run in his mind as

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על עמם עשה

σκηνοῦσι μετ' αὐτῶν κτλ. On σκηνοῦν used of the inhabitants of heaven, cf. xii. 12, xiii. 6: see also vii. 15. With the thought compare Lev. xxvi. 11, καὶ θήσω τὴν διαθήκην (F, σκηνήν: so Mass. נִשְׁכַּח) μου ἐν ὑμῖν . . . 12 . . . καὶ ἔσομαι ὑμῖν θεὸς καὶ ὑμεῖς ἔσεσθέ μου λαός. Ezek. xxxvii. 27, καὶ ἔσται ἡ κατασκήνωσίς μου ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἔσομαι αὐτοῖς θεός καὶ αὐτοὶ μου ἔσονται λαός: xliii. 7; Zech. ii. 14 (10), viii. 3, κατασκηνώσω ἐν μέσῳ Ἱερουσαλήμ.

λαοὶ αὐτοῦ. If this reading is original the idea appears to be the same as that underlying John x. 16, where though there is but one flock (ποίμνη) and one Shepherd, there are many folds (αἶλαι). Each λαός forms a fold in the flock, of which God is the Shepherd. Possibly, however, λαοὶ may simply mean as in the vernacular "people." But John does not so use λαοί, and λαός seems to be the original reading. See crit. note on Greek text *in loc.*

καὶ αὐτὸς † ὁ θεὸς μετ' αὐτῶν ἔσται αὐτῶν θεός †.

The above text appears in three forms in the MSS, and none of them is satisfactory. 1. That which is preserved in $\aleph Q$ and many cursives and omits αὐτῶν θεός can hardly be original, independently of its weak attestation; for not only is the parallelism against it (cf. also xxi. 7), but without αὐτῶν θεός the line becomes an otiose repetition of the idea in the first two lines. The preceding line, καὶ αὐτοὶ λαοὶ αὐτοῦ ἔσονται, requires some such parallelism as θεὸς αὐτῶν.

2. Since, then, the shortened form of the text in $\aleph Q$ cannot be accepted, we have next to consider that attested by A, vg, s¹. 2 —καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς μετ' αὐτῶν ἔσται αὐτῶν θεός. Although the line is rather full, the sense is not unsatisfactory — "And He—God with them—shall be their God," or "God Himself shall be with them—their God." But this *unemphatic* position of αὐτῶν before θεός (*i.e.* the vernacular use of the possessive pronoun—see

Abbott, *Gram.* p. 419 sqq.) is against our author's usage and is not what we expect here.¹ Since in the preceding line the *αὐτοῦ* in *λαοὶ αὐτοῦ* has its normal possessive force in this position, we should expect *θεὸς αὐτῶν* in the present line. As "they shall be His peoples," so He shall be "their God."

3. Instead of *αὐτῶν θεός*, which is against our author's usage and also against the context, which here requires a real possessive, P and some cursives read *θεὸς αὐτῶν*. This is the reading the context leads us to expect, but its attestation is of the poorest character. It can only, therefore, be regarded in the light of a scribal emendation.

From the above examination of the MSS it follows that the original text has not been preserved in any MS. The corrupt readings appear to be due to the incorporation of what was really a marginal gloss on xxi. 3^b, i.e. *ὁ θεὸς μετ' αὐτῶν*. The original may have been (a) *καὶ αὐτὸς αὐτῶν θεὸς ἔσται*, where the *αὐτῶν* would be emphatic owing to its proximity to *αὐτός* (see Abbott, *Gram.* p. 421, note 1), or (b) *καὶ αὐτὸς ἔσται θεὸς αὐτῶν*. In any case the sense would be: "And He will be their God." The usage of our author would certainly be in favour of (b): cf. xxi. 7.

4. καὶ ἐξαλείψει κτλ. See note on vii. 17. καὶ ὁ θάνατος οὐκ ἔσται ἔτι. The idea of this line—but not the diction—is suggested by Isa. xlv. 8^a, "He hath annihilated death for ever" (בָּלַע הַמָּוֶת נַפְשָׁם), which section of Isaiah possibly belongs to the 2nd century B.C. Cf. 1 Cor. xv. 54, κατεπόθη ὁ θάνατος εἰς νίκος. It will be observed that, whereas Aquila and Theodotion incorrectly render נַפְשָׁם as an Aramaic phrase by εἰς νίκος and the LXX by *ισχύσας*, our author gives the right sense in a paraphrastic form. For first century A.D. testimonies to the belief in the coming destruction of death, cf. 2 Enoch lxv. 10, "All corruptible things shall vanish and there shall be eternal life," and 4 Ezra viii. 53; 2 Bar. xxi. 23. See also Moed Qaton, iii. 9, where it cites Isa. xxv. 8.

Since death is destroyed (cf. xx. 14), there is no longer any need of the tree of life. All the faithful have won everlasting life. There can be no more death, there can be only "more life and fuller."

οὔτε πένθος οὔτε κραυγὴ οὔτε πόνος οὐκ ἔσται ἔτι. Cf. Isa. xxxv. 10, li. 11, "and sorrow and sighing (הַחֲנָנִי וְהַבְּכָה) shall flee

¹ *αὐτῶν* though occurring very frequently in our author is never elsewhere found in this unemphatic position in our text; nor is *αὐτοῦ*. *αὐτῆς* is found once in xviii. 5, but there in a source used by our author. *σου* is found several times in this position: see ii. 2, 19, notes. This unemphatic use of the genitive of *αὐτός*, though very frequent in the Fourth Gospel, does not belong to our author.

away." In our text the subject consists of three elements, and so also does the LXX of Isa. xxxv. 10 and li. 11, but the words of the LXX differ from those in our text, ἀπέδρα ὀδύνη καὶ λύπη καὶ στεναγμός. See also Isa. lxxv. 19^b; 1 Enoch x. 22, xxv. 6; 2 Enoch lxxv. 8-9 (A), "They will live eternally, and then, too, there will be amongst them neither labour nor sickness nor humiliation nor anxiety nor need."

XXII. 3^a. καὶ πᾶν κατάθεμα οὐκ ἔσται ἔτι. This verse forms the fourth line of the stanza, the first three lines of which—xxi. 4^{abc}—we have just dealt with. That this verse belongs to that stanza, not only the subject matter, but the very diction is evidence. Thus οὐκ ἔσται ἔτι, which is not found in our author outside the description of the New Jerusalem (xxi. 1-4^{abc}, xxii. 3-5), has already occurred twice in this stanza, *i.e.* xxi. 4^{bc}. The words themselves are based on Zech. xiv. 11 (חָרָם לֹא-יִהְיֶה עוֹד) but not on the LXX. The word κατάθεμα (syncopated from κατανάθεμα) means here, as the context shows, a curse, *i.e.* an accursed thing, and not an accursed person. In itself κατάθεμα could mean the latter, as ἀνάθεμα (= ἄρεμ) can: cf. Gal. i. 8; 1 Cor. xvi. 22; Rom. ix. 3.

καὶ ὁ θρόνος τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀρνίου κτλ. On this conception of "the throne of God and of the Lamb," see note on xxii. 1. Owing to the fact that in the next line only God the Father is spoken of, critics have inferred that καὶ τοῦ ἀρνίου is here an intrusion. But, as I have shown in the note on xxii. 1, we find in 1 Enoch lxi. 8, 9 an excellent parallel; for, though the Elect One (*i.e.* the Messiah) is seated on God's throne as Judge in lxi. 8, in lxi. 9 the praises of all present are addressed to God and not to the Elect One. Moreover, in our text, xx. 6^a, the αὐτοῦ refers to only one of the two Divine Beings in 6^d. Cf. iii. 21, which speaks of Christ as seated on God's throne, while in iii. 19 the O.T. words of Yahweh are used by Christ as His own. οἱ δοῦλοι αὐτοῦ λατρεύουσιν κτλ. Cf. vii. 15, note.

4. ὁφονται τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ. Cf. Matt. v. 8; Heb. xii. 14. This vision of God, which was withheld from Moses (Ex. xxxiii. 20, 23), is promised to the faithful in Messianic times in Jerusalem in T. Zeb. ix. 8, ὁψεσθε αὐτὸν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ—a promise which appears also in Ps. lxxxiv. 7 (LXX and Vulg.) ὁφθήσεται ὁ θεὸς τῶν θεῶν ἐν Σιών. But this is not the vision face to face that is designed in our text and also in 4 Ezra vii. 98. In the latter passage the vision of God constitutes the seventh and supreme bliss of the righteous.

"They shall rejoice with boldness,
Be confident without confusion,
Be glad without fear;

For they are hastening to behold the face of Him whom in life they served,
And from whom they are destined to receive their reward in glory."

The capacity for such vision involves likeness of character: cf. 1 John iii. 2. Moffatt aptly compares Plutarch (*De Iside*, 79), who writes that the souls of men after death "migrate to the unseen" and "hang as it were upon Him (God), and gaze without ever wearying, and yearn for that unspeakable, indescribable beauty."

καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν μετέπων αὐτοῦ. See notes on vii. 3, xiii. 16, xiv. 1. Cf. also iii. 12.

5. καὶ νύξ οὐκ ἔσται ἔτι. Darkness is at an end for ever. This clause appears to be the source of the corruption in xxi. 25. The expectation here expressed is not found in the O.T. but as regards heaven at all events is definitely taught in Philo, *De Josepho*, 24: εἰ γοῦν βουλευθείη διακύπτειν εἰσω τις τῶν πραγμάτων, εὑρήσει τὸν οὐρανὸν ἡμέραν αἰώνιον, νυκτὸς καὶ πάσης σκιᾶς ἀμέτοχον, ἀτε περιλαμπόμενον ἀσβέστοις καὶ ἀκηράτοις ἀδιαστάτως φέγγεσιν. Cf. also 2 Bar. xlviii. 50. But the conception in our text is infinitely finer. The light of the New Jerusalem is not due as in Philo to a multitude of unextinguishable and unadulterated lights, but to the light of God's own presence—always and everywhere present. The conception could be deduced from Isa. lx. 19, "The sun shall be no more thy light by day; neither for brightness shall the moon give light unto thee; but the Lord shall be unto thee an everlasting light."

καὶ οὐχ ἔξουσιν χρεῖαν φωτὸς λύχνου καὶ φῶς ἡλίου. Cf. xxi. 23^a. The future ἔξουσιν (A vg. s¹ 2, Tic.) is to be preferred to ἔχουσιν. All the verbs in this description of the New Jerusalem (xxi. 1-4^{ab}, xxii. 3-5) are futures. As contra-distinguished from the heavenly Jerusalem, that was already in being and was to come down from heaven for the Millennial Kingdom, the New Jerusalem, which is not created till after its close, is not yet in being. As regards the former, observe the occasional present and past verbs in xxi. 9-xxii. 2. The phrase φῶς ἡλίου (AP: φωτός & me s¹ 2) had best be regarded as dependent on χρεῖαν. Such an irregularity is not unfamiliar in our author. In fact we have χρεῖαν ἔχειν with an acc. in iii. 17 and with a genitive in xxi. 23.

Κύριος ὁ θεὸς φωτίσει ἐπ' αὐτούς. The construction here (φωτίσει ἐπ', &A, etc.) differs from that in xxi. 23, ἡ δόξα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐφώτισεν αὐτήν, and in xviii. 1, and the sense differs likewise. In xxi. 23 the meaning is clear: not the physical luminaries, the sun and moon, but "the glory of God did lighten" the Heavenly Jerusalem (cf. also xviii. 1). But here the Greek φωτίσει ἐπ'

αὐτοῦς differs from that in xviii. 1, xxi. 23 alike in construction and meaning. First, as regards the construction, it must at once be conceded that it is peculiar. If our author had wished to express the thought "shall shine upon them," "give them light," he would have said *φανῆ αὐτοῖς*: cf. xxi. 23. Hence later MSS omitted the *ἐπὶ*, and herein they are followed by WH, Bousset and others. Other editors, such as Alford, Swete, and Moffatt, rightly follow NA here, but do not explain the anomaly. We can get a good sense, if we explain it as a Hebraism. When regarded from this standpoint we next recognize that *Κύριος ὁ θεὸς φωτίσει ἐπ' αὐτοῦς* is a rendering of Ps. cxviii. 27, *יְהוָה יִפְאֶר לָנוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ*, where for *יִפְאֶר* our author found *יִאִיר* or *הִאִיר*, which latter he changed into *יִאִיר*. Here the Aramaic Targum and the Syriac, Ethiopic, and Arabic Versions similarly transform the two clauses into one and presuppose the text to have been *הִאִיר* and not *יִפְאֶר*. Here, therefore, the *ἐπὶ* reproduces *ל*.¹ Having discovered the source of our author's words the discovery of their meaning ceases to be difficult. In Ps. cxviii. 27 the words are a shortened form of the priest's blessing in Num. vi. 25 by the omission of *כִּנּוּי* (see *Oxford Hebrew Lexicon*, p. 21^b), which in its fuller form recurs several times as the footnote shows. Hence we should here render "The Lord God shall cause His face to shine upon them." Here there is a *personal relation* indicated between God and the blessed individually. In xxi. 23, on the other hand, no such personal relation is indicated. The Holy City is lighted up as a whole by the glory of God instead of by the sun and moon. Thus the Face which the saints will see in xxii. 4 will shine upon them in eternal benediction (xxii. 5).

βασιλεύσουσιν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰῶνων. This everlasting reign of the saints in the New Jerusalem stands out in strong contrast with the Millennial reign in the City which came down from heaven before the Final Judgment, xx. 4.

The Epilogue.

xxi. 6^b-8, xxii. 6-7, 18^a, 16, 13, 12, 10, 8-9, 20-21.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. On this epilogue, which contains the declarations of God, of Jesus, and of John, see p. 154. That they come from our author cannot be contested, though they have been transmitted

¹ In Num. vi. 25 we have *לָנוּ* (LXX *ἐπὶ*), in Ps. xxxi. 17; Dan. ix. 17 *לָנוּ*, and *לָנוּ* in Ps. cxix. 135, and *לָנוּ* in Ps. lxxvii. 2. In all cases the LXX renders by *ἐπὶ*. But the LXX does not use *φωτίσει* in these passages but *ἐπιφάνει*.

in the utmost disorder, and no doubt defectively. The reconstruction here given is, of course, tentative. First of all, xxi. 6^b-8, as containing a declaration of God, singles itself out for consideration. It cannot possibly belong to the period after the Final Judgment; for hope is still held out to the repentant, and the doom of the second death has not yet been pronounced against the finally impenitent. It must, therefore, belong either to the period of the Millennial Kingdom or to that of our author. The thought and language are in favour of the latter hypothesis. Thus *ὁ νικῶν* in xxii. 7 brings vividly before us the experiences—actual and apprehended—of the faithful in the years 90-96 A.D.: he is the warrior faithful unto death, to whom promise after promise is held out, as in ii. 7, 11, 17, 26, iii. 5, 12, 21, xii. 11, xv. 2. Again, xxi. 6^d, *ἐγὼ τῷ διψῶντι δώσω ἐκ τῆς πηγῆς τοῦ ὕδατος τῆς ζωῆς δωρεάν*, clearly presupposes xxii. 17 as having preceded it; for there we have the divine gift described without the article: *ὁ θέλων λαβέτω ὕδωρ ζωῆς δωρεάν*. But for the recurrence of the *δωρεάν* here we might have explained the articles in xxi. 6^d from vii. 17. As regards the sorcerers, fornicators, murderers, and idolaters we are told (xxii. 15) that in the Millennial Kingdom they will be excluded from the Heavenly Jerusalem: here they are adjudged to be cast into the lake of fire (xxi. 8).

Hence xxi. 6^b-8 is to be taken as the divine authentication of the Apocalypse as a whole, which God had given to Jesus Christ to make known to His servants (as stated in i. 1). This declaration of God is then followed by the declaration of Jesus that He had sent His angels to testify these things to the Churches in xxii. 6-7, 18^a, 16, 13, 12, 10, and the Book closes with the testimony of John, xxii. 8-9, 20-21 (see note on i. 1-3). In xxii. 6-21 more than anywhere else in chapters xx-xxii. we have the *disjecta membra* of the Poet-Seer. We have already assigned xxii. 14-15, 17 to the section dealing with the Heavenly Jerusalem which comes down to earth during the Millennial Kingdom. The re-arrangement of xxii. 6-22 just given is suggested by the text itself and confirmed by i. 1-2 (see note in vol. i. p. 5 sq.), and is therefore not improbably the order intended by the Seer. It is, of course, fragmentary. With a view to its arrangement, we observe first of all that Jesus is the speaker in 12-13, 16, and likewise in 6-7; for in these last two verses the speaker is distinguished from the angel who showed the Seer the things which must shortly come to pass, and the words "behold I come quickly" in 7 are naturally spoken by Christ. Moreover, as Könnicke and Moffatt have recognized, 12-13, 16 can be restored to their original order by reading them as follows: 16, 13, 12. Thus this section is to be read as follows:

6-7, 16, 13, 12. Verse 10—still the words of Christ—comes next, "And He saith unto me, Seal not up the words of the prophecy of this book ; for the time is at hand."

I have bracketed 11 as conflicting with xxi. 6^b-8, which apparently refer to evangelistic appeals during the Seer's lifetime. xxii. 18^a, as coming from Christ, gives His imprimatur to the book. xxii. 8-9 as describing the action of the Seer in relation to the angel at its close, and xxii. 20-21 as giving the Seer's final testimony form the natural close of the Apocalypse.

Traces of the hand of the editor are to be found in two passages: see § 3 *ad fin.* Cf. § 3 in Introduction to xx. 4-15 (p. 182).

§ 2. *Diction.*

XXI. 6. τὸ Ἄλφα καὶ τὸ Ὠ. Cf. i. 8, xxii. 13. ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ τὸ τέλος: cf. xxii. 13. τῷ διψῶντι (cf. vii. 16) δώσω ἐκ τῆς πηγῆς τοῦ ὕδατος τῆς ζωῆς δωρεάν: cf. xxii. 17, vii. 17.

7. ὁ νικῶν: see under § 1. ἔσομαι αὐτῷ θεός: cf. xxi. 3.

8. τοῖς . . . φονεῦσι καὶ πόρνοις καὶ φαρμακοῖς καὶ εἰδωλολάτραις: cf. xxii. 15. τῇ λίμνῃ τῇ καιομένῃ: cf. xix. 20, xx. 10, etc.

ὁ θάνατος ὁ δεύτερος: cf. ii. 11.

XXII. 6. ἀποστείλεν τ. ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ: cf. i. 1, ἀποστείλας διὰ τ. ἄγγ. αὐτοῦ.

δαῖξαι τ. δούλοις αὐτοῦ . . . ἐν τάχει: a verbal repetition from i. 1.

7. ἰδοὺ ἔρχομαι ταχύ: cf. ii. 16, iii. 11, xvi. 15, xxii. 12. μακάριος ὁ τηρῶν τ. λόγους τ. προφητείας τ. βιβλίου τούτου: a summary of i. 3 (and the last of the seven beatitudes in this Book), xxii. 10, 18.

18^a. μαρτυρῶ: cf. i. 2. τ. λόγους τ. προφητείας κτλ.: see on 7 above.

16. ἐγὼ . . . ἔπεμψα κτλ.: cf. i. 1. ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ ῥίζα . . . Δαυεὶδ: repeated from v. 5. ὁ ἀσπὴρ . . . ὁ πρῶτος: already in ii. 28.

18. ἐγὼ τὸ Ἄλφα καὶ τὸ Ὠ: cf. i. 8, xxi. 6. ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος: cf. i. 17, ii. 8. ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ τὸ τέλος: cf. xxi. 6.

12. ἰδοὺ ἔρχομαι ταχύ. See on 7 above. ἀποδοῦναι ἐκάστῳ ὡς τὸ ἔργον ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ: cf. ii. 23, δώσω . . . ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα ὑμῶν, xx. 13.

10. λέγει μοι: cf. v. 5, vii. 13, x. 9. μὴ σφραγίσῃς: cf. x. 4. τ. λόγους τ. προφητείας τ. βιβλ. τούτου: see on 7 above.

ὁ καιρὸς γὰρ ἔγγυς: cf. i. 3.

8. καγὼ ἰωάννης: cf. i. 1, 4, 9. ἔπεσα προσκυνῆσαι ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ποδῶν: cf. xix. 10, which, however, is a doublet of this passage. Elsewhere John uses προσκυνεῖν ἐνώπιον: cf. iii. 9, xv. 4 where this phrase expresses simply homage. τοῦ θεικνύοντος: cf. i. 1, iv. 1, xvii. 1, xxi. 9, 10, xxii. 1, 6.

9. τῶν τηρούντων τ. λόγους τ. βιβλ. τούτου : cf. i. 3, iii. 8, 10, xii. 17, xiv. 12. τῷ θεῷ προσκύνησον : see note on vii. 11.

20. μαρτυρῶν : see 18^a above. ναί : see i. 7 (note). ἔρχομαι ταχύ : see on 7 above.

Ἀμήν : see i. 7 (note).

§ 3. *Idioms*.—The constructions are almost wholly normal. Here as elsewhere in xx. 4-xxii. the text has apparently been normalized by the editor of this section.

Johannine xxi. 6. δώσω ἐκ : for this partitive use of ἐκ after δίδοναι cf. iii. 9. Not elsewhere in N.T. save in 1 John iv. 13.

8. τοῖς δὲ δειλοῖς . . . τὸ μέρος αὐτῶν : a pure Hebraism : see note *in loc.*

XXII. 8. ὁ ἀκρῶν : used here as an aorist or perfect as elsewhere the participle is used in our author : cf. δεικνύοντός, similarly used at the close of this verse.

Non-Johannine xxi. 6. τῷ διψῶντι δώσω. According to our author's universal usage elsewhere we should expect αὐτῷ after δώσω in this connection : cf. ii. 7, 17, 26, iii. 21. Here apparently the editor has omitted it and so normalized the text.

XXI. 8. τῇ λίμνῃ τῇ καιομένῃ may be another such instance : cf. xix. 20.

The Epilogue of the Apocalypse consisting of (1) the declaration of God, xxi. 6^b-8 : (2) the testimony of Jesus, xxii. 6-7, 18^a, 16, 13, 12, 10 [11], [18^b-19] : (3) and that of John, xxii. 8-9, 20-21.

Here more than anywhere else in chapters xx.-xxii. have we the *disiecta membra* of the Poet-Seer. These fragments clearly form the Epilogue of the Book, and a study of these fragments leads us to recognize them as coming from three distinct speakers—God, Jesus, and John. In xxi. 6^b-8 God is clearly the speaker. In xxii. 12-13, 16, and likewise 6-7, 10, 18^a, Jesus is the speaker, for in 6-7 the speaker is distinguished from the angel who showed the Seer the things that must shortly come to pass, and the words "behold I come quickly" in 7 are most naturally spoken by Christ, and likewise 10, 18^a. Moreover, as Könnicke (followed by Moffatt) has recognized, 12-13, 16 should be read as follows : 16, 13, 12. Thus the original order of the testimony and declaration of Christ was most probably : 6-7, 16, 13, 12, 10 [11], 18^a [18^b-19]. The book then closes with the testimony of John xxii. 8-9, 20-21. xxii. 11, 18^b-19 appear to be interpolations.

This order, which is suggested by a study of xxii. 6-22, in itself harmonizes with that given in the first two verses of the Apocalypse, where we are told that (1) God has given to Christ this revelation to show unto His servants : (2) that Christ has sent and signified it by His angel to His servant John : (3) that

John has borne witness of the word of God and of the testimony of Christ.

XXI. 6^b-8. *The declaration of God as to His own Being, His willingness to be gracious to the repentant, His promise of being a Father to him that overcometh, and His denunciation of the craven-hearted, the unbelieving and impure as destined to be cast into the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone—the second death.*

6^b. ἐγὼ εἰμι τὸ Ἄλφα καὶ τὸ Ὠ. Here as in i. 8 (where see note) these epithets belong to the Eternal Father, whereas in xxii. 13 they are used by Christ of Himself.

ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ τὸ τέλος. Cf. xxii. 13, see note on i. 8.

ἐγὼ τῷ διψῶντι δώσω ἐκ τῆς πηγῆς κτλ. Based on Isa. lv. 1. See note on vii. 17.

τοῦ ὕδατος τῆς ζωῆς δωρεάν. Observe the articles. We have ὕδωρ ζωῆς δωρεάν in xxii. 17—which is explicable if xxii. 17 precedes, but not so if the MSS order of the text were correct. On the distinction between ὕδωρ ζωῆς and ἐύλον ζωῆς see ii. 7, note.

7. ὁ νικῶν κληρονομήσει ταῦτα. The victor is here contrasted with the cravenhearted in 8. The ταῦτα here refers to the Millennial blessedness, the new heaven, the new earth, and the New Jerusalem (xxi. 1-4^{abc}, xx. 3-5). Of these "he who conquers" is "the heir" (κληρονόμος). The collocation of κληρονομήσει in this line and αὐτὸς ἔσται μοι υἱός in the next but one shows, as Swete remarks, the close affinity in this respect between our author and St. Paul: cf. Rom. viii. 17, εἰ δὲ τέκνα, καὶ κληρονόμοι; Gal. iv. 7, εἰ δὲ υἱός, καὶ κληρονόμος διὰ θεοῦ.

καὶ ἔσομαι αὐτῷ θεός. This promise was made frequently in the O.T.: first to the founder of the nation, Gen. xvii. 7, 8, while that in the next line, καὶ αὐτὸς ἔσται μοι υἱός, is first made in reference to Solomon as a representative of the nation, 2 Sam. vii. 14, and in Ps. lxxxix. 26, 27 in reference to David. Nowhere in the O.T. can the individual *as such* claim God as Father. This claim is first found in Sir. xxiii. 1: later in Wisdom ii. 16 (see note on Jub. i. 24 of my edition). But in the N.T. the normal attitude of the faithful individual to God is that of a son to his heavenly Father. Here only in our author is this conception brought forward. This sonship is realized in some true *degree* in the present life just as surely as the thirst for righteousness (τῷ διψῶντι) is in some true measure satisfied here.

8. We have here the list of those who have disfranchised themselves from the Kingdom of God and gone over into the Kingdom of outer darkness. Of these there are mentioned eight classes, which fall into three divisions, the first division comprising three classes, the second three, and the third two.

First division—τοῖς δὲ δειλοῖς¹ καὶ ἀπιστοῖς καὶ ἰβδελυμένοις. The δειλοί are not "the fearful" as in the A.V. and R.V. but "the cowardly" or "the cravenhearted," who in the struggle with the Beast have played the coward, denied the faith, and rendered worship to Caesar. δειλία has always a bad meaning, and St. Paul declares, 2 Tim. i. 7: οὐ γὰρ ἔδωκεν ἡμῖν ὁ θεὸς πνεῦμα δειλίας. A man may fear and yet not be δειλός. In fact the most courageous man is he who, notwithstanding his fear of the real dangers that beset his advance, goes sturdily onwards. But this fear in the N.T. is either φόβος—a middle term capable of a good or of a bad interpretation according to the context—or εὐλάβεια. Cf. Phil. ii. 12, μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου τὴν ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίαν καταργήσθε.

τοῖς . . . ἀπιστοῖς. In our author ἀπιστος means primarily "faithless," "untrustworthy." This is to be inferred from the use of πιστός: cf. i. 5, ἀπὸ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ὁ μάρτυς ὁ πιστός; ii. 10, γίνου πιστὸς ἄχρι θανάτου; ii. 13, iii. 14, xvii. 14.² Thus the ἀπιστος is closely allied to the δειλός that precedes. As such the ἀπιστοι are not coextensive with the δειλοί, for there are other grounds than cowardice for such disloyalty. But the ἀπιστοι owing to the ἰβδελυμένοι that follows immediately may suggest the idea of immorality: cf. Tit. i. 15, τοῖς δὲ μεμαμμένους καὶ ἀπιστοῖς . . . 16. . . . βδελυκτοὶ ὄντες καὶ ἀπειθεῖς. Furthermore, the ἀπιστοι appear to embrace not only the Christian who denies his faith, but also the pagan who rejects it.

τοῖς . . . ἰβδελυμένοις. These are those who are defiled with the abominations referred to in xvii. 4, 5, connected with the worship of the Beast and generally with the impurities of the pagan cults, including unnatural vice. Cf. Hos. ix. 10; 2 Enoch x. 4, 5, "This place is prepared for . . . those who on earth practise sin against nature, which is child corruption after the Sodomitic fashion, magic-making, enchantments, and devilish witchcraft . . . lies . . . fornication, murder": Apoc. Pet. 17, οὗτοι δὲ ἦσαν οἱ μιάναντες τὰ σώματα ἑαυτῶν ὡς γυναῖκες ἀναστρεφόμενοι· αἱ δὲ μετ' αὐτῶν γυναῖκες . . . αἱ συγκοιμηθεῖσαι ἀλλήλαις ὡς

¹ In τοῖς δὲ δειλοῖς . . . τὸ μέρος αὐτῶν we have a Hebraism where ל is used in introducing a new subject: see *Oxford Hebrew Lexicon*, p. 514^b = 577^g . . . 57^g 77^g. Cf. 1 Chron. xxiv. 1, ἀπὸ τῶν υἱῶν Ααρὼν = "And as for the sons of Aaron their courses were": also vii. 1, xxvi. 1, 31 (where the LXX reproduces by the dat.); 2 Chron. vii. 21; Eccles. ix. 4. In Ezra x. 14 the LXX has this construction, though it is not found in the Hebrew, where possibly the ל has been lost: πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐν πόλεσιν ἡμῶν . . . ἐλθόντων, כב' . . . כע"ט אשר כל אר <ל>. The more usual construction in Hebrew would be a *nominativus pendens* resumed by אלה.

² This meaning of πιστός, i.e. "faithful," "loyal," is also found in 2 Bar. liv. 21 (where see my note), though elsewhere (except possibly in liv. 16) in that book it means "believing": cf. xlii. 2, liv. 5, lvii. 2, lix. 2, lxxxiii. 8. On 4 Ezra in this respect see Box, pp. 67, 143.

ἀν ἄνθρωπος πρὸς γυναῖκα. This class must obviously comprise all the pagan world that is so defiled. We thus observe that, whereas the first three classes are closely associated in point of character, their comprehensiveness steadily widens from faithless Christians to the whole body of the impure whether Christian or pagan.

καὶ φονεῦσι καὶ πόρνοις καὶ φαρμακοῖς. In xxii. 15 these words are found in the reverse order. These sins have already been referred to in ix. 21, ἐκ τῶν φόνων αὐτῶν οὔτε ἐκ τῶν φαρμάκων αὐτῶν οὔτε ἐκ τῆς πορνείας αὐτῶν (see note). See also Gal. v. 19-21, where πορνεία, φαρμακία and φόνος (in some MSS) appear amongst many other vices. In 1 Tim. i. 9 we have ἀνδροφόνους, πόρνοις, and in Jas. ii. 11 φόνος and μοιχεία are combined. The φαρμακοῖς are "sorcerers," as their association with the εἰδωλαλάτραις in the next line shows: cf. ix. 20, 21, where they are similarly associated.

εἰδωλολάτραις καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ψευδέσιν. Cf. ix. 20, xxii. 15. Idolatry is the cardinal sin against which our author warns his readers. Hence the primary reference is here to Christians. As the idols are lies so all the idolaters are liars. The insincerities of heathenism, the frauds of its priests as well as all the falsities of Christians are here referred to (cf. xiv. 5). Lying and duplicity are denounced in the O.T. but in far stronger terms in the N.T.

τὸ μέρος αὐτῶν. The αὐτῶν resumes the eight classes mentioned in the preceding datives. On these datives see footnote, p. 216. τῇ λίμνῃ τῇ καιομένῃ κτλ.: cf. xix. 20, xx. 10, 14, 15 and note on ix. 1: 2 Enoch x. 2, "And there were all manner of tortures in this place . . . 4. This place, O Enoch, is prepared for those who dishonour God, etc." ὁ θάνατος ὁ δεύτερος. See note on ii. 11.

The Testimony of Jesus, xxii. 6-7, 16, 13, 12, 10 [11], 18^a [18^b-19].

XXII. 6-7. That these are the words of Christ is to be concluded from the declaration in 7, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἔρχομαι ταχύ. Moreover, there is a special fitness that He, who is designated πιστὸς καὶ ἀληθινός in iii. 14, xix. 11, should authenticate the words of the prophecy of this book as πιστοὶ καὶ ἀληθινοί (6).

8. Οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι πιστοὶ καὶ ἀληθινοί. Christ here authenticates the words of the prophecy of this book and as ὁ πιστὸς καὶ ἀληθινός there is a special appropriateness in His so doing. Besides He is therein fulfilling the very task given to Him by God in i. 1, where we are told that God gave Him this revelation in order that He might make it known—ἥν (i.e. τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν) ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ (i.e. Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ) ὁ θεὸς δεῖξαι τοῖς δούλοις αὐτοῦ. Cf. 4 Ezra xv. 1, 2, "Ecce loquere in aures plebis meae sermones

prophetiae, quos immisero in os tuum, dicit Dominus. 2. Et fac ut in charta scribantur, quoniam fideles et veri sunt."

ὁ κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων τῶν προφητῶν. This is certainly a strange expression. Some scholars (Bousset, Moffatt) regard the plural as an archaistic detail (cf. i. 4), according to which there are a variety of angelic spirits that inspire the prophets. If we take this in the sense that various angels were sent at various times to instruct the prophets, it is quite unobjectionable. πνεύματα is used of the archangels in our author: cf. iii. 1, iv. 5, etc. But though the sense is unobjectionable, the words themselves can hardly bear this meaning. The πνεύματα are best taken with Swete to be the prophets' own spirits filled by the One Spirit mentioned in ii. 7, xiv. 13, xxii. 17. When the prophet spake as a prophet, it was his spirit that was active (i. 10, xvii. 3, xxi. 10). Hence it seems that the text should here be interpreted as a similar expression in 1 Cor. xiv. 32, πνεύματα προφητῶν προφήταις ὑποτάσσεται, where it is the prophets' own spirits that are referred to. The divine title in our text has no connection of any kind with the very frequent designation of God in 1 Enoch xxxvii.-lxxi.; 2 Macc. iii. 24, *i.e.* "Lord of Spirits." In Num. xvi. 22, xxvii. 16 the divine title "the God of the spirits of all flesh" (אלהי הרוח לכל בשר) has only a general reference to mankind as a whole and not as in our text to the special class of men. τῶν προφητῶν. As in x. 7, xi. 18, xxii. 9, John associates himself here with the Christian prophets.

τὸν ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ. Here Christ speaks of the angel of xvii. 1, xxi. 9 as God's angel, and yet in i. 1, xxii. 16 he is described as Christ's angel. The statements are not incompatible. δεῖξαι τοῖς δούλοις . . . ἐν τάχει. This clause is repeated from i. 1. In fact the words ἀπέστειλεν τ. ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ δεῖξαι τ. δούλοις αὐτοῦ ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐν τάχει combine δεῖξαι τ. δούλοις αὐτοῦ, ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐν τάχει and ἀποστείλας διὰ τοῦ ἀγγέλου αὐτοῦ in i. 1.

7. καὶ ἰδοὺ ἔρχομαι ταχύ. Cf. xxii. 12, where as here it is from the lips of Christ; also ii. 5, 16, iii. 11, and xvi. 15, which as we have already seen should be restored after iii. 3^a.

μακάριος ὁ τηρῶν τοὺς λόγους κτλ. This is the last of the seven beatitudes of the book (see note on i. 3). It is a short summary of i. 3, and thus the Book ends as it began in declaring the blessedness of those who have kept the words of the prophecy; but, whereas it is John that pronounces the first beatitude (i. 3), it is Christ that pronounces the last.

18^a. μαρτυρῶ ἐγὼ πάντι τῷ ἀκούοντι τοὺς λόγους κτλ. Here the speaker is, as Swete urges, still Christ, who gives His solemn imprimatur to the Book. Moreover, as in 16—μαρτυρῆσαι ὑμῖν ταῦτα—the τοὺς λόγους is to be taken as the accusative after μαρτυρῆσαι and not after ἀκούοντι, as is usually done: "to every-

one that heareth I bear witness to the words of the prophecy of this book." As in 7, 10, Christ uses the same phraseology, τ. λόγους τ. προφητείας τ. βιβλίου τούτου.

16. Ἐγὼ Ἰησοῦς ἐπεμψα τὸν ἀγγελόν μου. These words recall i. 1, καὶ ἐσήμενεν ἀποστείλας διὰ τοῦ ἀγγέλου αὐτοῦ, and xxii. 6, ὁ θεὸς . . . ἀπέστειλε τὸν ἀγγελον αὐτοῦ. According to Westcott (Add. Note on John xx. 21) ἀποστέλλω "conveys the accessory notions of a special commission and so far of a delegated authority in the person sent." It is strange that Abbott (*Johannine Vocabulary*, p. 227) ascribes to these verbs almost the contrary meaning: "We are perhaps justified in thinking that ἀποστέλλω means 'sending away into the world at large,' but πέμπω 'sending on a special errand.'" Our author, at any rate, appears to use them as synonyms.

ὑμῖν: cf. also xxii. 6. The angel of Christ attests the contents of this book (ταῦτα) to the members of the Asian Churches. Others think the ὑμῖν refers to the body of prophets in the Johannine school.

ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ ῥίζα καὶ τὸ γένος Δαυεὶδ: cf. v. 5, ὁ λέων ὁ ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς Ἰούδα, ἡ ῥίζα Δαυεὶδ: Isa. xi. 1, And there shall come forth a shoot out of the stock of Jesse and a branch out of his roots shall bear fruit; xi. 10; Test. Jud. xxiv. 5.

"Then shall the sceptre of my kingdom shine forth,
And from your root shall arise a stem."

In His own person Christ is at once the root, and the stem and branches that spring from the root, and thus combines all the Messianic claims of the Davidic family. Thus He forms the climax of Jewish Messianic expectation. Our author lays more stress on the Davidic descent than Christ did Himself: cf. Matt. xxii. 42-45.

ὁ ἀστὴρ ὁ λαμπρὸς, ὁ πρωϊνός. Here Christ is Himself the morning star, which in ii. 28 is promised to the faithful. The idea is ultimately derived from Num. xxiv. 17, "There shall come forth a star out of Jacob," but in the Test. Lev. xviii. 3, and probably in Test. Jud. xxiv. 1, this passage has been definitely associated with the hope of a Messiah from Levi—an expectation that was abandoned early in the first century B.C. As Christ is the realization of all that Israel hoped for in the past (ἡ ῥίζα κτλ.), He contains in Himself the promise (cf. Luke i. 78) of all that is to come (ὁ ἀστὴρ . . . ὁ πρωϊνός) as "the Light of the world," John viii. 12.

18. In this verse the Son claims all the attributes of the Father. In the next verse (*i.e.* 12) it follows naturally that He designates Himself as the Judge of all the world.

ἐγὼ τὸ Ἄλφα κτλ.: cf. i. 8 (note), xxi. 6, where it is the title used by God of Himself.

ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος. See note on i. 17, ii. 8—in both cases of Christ.

ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ τὸ τέλος. This title is used by God of Himself in xxi. 6.

The phrase ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ τὸ τέλος is an abbreviated form of an ancient Orphic saying, which is first recorded in Plato, *Leg.* iv. 7, ὁ μὲν δὴ θεὸς (ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ παλαιὸς λόγος) ἀρχὴν τε καὶ τελευτὴν καὶ μέσα τῶν ὄντων ἀπάντων ἔχων. Thus Plato in the 4th century B.C. speaks of this saying as even then an ancient one. A scholion on this passage gives the original form of it and an explanation: θεὸν μὲν τὸν δημιουργὸν σαφῶς, παλαιὸν δὲ λόγον λέγει τὸν Ὀρφικόν, ὃς ἐστὶν οὗτος· Ζεὺς ἀρχή, Ζεὺς μέσσα, Διὸς δ' ἐκ πάντα τέτυκται, Ζεὺς πυθμὴν γαίης τε καὶ οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος· καὶ ἀρχὴ μὲν οὗτος ὡς ποιητικὸν αἷτιον, τελευτὴ δὲ ὡς τελικόν, μέσσα δὲ ὡς ἐξίστον πᾶσι παρών. We might compare the Pauline statement, Rom. xi. 36, ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν τὰ πάντα, i.e. God is the initial cause, the sustaining cause, and the final cause of all things.

This Orphic logion was well known in the ancient world. In the first century A.D. it was familiar to the Palestinian Jews, as we know from Josephus who quotes it in *c. Ap.* ii. 22, ὁ θεὸς . . . αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ καὶ πᾶσιν αὐτάρκης, ἀρχὴ καὶ μέσσα καὶ τέλος οὗτος τῶν πάντων. In his *Ant.* viii. 11. 2 it appears in almost the same abbreviated form as in our text: καὶ τὸν ἴδιον θεὸν . . . ὃς . . . ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος τῶν ἀπάντων. In later times it was adopted by the Talmudists and given a Jewish turn in the third century A.D. by Simon ben Lakish, who strove to derive this ancient Greek Orphic saying from the Hebrew word **יהוה** (Jer. Jeb. xii. 13^b; Gen. R. lxxxi.); “for . . . **י** is the first, **ה** the middle, and **וה** the last letter of the alphabet—this being the name of God according to Isa. xlv. 6, explained Jer. Sanh. i. 18^a, ‘I am the first <having had none from whom to receive the kingdom>; I am the middle, there being none who shares the kingdom with me; <and I am the last> there being none to whom I shall hand the kingdom of the world’” (quoted from *Jewish Encyc.* i. 439). It is hardly needful to draw attention to the forced nature of this explanation or to point out that **ה** is not the middle letter of the Hebrew alphabet—being the 13th from the beginning and the 10th from the end.

Turning now from Jewish to Christian writings, we find that the early Christian writers were well acquainted with this ancient Greek saying. This phrase lies behind the text of the *Κήρυγμα Πέτρου*: εἰς θεὸς ἐστὶν, ὃς ἀρχὴν πάντων ἐποίησεν καὶ τέλους ἐξουσίαν ἔχει. Justin Martyr (*Cohort. ad Gent.* xxv.) quotes the saying from Plato but ascribes it to the Law of Moses. Irenaeus (*Haer.* iii. 25. 5, “Et Deus quidem, quemadmodum et vetus sermo

est, initium et finem et medietates omnium quae sunt habens"; Hippolytus, *Refut. omn. Haer.* i. 19; Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* vi. 69, *Strom.* ii. 22. § 132; Origen, *c. Cels.* vi. 13; Eusebius, *Praepar. Evang.* xi. 13, ἀρχὴν αὐτὸς ἔχων καὶ μέσσοτον ἥδη τελευτήν.¹

12. ἰδοὺ ἔρχομαι ταχύ. Cf. iii. 11, xxii. 7, 20. καὶ ὁ μισθός μου μετ' ἐμοῦ. Cf. xi. 18^d. ὁ μισθός μου is here "the reward which I give." Cf. Isa. xl. 10, ἰδοὺ ὁ μισθός αὐτοῦ μετ' αὐτοῦ: lxii. 11; Wisd. v. 15, καὶ ἐν κυρίῳ ὁ μισθός αὐτῶν.

ἀποδοῦναι ἐκάστῳ ὡς τὸ ἔργον ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ. Cf. ii. 23, xx. 13; Rom. ii. 6; Prov. xxiv. 12^b (LXX, ὅς ἀποδίδωσιν ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ); Jer. xvii. 10; Ps. lxi. 13, ὅτι σὺ ἀποδώσεις ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ. Our text seems to have been before 1 Clem. xxxiv. 3.

10. Here also Christ appears to speak, as Bousset recognizes. There is force in His command to issue the Book immediately; "for the time is at hand." As contrasted with Jewish Apocalypses, such as Daniel (cf. viii. 26, xii. 4, 9); 1 Enoch i. 2, xciii. 10, civ. 12; 2 Enoch xxxiii. 9-11, xxxv. 3, etc., which were not to be divulged till distant generations, our Apocalypse is to be made known by the Seer to his contemporaries. The older Apocalypses were referred to as sealed (cf. Dan. viii. 26, in order to explain the withholding of their publication till the actual time of their author.

τοὺς λόγους τ. προφητείας κτλ. Cf. xxii. 7, 18. In all three cases these are the words of Christ: cf. also i. 3. ὁ καιρὸς γὰρ ἔγγυς. This clause and the preceding are combined by our author in i. 3. The same idea underlies the clause ἔρχομαι ταχύ, ii. 16, iii. 11, xxii. 7, 12, 20, which is only used by Christ.

[11. These words can refer only to the contemporaries of the Seer. But, since xxi. 6-8 refer also to his contemporaries and still proclaim the possibility of free and full forgiveness, this verse appears to be a later addition. In xxi. 6^d those who thirst after a new life are promised satisfaction, whereas here the door of hope is closed absolutely and finally against every class of sinners. Ver. 11 assumes that finality in character is already arrived at, and an unswerving persistence in good or evil, though there is still some interval between the vision and the Second Advent; for the circulation of the Book among the Churches (ii.-iii.) and the faithful observance of its teaching (xxi. 7, xxii. 7) postulates some such interval. And yet the interval is not expected to be long; "for the time is at hand" (i. 3, xxii. 10). In Dan. xii. 10, 11 no such consideration for the sinner is shown. Besides in our author the whole body of the neutral nations have to be

¹ Cf. the Egyptian prayer quoted by Reitzenstein (*Poimandres*, p. 277): χαίρε, ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος τῆς ἀκινήτου φύσεως.

evangelized on the Second Advent when the Millennial Kingdom is established : cf. xiv. 6-7, xv. 4, xxii. 2, 17, xxi. 24-26. In the face of such an expectation 11 is an impossibility.

ὁ ἀδικῶν ἀδικησάτω ἔτι,
καὶ ὁ ῥυπαρὸς ῥυπανθήτω ἔτι.
καὶ ὁ δίκαιος δικαιοσύνην ποιησάτω ἔτι,
καὶ ὁ ἅγιος ἁγιασθήτω ἔτι.

We have already on the ground of their contents rejected these lines. As regards their form and diction there are further objections, though these are not unanswerable in themselves. First, as regards their form, it will be observed that, whereas universally in our author the second line is parallel with, *i.e.* reproduces the first not in identical but in similar terms, or more rarely the second and third lines (as in xxii. 13, 12) reproduce the first, in 11, however, it is the third line that is parallel antithetically to the first and the fourth that is similarly parallel to the second. This form of parallelism is not found in our author, though there are approaches to it. It is, however, possible to regard the first and second lines, and the third and fourth as respectively instances of synonymous parallelism. But the antitheses between the ὁ ἀδικῶν and the ὁ δίκαιος and between the ὁ ῥυπαρὸς and the ὁ ἅγιος and between ἀδικησάτω and δικαιοσύνην ποιησάτω are in favour of our taking the stanza as we have done above. Next the diction is remarkable. Thus ἀδικεῖν, which occurs twice in this stanza, means here "to act unjustly," "to sin," whereas in the nine cases where it occurs previously in our author it means "to hurt," "to damage." Next ῥυπαρὸς (cf. ἀποθέμενοι πᾶσαν ῥυπαρίαν in Jas. i. 21 in like sense) occurs only here in the N.T. in the sense of internal defilement (cf. Job xiv. 4, τίς γὰρ καθαρὸς ἔσται ἀπὸ ῥύπου; once of external defilement in Jas. ii. 2), ῥυπανθῆναι here only in N.T., and ἁγιασθῆναι, "to purify oneself internally" here only in our author.]

[18^b-19. As Porter (*Messages of the Books*, p. 293) remarks, these words form "an unfortunate ending of a book whose value consists in the spirit that breathes in it, the bold faith and confident hope which it inspires, rather than in the literalness and finality of its disclosures." But these clauses, to which there are abundant parallels in other books, as we shall see presently, are not in the opinion of the present editor from the hand of John. For (1) these words presuppose that John looked forward to a long period elapsing before the Second Advent, during which the Book would be exposed not to the errors incidental to transmission but to the deliberate perversion of his message both in the way of additions and omissions.

But we know that John looked for the speedy Advent of

Christ and the Millennial Kingdom—an expectation which is expressed repeatedly in the words *ἔρχομαι ταχύ*, iii. 11, xxii. 7, 12, 20. 2. The style is unlike that of John. Thus we have *τῶν λόγων τοῦ βιβλίου τῆς προφητείας ταύτης* in 19, whereas, as in xxii. 7, 10, 18, we should expect *τ. λόγων τ. προφητείας τ. βιβλίου τούτου*. Next after *τοὺς λόγους* in 18^a we shall expect, not *ἐπ' αὐτά*, but *ἐπ' αὐτούς*. Again, instead of *ἀφελεῖ . . . τὸ μέρος αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς* we should expect *ἀφελεῖ . . . τὸ μέρος αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ τῆς ζωῆς*: cf. xx. 6, xxi. 8, or *τὴν ἔξουσίαν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς*: cf. xxii. 14. 3. The nature of the penalty is not what we should expect. The extreme penalty that can befall the evildoer in this Book is not the plagues singly or collectively, but the being cast into the lake of fire. The plagues are concerned with temporal punishments, not with eternal. Exclusion from the tree of life is mentioned, it is true, in 19. 4. 18^b-19 introduce a wrong note in these last verses.

On the above grounds I have bracketed these clauses as an interpolation.

Next, the custom of appending such warnings claims our attention. We first find them in Deut. iv. 2, *οὐ προσθήσεσθε πρὸς τὸ βῆμα ὃ ἐγὼ ἐντέλλομαι ὑμῖν, καὶ οὐκ ἀφελεῖτε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ*: xii. 32: 1 Enoch civ. 10, "And now I know this mystery, that sinners will alter and pervert the words of righteousness in many ways, and will speak wicked words." As opposed to this, Enoch requires that they should "not change or minish aught from my words" (civ. 11). In the Letter of Aristas (33-41 A.D.?) 310-311, it is said that, when the Greek translation of the O.T. was completed, "they bade them pronounce a curse in accordance with their custom upon any who should make any alteration either by adding anything or changing in any way whatever any of the words which had been written or making an omission. This was a very wise precaution to ensure that the book might be preserved for all the future time unchanged." A terrible judgment is foretold (2 Enoch xlviii. 7-8) for those who tamper with the words of this book. In Josephus (*c. Ap. i. 8*) the writer claims a most faithful transmission of the ancient books of the O.T. *δῆλον δ' ἐστὶν ἔργῳ, πῶς ἡμεῖς πρόσμειν τοῖς ἰδίους γράμμασι· τοσούτου γὰρ αἰῶνος ἤδη παρῃρηκότες οὔτε προσθεῖναι τις οὐδὲν οὔτε ἀφελεῖν αὐτῶν οὔτε μεταθεῖναι τετόλμηκεν*. It was not unusual for writers, Christian and Jewish, to attempt to secure a faithful transmission of their works by appending solemn adjurations that the scribes should in no wise change or tamper with the text. Cf. Irenaeus in Eusebius, *H.E. v. 20. 2*: *ὀρκίζω σε τὸν μεταγραφόμενον τὸ βιβλίον τοῦτο . . . ἵνα ἀντιβάλης ὁ μετεγράψω καὶ κατορθώης αὐτὸ πρὸς τὸ ἀντίγραφον τοῦτο . . . καὶ τὸν ὅρκον ὁμοίως μεταγράψεις*: and Rabbi

Meir in Sota 20^a, "My son, be careful; for it is a divine work: if thou writest, were it but a letter more or less, it is as if thou wert destroying a world."

τὸ μέρος αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου κτλ. The Holy City mentioned here is that which is associated with the Millennial Kingdom. The tree of life was in this city (xxii. 2).]

8-9, 20-21. *John's testimony and closing words.*

8-9. Of these verses we have already found a doublet in xix. 9-10 (see notes), which was probably from the hand of the disciple that edited the Book after John's death.

8. καὶ γὰρ Ἰωάννης ὁ ἀκούων καὶ βλέπων. Cf. 2 Cor. xii. 4, ἤκουσεν ἁόρητα, Dan. xii. 5, "And I Daniel saw." At the close of his words the author gives his name as at the beginning (i. 1). Observe the participles are in our author's usage equal to aorists or perfects.

ἔπεσα προσκυνῆσαι ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ποδῶν τοῦ ἀγγέλου. See note on xix. 10. Worship in the sense of prostration is here involved, though not divine worship: cf. προσκυνεῖν ἐνώπιον in iii. 9, xv. 4 of simple homage. Yet even such homage is refused by the angel. The phrase may be equivalent to προσκυνῆσαι αὐτόν (see notes on xix. 9-10 (5^o), vii. 11).

τοῦ δεικνύντός μοι ταῦτα. Cf. i. 1, iv. 1, xvii. 1, xxi. 9, 10, xxii. 1, 6. Here the participle = δείξαντος.

9. ὅρα μὴ σύνδουλός σου εἶμι κτλ. Our text appears to be the source of Asc. Isa. vii. 21, "And I fell on my face to worship him, but the angel who conducted me (or rather 'showed to me' i.e. ὃς εἰδείξέ μοι: for the Ethiopic is capable of this meaning and the Latin and Slavonic Versions = 'instructed me') did not permit me but said unto me: 'Worship neither throne nor angel': and viii. 4-5, 'What is this which I see, my lord?' 5. And he said: 'I am not thy lord but thy fellow-servant.'" The Apocryphal Gospel of Matthew iii. 3 (Tischendorf, p. 59) seems also to show signs of the influence of our text: "Benedic me servum tuum. Et dixit ei angelus: Noli te dicere servum, sed conservum meum; unius enim domini servi sumus." Our text is a strong prohibition of angel worship (θρησκεία τῶν ἀγγέλων, Col. ii. 18). That this was practised by the Jews before the Christian era is to be inferred from Tob. xii. 15, "I am Raphael, one of the seven angels: 12. When thou didst pray . . . I brought the memorial of your prayer before the glory of the Lord:" Jub. xxx. 20: Test. Dan vi. 2, "Draw near to God and to the angel that intercedeth for you; for he is a mediator between God and man:"¹ Test. Lev. v. 5, where Levi prays to the angel who conducts him to make known to him his name that he might

¹ This idea of an angelic mediator is found already in Job v. 1, xxxiii. 23 sq.; Zech. i. 12.

call upon him in the day of tribulation, and the angel replies: "I (i.e. Michael) am the angel who intercedeth for the nation of Israel":¹ 1 Enoch lxxxix. 76.² The fact that frequent admonitions against the worship of angels are to be found in Jewish writings confirms the view that this cult did prevail in Judaism. Cf. Mechilta Sect. 171, Parash. 10, where R. Ismael ben Elisha (flor. 100 A.D.) forbids the worship of any kind of angels (quoted from Lueken, p. 6): Jer. Berach. ix. 13^a, where men in necessity are bidden to pray to God and not to Michael or Gabriel: Aboda Zara, 42^b, where offerings to Michael are denounced as offerings to the dead. In Shabbath 12^b men are commanded by R. Jehuda (4th century A.D.) not to pray in Aramaic since the angels did not understand Aramaic. On the other hand, in the Jer. Qiddushim at its close (Lueken) permission is given to ask the angels for their intercession. For other proofs that, notwithstanding strong prohibitions against the cult of angels, this cult did survive in Judaism, see Lueken, *Michael*, 6-12.

From Christian sources we know of the prevalence of angelolatry among the Jews: cf. Preaching of Peter (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vi. 5), μηδὲ κατὰ Ἰουδαίους σέβεσθε, καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι . . . οὐκ ἐπίστανται λατρεύοντες ἀγγέλους: Celsus in Origen, *c. Cels.* v. 6, πρῶτον οὖν τῶν Ἰουδαίων θαυμάζειν ἄξιον, εἰ . . . τοὺς . . . ἀγγέλους σέβουσιν.

That this superstition passed from the Jews to the Christians our text is sufficient evidence: cf. also Col. ii. 18; Asc. Isa. vii. 21, viii. 4, 5; Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i. 6, ἀλλ' ἐκείνόν τε, καὶ τὸν παρ' αὐτοῦ υἱὸν ἐλθόντα . . . καὶ τὸν τῶν ἄλλων ἐπομένων καὶ ἐξομοιουμένων ἀγαθῶν ἀγγέλων στρατόν, πνεῦμά τε τὸ προφητικὸν σεβόμεθα καὶ προσκυνούμεν: Athenagoras, *Synchl.* x., xxiv.: Clem. *Hom.* iii. 36.

τῶν προφητῶν καὶ τῶν τηρούντων τοὺς λόγους κτλ. Here, as we have shown in the notes on xix. 9-10, the prophets and the ordinary Christians are practically placed on the same level, whereas in xix. 9-10 the prophets are exalted far above the ordinary Christians, no mention of whom is made.

τῶν τηρούντων τοὺς λόγους. Cf. i. 3, iii. 8, 10, xii. 17, xiv. 12, xxii. 7.

τοῦ βιβλίου τούτου. Cf. xxii. 7, 10 [18, 19]. τῷ θεῷ προσκύνησον. See note on vii. 11.

20. λέγει ὁ μαρτυρῶν ταῦτα. Christ is again the Speaker. The ὁ μαρτυρῶν goes back to xxii. 18, where Christ solemnly attests the truth of the words of the prophecy of this book.

¹ Cf. Asc. Isa. ix. 23, "Iste est magnus angelus Michael deprecans semper pro humanitate."

² The four chief angels are spoken of as intercessors in 1 Enoch ix. 1, 3, the Watchers in xv. 2.

Ναί· ἔρχομαι ταχύ. Here for the third time in this chapter (see 7, 12) our Lord declares that He is coming speedily. On ναί, see note on i. 7.

Ἀμήν· ἔρχου, κύριε Ἰησοῦ. On this, the initial and primitive use of ἀμήν, which solemnly assents to the utterance of a preceding speaker, cf. v. 14, note, vii. 12, xix. 4. ἔρχου κύριε is the Greek equivalent of the Aramaic ܐܬܝ ܡܠܟܐ (= "our Lord, come").¹ See *Encyc. Bib.* and Hastings' *B.D.* on "Maranatha." The Aramaic is actually found transliterated in 1 Cor. xvi. 22, and in the Didache, x. 6:

εἰ τις ἅγιός ἐστιν, ἐρχέσθω·
εἰ τις οὐκ ἔστι, μετανοείτω·
μαρاناθά. Ἀμήν.

κύριε Ἰησοῦ. This designation is found only here and in the next verse in our author.

21. ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων. This benediction, which is unusual in Apocalypses, is an indication that the Book was intended to be read in the Church services. In the Pauline Epistles οἱ ἅγιοι includes the whole body of the baptized. But in our author it appears to embrace only the faithful members of the Church. Cf. v. 8, viii. 3, 4, xi. 18, xiii. 7, 10, xiv. 12, xvi. 6, xvii. 6, xviii. 20, xix. 8, xx. 6, 9. It is not used at all in the Johannine Epistles.

¹ This explanation of Dalman, Wellhausen, etc., is preferable to that which is generally accepted in the Church Fathers, i.e. μαρاناθά = ܡܠܟܐ ܐܬܝ, "our Lord has come."

I. THE TEXT.

THE GREEK MANUSCRIPTS OF THE APOCALYPSE.

Uncial MSS containing the Greek Text of the Apocalypse or part of it. The enumeration is that of Gregory, except in the case of \aleph AC.

\aleph (iv). Petrograd. Sd. δ 2. \aleph^* signifies the original text, where the original scribe or a later one has introduced an emendation. \aleph^a \aleph^b \aleph^{ca} \aleph^{cb} etc. are various correctors of the MS.¹

A (v). London. Sd. δ 4. A* signifies as \aleph^* above. A** corrector.²

C (v). Paris. Sd. δ 3. Contains 1^1-3^{19} , $5^{14}-7^{14}$, $7^{17}-8^5$, $9^{16}-10^{10}$, 11^2-16^{13} , 18^2-19^5 .

025 (ix). Petrograd. Formerly P. Sd. α 3. Contains 1^1-16^{13} , 17^1-19^{21} , 20^9-22^6 .

046 (x). Rome. Formerly Q or B₂. Sd. α 1070.

051 (ix-x). Athos, Pantokrator 44. Contains $11^{16}-13^1$, 13^2-22^7 , 22^{15-21} with a commentary of Andreas in cursive. Photographed for Prof. Swete.

052 (x). Athos, Panteleemon. Formerly r 183. Contains $7^{16}-8^{12}$.

GREEK CURSIVES OF THE APOCALYPSE.³

1 (xii-xiii cent.). Maihingen. Formerly r 1. Sd. A^v20.

18 (1364 A.D.). Paris. Formerly r 51. Sd. δ 411.

35 (xi). Paris. Formerly r 17. Sd. δ 309.

42 (xi). Frankfurt a. O. Formerly r 13. Sd. α 107.

60 (x). Cambridge. Formerly r 10. Sd. ϵ 1321.

61 (xvi). Dublin. Formerly r 92. Sd. δ 603.

69 (xv). Leicester. Formerly r 14. Sd. δ 505.

82 (x). Paris. Formerly r 2. Sd. O¹.

¹ The photographic facsimile edited by Professor Lake for the Clarendon Press has been used for this edition.

² The photographic facsimile edited by Sir Frederic G. Kenyon (1909) has been used for this edition.

³ Gregory's enumeration of the MSS is adopted in this edition, but for the convenience of those who use Von Soden's text I have added the latter's enumeration.

- 88 (xii ?). Naples. Formerly r 99. *Sd.* a 200.
 91 (xi). Paris. Formerly r 4. *Sd.* O¹⁴.
 93 (x). Paris. Formerly r 19. *Sd.* a 51.
 94 (xiii). Paris. Formerly r 18. *Sd.* O⁸¹.
 104 (xi). London. Formerly r 7. *Sd.* a 103.
 110 (xii). London. Formerly r 8. *Sd.* a 204.
 141 (xiii-xiv). Rome. Formerly r 40. *Sd.* δ 408.
 149 (xv). Rome. Formerly r 25. *Sd.* δ 503.
 172 (xiv-xv). Berlin. Formerly r 87. *Sd.* a 404.
 175 (x-xi). Rome. Formerly r 20. *Sd.* δ 95.
 177 (xi). Munich. Formerly r 82. *Sd.* a 106.
 180 (xiv). Rome. Formerly r 44. *Sd.* ε 1498.
 181 (xi). Rome. Formerly r 12. *Sd.* a 101.
 201 (1357 A.D.). London. Formerly r 94. *Sd.* δ 403.
 203 (1111 A.D.). London. Formerly r 181. *Sd.* a 203.
 205 (xv). Venice. Formerly r 88. *Sd.* δ 500.
 209 (xiv ?). Venice. Formerly r 46. *Sd.* a 1581.
 218 (xiii). Vienna. Formerly r 33. *Sd.* δ 300.
 241 (xi). Dresden. Formerly r 47. *Sd.* δ 507.
 242 (xii). Moscow. Formerly r 48. *Sd.* δ 206.
 250 (xi). Paris. Formerly r 121. *Sd.* O¹⁰.
 254 (xiv). Athens. Formerly r 122. *Sd.* O⁶⁴².
 256 (xi). Paris. Formerly r 102. *Sd.* a 216.
 296 (xvi). Paris. Formerly r 57. *Sd.* δ 600.
 314 (xi). Oxford. Formerly r 6. *Sd.* O¹¹.
 325 (xi). Oxford. Formerly r 9. *Sd.* a 111.
 336 (xv). Hamburg. Formerly r 16. *Sd.* a 500.
 337 (xii). Paris. Formerly r 52. *Sd.* a 205.
 339 (xiii). Turin. Formerly r 83. *Sd.* δ 303.
 367 (1331 A.D.). Florence. Formerly r 23. *Sd.* δ 400.
 368 (xv). Florence. Formerly r 84. *Sd.* a 1501.
 385 (xv). London. Formerly r 29. *Sd.* a 506.
 386 (xiv). Rome. Formerly r 70. *Sd.* δ 401.
 424 (xi). Vienna. Formerly r 34. *Sd.* O¹².
 432 (xv). Rome. Formerly r 37. *Sd.* a 501.
 452 (xii). Rome. Formerly r 42. *Sd.* a 206.
 456 (x). Florence. Formerly r 75. *Sd.* a 52.
 459 (1092 A.D.). Florence. Formerly r 45. *Sd.* a 104.
 467 (xv). Paris. Formerly r 53. *Sd.* a 502.
 468 (xiii). Paris. Formerly r 55. *Sd.* O³⁰.
 469 (xiii-xiv). Paris. Formerly r 56. *Sd.* a 306.
 498 (xiv). London. Formerly r 97. *Sd.* δ 402.
 506 (xi-xii). Oxford. Formerly r 26. *Sd.* δ 101.
 517 (xi-xii). Oxford. Formerly r 27. *Sd.* a 214.
 522 (1515 A.D.). Oxford. Formerly r 98. *Sd.* δ 602.
 582 (1334 A.D.). Ferron. Formerly r 103. *Sd.* δ 410.

- 616 (1434 A.D.). Milan. Formerly r 156. Sd. a 503.
 617 (xi). Venice. Formerly r 74. Sd. O¹⁸.
 620 (xii). Florence. Formerly r 180. Sd. a 207.
 627 (x-xi). Rome. Formerly r 24. Sd. a 53.
 628 (xiv). Rome. Formerly r 69. Sd. a 400.
 632 (xiv). Rome. Formerly r 22. Sd. a 201.
 664 (xv). Zittau. Formerly r 106. Sd. δ 502.
 680 (xi). Cheltenham. Formerly r 107. Sd. δ 103.
 699 (xi). London. Formerly r 108. Sd. δ 104.
 743 (xiv). Paris. Formerly r 123. Sd. A⁴⁸.
 757 (xiii-xiv). Athens. Formerly r 110. Sd. δ 304.
 792 (xiii). Athens. Formerly r 111. Sd. ε 585.
 808 (xii). Athens. Formerly r 112. Sd. δ 203.
 824 (xiv). Grottaferrata. Formerly r 113. Sd. δ 404.
 866 (xiv). Rome. Formerly r 114. Sd. a 1375.
 886 (1454 A.D.). Rome. Formerly r 115. Sd. A⁷⁶⁰.
 919 (xi). Escorial. Formerly r 125. Sd. a 113.
 920 (x). Escorial. Formerly r 126. Sd. a 55.
 922 (1116 A.D.). Athos. Formerly r 116. Sd. δ 200.
 935 Athos. Sd. δ 361.
 986 (xiv). Athos. Formerly r 117. Sd. δ 508.
 1006 Athos. Sd. a 1174.
 1064 Athos.
 1072 (xiv). Athos. Formerly r 118. Sd. δ 406.
 1075 (xiv). Athos. Formerly r 119. Sd. δ 407.
 1094 (xiv). Athos. Formerly r 120. Sd. δ 307.
 1277 (xi-xii). Cambridge. Formerly r 185. Sd. a 194.
 1328 Jerusalem. Sd. a 1470.
 1352 Jerusalem. Sd. δ 396.
 1384 Andros. Sd. δ 100.
 1424 Kosinitza. Sd. δ 30.
 1503 Athos.
 1551 Athos.
 1597 Athos.
 1611 (xii). Athens. Formerly r 105. Sd. a 208.
 1617 Athos.
 1626 Athos.
 1652 Athos.
 1668 Athos.
 1678 Athos.
 1685 Serres.
 1704 Athos.
 1719 Athos.
 1728 Athos.
 1732 Athos.
 1733 Athos.

1734	Athos.	
1740	Athos.	
1745	Athos.	
1746	Athos.	
1757	Lesbos.	
1760	Serres.	
1771	Athos.	
1773	Athos.	
1774	Athos.	
1775	Athos.	
1776	Athos.	
1778	Saloniki.	
1785	Kosinitza.	Sd. δ 405.
1795	Kosinitza.	Sd. α 215.
1806	Trapezunt.	Sd. α 1472.
1824	Rome.	Sd. O ⁶¹ .
1828	(xii). Athens.	Formerly r 124. Sd. α 202.
1841	(ix-x). Lesbos.	Formerly r 127. Sd. α 47.
1849	(1069 A.D.). Venice.	Formerly r 128. Sd. α 110.
1852	(x-xi). Upsala.	Formerly r 129. Sd. α 114.
1854	(xi). Athos.	Formerly r 130. Sd. α 115.
1857	(xiii). Athos.	Formerly r 131. Sd. α 1587.
1859	Athos.	Formerly r 371. Sd. α 402.
1862	(ix). Athos.	Formerly r 132. Sd. O ²¹ .
1864	Athos.	Formerly r 327.
1865	Athos.	Formerly r 380.
1870	(x). Chalkis.	Formerly r 133. Sd. α 54.
1872	(xii). Chalkis.	Formerly r 134. Sd. α 209.
1876	(xv). Sinai.	Formerly r 135. Sd. α 504.
1888	Jerusalem.	Formerly r 495. Sd. α 118.
1893	Jerusalem.	Formerly r 500. Sd. α 117.
1894	Jerusalem.	Formerly r 501. Sd. α 1670.
1903	Athos.	Formerly r 513.
1918	(xiv). Rome.	Formerly r 39. Sd. α 403.
1934	(xi). Paris.	Formerly r. 64. Sd. O ¹⁵ .
1948	(xv). Rome.	Formerly r 78. Sd. α 505.
1955	(xi). London.	Formerly r 93. Sd. α 119.
1957	(xv). Rome.	Formerly r 91. Sd. α 1574.
2004	(x). Escorial.	Formerly r 142. Sd. α 56.
2014	(xv). Rome.	Formerly r 21. Sd. A ^v 61.
2015	(xv). Oxford.	Formerly r 28. Sd. α 1580.
2016	(xv). London.	Formerly r 31. Sd. α 1579.
2017	(xv). Dresden.	Formerly r 32. Sd. α 1582.
2018	(xiv). Vienna.	Formerly r. 35. Sd. A ^v 48.
2019	(xiii). Vienna.	Formerly r 36. Sd. A ^v 80.
2020	(xv). Rome.	Formerly r 38. Sd. α 1573.

- 2021 (xv). Rome. Formerly r 41. Sd. a 1572.
 2022 (xiv). Rome. Formerly r 43. Sd. A_v⁴⁰¹.
 2023 (xv). Moscow. Formerly r 49. Sd. A_v⁵⁶.
 2024 (xv). Moscow. Formerly r 50. Sd. a 1584.
 2025 (xv-xvi). Paris. Formerly r 58. Sd. a 1592.
 2026 (xv-xvi). Paris. Formerly r 59. Sd. A_v⁵⁰¹.
 2027 (xiii-xiv). Paris. Formerly r 61. Sd. a 1374.
 2028 (1422 A.D.). Paris. Formerly r 62. Sd. A_v⁵⁴.
 2029 (xvi). Paris. Formerly r 63. Sd. A_v⁶⁶.
 2030 (xii). Moscow. Formerly r 65. Sd. a 1272.
 2031 (1301 A.D.). Rome. Formerly r 67. Sd. A_v⁴¹.
 2032 (xi-xii). Rome. Formerly r 68. Sd. A_v¹¹.
 2033 (xvi). Rome. Formerly r 72. Sd. A_v⁶⁰.
 2034 (xv). Rome. Formerly r 73. Sd. A_v⁵⁰.
 2035 (xvi). Florence. Formerly r 77. Sd. A_v⁶⁰⁵.
 2036 (xiv). Rome. Formerly r 79. Sd. A_v⁴⁰.
 2037 (xiv). Munich. Formerly r 80. Sd. A_v⁴⁵.
 2038 (xvi). Munich. Formerly r 81. Sd. A_v⁶⁰⁰.
 2039 (xii). Dresden. Formerly r 90. Sd. a 1271.
 2040 (xi-xii). Parham (Curzon). Formerly r 95. Sd. A_p¹¹.
 2041 (xiv). Parham (Curzon). Formerly r 96. Sd. a 1475.
 2042 (xiv-xv). Naples. Formerly r 100. Sd. A_v⁴⁰⁰.
 2043 (xv). Petrograd. Formerly r 101. Sd. A_v⁵⁷.
 2044 (1507 A.D.). Vienna. Formerly r 136. Sd. A_v⁶⁰¹.
 2045 (xv). Vienna. Formerly r 137. Sd. A_v⁵⁵.
 2046 (xv). Vienna. Formerly r 138. Sd. A_v⁵⁸.
 2047 (1543 A.D.). Paris. Formerly r 139. Sd. A_v⁵⁷.
 2048 (xi-xiii). Paris. Formerly r 140. Sd. a 1172.
 2049 (xvi). Athens. Formerly r 141. Sd. a 1684.
 2050 (1107 A.D.). Escorial. Formerly r 143. Sd. a 1273.
 2051 (xvi). Madrid. Formerly r 144. Sd. A_v⁵⁸.
 2052 (xvi). Florence. Formerly r 145. Sd. A_v⁶⁴.
 2053 (xiii). Messina. Formerly r 146. Sd. O_a²¹.
 2054 (xv-xvi). Modena. Formerly r 147. Sd. A_v⁵⁰⁰.
 2055 (xv). Modena. Formerly r 148. Sd. A_v⁵³.
 2056 (xiv-xv). Rome. Formerly r 149. Sd. A_v⁴⁹.
 2057 (xv). Rome. Formerly r 150. Sd. a 1576.
 2058 (xiv). Rome. Formerly r 151. Sd. O_a⁴⁰.
 2059 (xi). Rome. Formerly r 152. Sd. A_v¹⁰.
 2060 (1331 A.D.). Rome. Formerly r 153. Sd. A_v⁴².
 2061 (xv-xvi). Rome. Formerly r 154. Sd. a 1588.
 2062 (xiii). Rome. Formerly r 155. Sd. O_a³⁰.
 2063 (xvi). Rome. Formerly r 157. Sd. A_v⁶¹.
 2064 (xvi). Rome. Formerly r 158. Sd. A_v⁶².
 2065 (xv). Rome. Formerly r 159. Sd. A_v⁵⁰³.
 2066 (1574 A.D.). Rome. Formerly r 160. Sd. A_v⁶⁸.

2067	(xv). Rome. Formerly r 161. Sd. A ^v ⁵² .
2068	(xvi). Venice. Formerly r 162. Sd. A ^v ⁶⁵ .
2069	(xv-xvi). Venice. Formerly r 163. Sd. A ^v ⁵⁹ .
2070	(1356 A.D.). Athos. Formerly r 164. Sd. A ^v ⁴⁰⁸ .
2071	(1622 A.D.). Athos. Formerly r 167. Sd. A ^v ⁷⁰ .
2072	(1798 A.D.). Athos. Formerly r 168. Sd. A ^v ⁸⁰ .
2073	(xiv). Athos. Formerly r 169. Sd. A ^v ⁴⁷ .
2074	(x). Athos. Formerly r 170. Sd. A ^v ¹ .
2075	(xiv). Athos. Formerly r 171. Sd. A ^v ⁴⁸ .
2076	(xvii). Athos. Formerly r 172. Sd. a 1570.
2077	(1685 A.D.). Athos. Formerly r 174. Sd. A ^v ⁷¹ .
2078	(xvi). Athos. Formerly r 176. Sd. a 1686.
2079	(xiii). Athos. Formerly r 177. Sd. a 1373.
2080	(xiv). Patmos. Formerly r 178.
2081	(xii). Patmos. Formerly r 179. Sd. A ^v ²¹ .
2082	(xvi). Dresden. Formerly r 182. Sd. a 1682.
2083	(1560 A.D.). Leyden. Formerly r 184. Sd. A ^v ⁶⁰² .
2084	Constantinople. Formerly r 506. Sd. a 1586.
2087	Basel.
2091	Athens. Formerly r 511. Sd. A ^v ⁵⁰² .
2116	Athens. Sd. A ^p ⁷⁰ .
2136	Moscow. Sd. a 700.
2138	Moscow. Sd. a 1116.
2186	Athos. Sd. A ^v ²⁸ .
2195	Athos. Sd. a 508.
2196	Athos. Sd. a 1687.
2254	Athos. Sd. A ^v ⁶⁰⁴ .
2256	Athos. Sd. a 1577.
2258	Athos. Sd. a 1770.
2259	Athos. Sd. A ^v ¹² .
2286	Athos. Sd. A ^v ²² .

There are thus 223 Cursives according to the above enumeration, which is based on Gregory's list, *Griechischen Handschriften des NT.* (pp. 48-122).¹

¹ In his list of MSS of the Apocalypse on pp. 360-361 there are six omissions and two or more wrong insertions. Von Soden (*Schriften des NT.* i. i. 289) reckons the number of Cursives as 222. Thus with the seven Uncials there are altogether 230 (or 229) Greek MSS of the Apocalypse.

II. THE TEXT.

THE MSS AND VERSIONS COLLATED FOR THIS EDITION: ABBREVIATIONS: SYMBOLS: ITACISMS.

UNCIALS.—Of the Uncials A and \aleph have been collated afresh from photographs of these MSS published by Kenyon and Lake respectively. For the readings of C, 025, 046 the editor is dependent on Tischendorf, and for 051 on the readings given in Swete's edition under the number 186.

CURSIVES.—The following 22 Cursives have been specially photographed for this edition: 18, 35, 149, 175, 205, 325, 337, 386, 456, 468, 617, 620, 632, 866, 919, 920, 1849, 1934, 2004, 2020, 2040, 2050. Of these the following are defective: 205, 337, 468, 866, 919, 920, 2040, 2050.

205. Defective: xviii. 14 ἀπῆλθεν ἀπὸ σοῦ . . . xx. 9 τὴν παρεμβολὴν τ. ἀγίων, *i.e.* one page lost through carelessness of the photographer.
337. Defective: x. 4–xi. 1 and xxii. 17 λέγουσα to end wanting.
468. Defective: xix. 18 καὶ σάρκας ἰσχυρῶν . . . xxii. 17 εἰπάτω ἔρχου wanting.
866. Defective: contains only vi. 17 ἡμέρα τ. ὁργῆς . . . xiii. 12 τοῦ θηρίου πᾶσαν.
919. Ends with xix. 6 ὑδάτων πολλῶν καὶ ὤς.
920. Ends with xxii. 1 καὶ ἔδειξε.
2040. Ends with the words καὶ τόπος, xx. 11. Photographs incomplete.
2050. Defective. Omits vi. 1 καὶ εἶδον . . . xix. 21 ἐκ τῶν σάρκων αὐτῶν.

These 22 Cursives are generally quoted as 22, or 21, 20, 19, accordingly as one or more are defective. See under "Abbreviations" below.

For the readings of most of the remaining Cursives cited in this edition the author is indebted to Tischendorf's *NT. Graece* (ed. oct. 1872) and to Hoskier's *Concerning the Date of the Bohairic Version* (1911) for select readings from the following 26 Cursives: 180, 181, 256, 337, 367, 368, 467, 582, 664, 680, 743, 1075, 1948, 2014, 2025, 2026, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2037, 2038, 2043. Where readings from the Cursives cited by Tischendorf are not to be found in Tischendorf, they are derived from Hoskier.

CORRECTIONS ON THE MSS—

A* = original text. A** = correction and similarly in the Cursives.

℣* = original text. The lead of Tischendorf has been followed in distinguishing the different hands engaged in correcting ℣. On these different correctors (as many as fifteen ranging from the iv to the xii Century) and their dates see Lake, *Codex Sinaiticus*, pp. xvii–xxiv. Lake differs from Tischendorf in differentiating certain of the correctors. Into this vexed question it is not necessary to enter here.

VERSIONS.—For a short description of these Versions see the Introduction to vol. i.

Latin.

Tyc = "Tyconius' Text of the Apocalypse, a partial restoration," published by Prof. Souter in the *J.T.S.*, April 1913.

Pr = Text of Primasius in *Die lateinische Apokalypse*, edited by Haussleiter, 1891.

fl = Palimpsestus floriacensis in Haussleiter's volume just mentioned.

gig = Codex Gigas. A fresh collation made by Dr. Karlsson in 1891 for Bp. John Wordsworth of Salisbury, and put at my service by his collaborator—Professor White.

vg = Vulgate (editio minor), edited by H. J. White, 1911.

Syriac.

s¹ = Philoxenian Version, edited by John Gwynn, 1897.

s² = Harkleian or Syriac Vulgate.

s sometimes is used to indicate the consensus of s¹ and s².

Armenian.

arm^{1, 2, 3, 4} = Old Armenian MSS edited by F. C. Conybeare, 1907.

arm* = Armenian Vulgate.

Egyptian.

bo = Bohairic Version of the New Testament, vol. iv., edited by G. Horner, 1905.

sa = Sahidic Version. Partial collation furnished to the editor by G. Horner.

Ethiopic.

eth = Ethiopic Version, edited by J. P. Platt (new edition), 1899.

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS—

Or^s = the Greek text, which accompanies the recently discovered Scholia of Origen on the Apocalypse, *i.e.* in Harnack's edition, *Der Scholien-Kommentar des Origenes zur Apokalypse Johannis*, 1911. This text is not Origen's, though the Scholia probably are. It should be numbered as Cursive 2293 (x cent.).

Or^{Mt. iv. 314} = Origen's text of the Apoc. in his Commentary on Matthew, vol. iv. p. 314, in Lommatzsch's edition. Similarly Or^{Cel. xx. 117} means Origen's text of the Apoc. in *Contra Celsum*, vol. xx. p. 117, of Lommatzsch's edition. Origen's works are occasionally quoted to show that Or^s cannot be his text.

⌈ ⌋ Words so enclosed are taken by the Editor to have greater claims to be the original than the alternative printed in the margin.

† † Words so enclosed are corrupt. The Editor's restoration is occasionally given in the margin.

< > Words so enclosed are restored by the Editor.

[] Words so enclosed are interpolated.

+ = add

> = omit.

~ = transpose.

pr = prefix.

22 (—18. 35) = the 22 Cursive MSS collated for this edition less by the two MSS 18. 35. Where certain of these MSS are defective the symbol may be 21 or 20 or 19 or 18 or even 17.

Words in heavy type in the text are restorations of the original text as in 3^L 7. 14.

ITACISMS.—Itacisms are not recorded in the case of the Cursives nor yet of the Uncials excepting A and K, and not even the itacisms of these in such common instances as ι for α (*ἰδον* for *αἰδον*). Such itacisms as ε for αι or *vice versa* in these two MSS are recorded, since this itacism has in one case led to a corruption of the text. Thus Gwynn and Swete have rightly recognized that *πιστη ἐπί* in 7¹⁶ is corrupt for *πιστη ἐτι*, the corruption being due originally to the miswriting of *πιστη* as *πεστη*. In 9^b A^N write *πεστη* for *πιστη*—a fact unrecorded by Tischendorf. In fact A writes *πισ-* twice for *πισ-* out of the five times where it occurs in the N.T. and K three times. Other common unrecorded itacisms are ι for η and ο for ω, or *vice versa*.

III. THE TEXT AND APPARATUS CRITICUS.

CHAPTER I.

ΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΨΙΣ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ.

1. Ἀποκάλυψις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἣν ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ ὁ θεὸς δείξαι τοῖς δούλοις αὐτοῦ, ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐν τάχει, καὶ ἐσήμανεν ἀποστείλας διὰ τοῦ ἀγγέλου αὐτοῦ τῷ δούλῳ αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννῃ, 2. ὃς ἐμαρτύρησεν τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅσα εἶδεν.

Title.

αποκαλυψις Ιωαννου (Ιωανου κ) κC>A 205. 2004 | Ιωαννου αποκαλυψις 175. 337. 920. 2040 | η αποκ. του αγιου Ιωαννου bo αποκ. Ιωαν. του θεολογου (+ ην εν Πατμω τη νισω εθεασατο 620) 325. 620 : αποκ. του αγ. Ιωαν. του θεολογου 18. 35. 386. 456. 468. 2020 Or^a | Ιωαν. του θεολ. και ηγαπημενου αποκ. 1934 | αποκ. (+ του αγιου 919) Ιωαν. του θεολ. και ευαγγελιστου 046. 919 | αποκ. η εγενετο εις τον (+ αγιον s¹) Ιωαν. τον ευαγγ. (+ υπο του θεου s²) εν Πατμω τη νησω εις ην εβληθη υπο Νηρωνος Καισαρος s^{1.2} | η αποκ. του αποστολου Ιωαν (+ και ευαγγελιστου 025) 025 vg | αποκ. του αγ. αποστ. Ιωαν. του θεολ. 632 | αποκ. του αγ. Ιωαν. του αποστ. κ. ευαγγ. του θεολ. ην ιδεν εν πατμω τη νησω κυριε ευλογ. 2050.

1. αποκ. . . . την μαρτ. Ι. Χ.] αποκαλυψις Ιωαννου του ευαγγελιστου arm⁴ : αποκ. Ιωαννου καθως ειδεν Ι. Χ. eth | ην ἔδωκεν . . . ὃς ἐμαρτύρησεν] της γεναμενης εις εμε Ιωαννην τον αποστολον του κηρυξαι 2050 | ην] δι ης arm^{2.3**} | αυτω] αυτη 046 | δουλοις] αγιοις κ* | κ. εσημ.] significans Tyc : κ. επεμψεν eth | αποστειλας] nuntianda Pr fl : >eth : + αυτα bo | του >88. 2015 | τω δουλω αυτ. > 1854 Or^a : του δουλου αυτ. A | Ιωανει κ* |.

2. ver. 2 >arm¹ | ὃς ἐμαρτ. τ. λ.] μαρτυριαν του λογου arm³ | του θεου >Pr | Χριστου >181 | οσα >2040 : + τε Ι : ην arm⁴ | ειδεν] + και ατινα εισι και ατινα (οι α : >620) χρη γενεσθαι μετα ταυτα 1. 88. 104. 181. 205. 209. 432. 468. 620. 632** . 1957. 2015. 2020. 2023. 2024. 2037. 2041. 2067 al : + και ατινα εισιν 42 : |.

3. Μακάριος ὁ ἀναγινώσκων
καὶ οἱ ἀκούοντες τοὺς λόγους τῆς προφητείας
καὶ τηροῦντες τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ γεγραμμένα,
ὁ γὰρ καιρὸς ἐγγύς.

4. Ἰωάννης ταῖς ἑπτὰ ἐκκλησίαις ταῖς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ·

Χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντος καὶ τοῦ ᾔοντος καὶ τοῦ ἐρχομένου, (α)

5. καὶ ἀπὸ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ὁ μάρτυς ὁ πιστός,
ὁ πρωτότοκος τῶν νεκρῶν καὶ ὁ ἄρχων τῶν βασιλείων τῆς γῆς.

Τῷ ἀγαπῶντι ἡμᾶς καὶ λύσαντι ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν ἐν
τῷ αἵματι αὐτοῦ,

(α) The MSS add here an early interpolation: καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἑπτὰ πνευ-
μάτων τῶν ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου αὐτοῦ. See vol. i. 11-13.

8. μακαριος] pr kai eth : + ei 2050 : μακαριοι arm⁴ bo | ο αναγιν.
kai > arm⁴ : οι αναγνωσκοντες bo | ο ακουων gig arm^{1.2.3a} | τ. λογ.
τ. προφ. κ. ο ακουων arm^{2a} | τ. λογ. τ. προφ. > arm⁴ | τουσ λογ.]
+ τουτους C : τον λογον Ν 046. 2042 | προφητιας NC 93. 104.
314 : + ταυτης 104. 336. 468^{**}. 620 gig vg s^{1.2} arm^{2a} bo : +
τουτου τ. βιβλιου eth | και³ + οι 2040 | τηρουντες] ποιουντες arm⁴
: τηρων gig arm^{1.2.3a} | εν αυτη > fi : εκ αυτης 2050 bo | ο γαρ
κ. εγγ. > arm^{1.3} | καιρ. εγγ. > 2050 |.

4. Ιωαννης] Ιωανης Ν : pr α εγραψε eth : + scribens haec Tyc
| ταις² + ουσαις 2050 | ειρηνη] + multiplicetur Tyc | απο . . .
ερχομ.] a deo patre Tyc | απο ο ων ANC 025. 1. 60. 82. 88. 104.
181. 314. 336. 424. 432. 620. 628. 632^{**}. 1957. 2015. 2020. 2023.
2036. 2037. 2041. 2050. 2067 : απο του ο ων 61.^{ms} 429. 617.
1934 : ab eo qui est fi gig vg s^{1.2} bo : απο θεου ο ων 046. 21
(- 432. 620. 628. 632^{**}. 2020. 2050) al^{ms} Or^a : απο κυριου ο
ων 2016 | ο³ > 2050 | ερχομ.] + omnipotens Pr | και⁴ > s² | των²
AN 88. 241. 2036 : α C 046. 21 (- 205. 620. 2020) al^{pm} Or^a
s^{1.2} arm^b : α εστιν 025. 1. 205. 620. 2020. 2023 al arm^{2a} :
α εισιν 2019 arm⁴ | αυτου > 2018 bo : του θεου 88. 2015. 2036
Pr fi : Ιησου Χριστου eth |

5. και απο ι. X.] et a filio hominis Tyc : > eth | οσ μαρτυς
πιστος εστιν 172. 2018 Pr gig vg arm⁴ eth | ο πρωτοτ.] "who
is eldest" arm^{2.3a} : + εκ ι. 1957. 2041 al | των νεκρων] "among
the dead" arm^{1.2.3a} | αρχων] μαρτυς 2050 : + παντων bo | βασι-
λειων Ν^{*} (corr. by scribe himself to βασιλεων) arm^{1.2.3a} Or^a | τω
(> Ν^{*}) αγαπωντι ANC 046. 21 (- 205) al^{pl} Or^a arm⁴ : τω αγαπησονται
025. 1. 61.^{ms} 88. 205. 1957. 2015. 2019. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2041.
2067 : οσ ηγαπησεν 172. 2018 fi gig vg arm^{1.2.3a} bo | ημας¹]
> 2050 : υμας eth | λυσαντι ANC 1. 83. (104). 181^{*}. 314. (620).
628. 2015. 2019. 2020. 2036. 2050 Or^a Pr fi s^{1.2} arm : λουσαντι
025. 046. 21 (- 620. 2020. 2050) al^{pl} gig vg eth : ελουσεν 172.

6. καὶ ἐποίησεν ἡμᾶς βασιλείαν, ἱερεῖς τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ,
αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων· ἀμήν.

7. Ἰδοὺ ἔρχεται μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν,
καὶ ὄψεται αὐτὸν πᾶς ὀφθαλμὸς καὶ οἵτινες αὐτὸν ἐξεκέντησαν,
καὶ κόψονται ἐπ' αὐτὸν πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς. ναί, ἀμήν.(α)

(α) The MSS add here an early interpolation. 8. Ἐγὼ εἰμι τὸ Ἄλφα
καὶ τὸ Ὠ, λέγει Κύριος ὁ θεός, ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος, ὁ παντοκράτωρ.
See vol. ii. Eng. trans., footnote, *in loc.*

2018 bo : λουσάντι κ. των της αμαρτιας κελιδων λουσάντι τη
εκχυσει του ζωοποιου αιματος κ. υδατος κ. ποιησαντι ημας βασιλειον
ιερατευμα κ. λουσάντι ημας απο των αμαρτιων εν τ. αιματι αυτου. και
εποιησεν ημας βασιλειαν ιερισ κτλ. 104. 620. (336. 459 628) |
ημασ² > κ* : υμας eth | εκ ANC 1. 61.^{ms} 88. 181. 2015*. 2019.
2020. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2050. 2067 : απο 025. 046. 21 (-620.
2020. 2050) 250 al^{pl} Or^s Pr fl gig vg bo? | τ. αμαρτ.] peccato
Pr | ημων] υμων eth : > A 1. 181. 336. (620). 2067 Pr | εν τ. αιμ.
αυτ. > arm^{1.3} |.

6. εποησεν ANC 025. 21 (-386. 456. 468. 866) 250. 2037.
2038. 2067 Or^s s^{1.2} bo eth : ποιησαντι 046. 42. 69. 104.
325.^{cor} 336. 367. 385. 456. 459. 468. (620). 2019 | ημας κ 025.
046 al^{pl} Pr gig vg^d (s^{1.2}) arm : ημιν A 42. 325^{ms}. 367. 456.
468. 517. 2016. 2020 : ημων C : υμας eth : regnum nostrum fl :
nostrum regnum vg^(-d) : > 325* | βασιλειαν ιερισ AN^cC 21 (-325.
456. 468. 2050) 250 al^{pm} fl vg^(-d) : βασιλειαν και ιερισ κ^c
88 Pr gig vg^d : "worthy of his kingdom and priests"
arm^{1.3.4} : βασιλειαν ιερατικην s^{1.2} : βασιλειαν αγιαν eth :
βασιλειον ιερισ 046. 2050 : βασιλειος και ιερισ 025. 1. 2015.
2019. 2036. 2038. 2067 al arm^{2.5} : βασιλειον ιερατευμα 42.
61*. 69. (325). 367. 456. 468. 517. (620). 1854 Or^s bo^{ri} |
και² > arm^{1.4} bo | αυτου > fl arm¹ | αυτω . . . αμην > Pr arm¹
| κ. το κρατος . . . αμην > arm⁴ | τ. αιωνας] τον αιωνα κ* |
των αιωνων NC 046 al^{pl} Or^s fl gig vg s^{1.2} arm^{2.3} : > A 025.
88. 325. 456. 468*. 498. 2015. 2036. 2037. 2050 bo | αμην
> 218 |.

7. μετα] επι C sa eth | των > 250. 2018. 2038 | νεφελων] + αμην
35 : + coeli gig arm^{1.2.3} : οψεται AC 025. 046 al^{pl} Or^{me} iv. 34
Pr fl gig vg eth : οψονται κ 1. 181. 2038. 2067 Or^s s^{1.2} arm bo
| αυτου¹ > 1. 205. 209 arm^{1.3} | πασ] παντες s^{1.2} arm : + o 172
: παντες, πασ bo | οφθαλμος και > arm¹ | οφθαλμοι s^{1.2} arm^{2.3.4}
| αυτου² > κ* | κοψονται] οψονται (-εται Pr) Pr fl bo arm¹ (87)
: οψονται και κοψονται eth | επ αυτον > 1. 241* arm¹ : επ > κ* 2050
Or^s Pr fl bo | πασαι . . . γησ] omnis terra Pr | ναι] + και s¹ |
ναι αμην > fl arm¹ : ναι > bo | αμην] + και λεγει arm¹ |.

8. το αλφα ANC 025. 046. 21 (-620. 632. 2020) al

9. Ἐγὼ Ἰωάννης, ὁ ἀδελφὸς ὑμῶν καὶ συνκοινωνὸς ἐν τῇ θλίψει καὶ βασιλείᾳ καὶ ὑπομονῇ ἐν Ἰησοῦ, ἐγενόμην ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τῇ καλουμένῃ Πάτμῳ διὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ.

10. ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ ἤκουσα φωνῶν ὀπίσω μου ὡς σάλπιγγος λεγούσης

ὀπίσω μου
φωνῶν
μεγάλῃν

11. Ὁ βλέπων γράψον εἰς βιβλίον,
καὶ πέμψον ταῖς ἐπτα ἐκκλησίαις,

gig arm^{3.4} bo : το α 1. 88. 241. 385. 620. 632. 2020. 2023. 2037. 2038. 2039. 2042. 2067 al Or^a Pr fl vg : + και εγω N* | το² | I am arm^{1.3} | ω] + (η) αρχη και (το) τελος N* 1. 61.^{ms} (88). 172. 205. 250. 1854. (2015). 2018. (2019. 2023. 2036. 2037). 2038. 2050 Or^{mt.v.2} Or^a gig vg bo | λεγει Κυριος ο θεος > 2050 | λεγει > 88 | ο θεος > arm¹ : + και 620 arm^{2.3a} | και ο ην > arm⁴ : "and who is" arm^{2.3a} : "unto aeons" arm¹ | ο⁴ > 1934 | ερχομ.] + και 386 : + κυριος arm^{1.2a} | ο⁵ > 046. 2015. 2036 |.

9. εγω] + ειμι bo : και εγω eth | Ιωανησ N* | συνκοινωνος NC 025. 2036 al : συγκοιν. A 046. 205. 250. 468. 2020. 2037. 2038. 2050. 2067 al s¹ : κοινωνος 21 (- 205. 468. 2020. 2050) al^{mu} s² : + υμων s^{1.2} eth | και βασιλεια ANC 046 al^{pl} Or^a Pr fl gig vg arm^{1.2.3a} : κ. εν τη βασιλ. (+ υμων eth) 025. 1. 104. 205. 620. 2023. 2038. 2067 al eth : της βασιλειας arm⁴ : οτι η βασιλεια bo : > s^{1.2} | και υπομ. εν. Ιησ. > arm^{1.4} | και³ + εν τη s¹ | υπομ.] + τη s^{1.2} : + σου ησαν bo : + δια την υπομονην υμων eth | εν Ιησου N* C 025. 2020. 2050 Or^{mt.iv.18} gig vg s¹ bo : εν Χριστω A : εν Ιησ. Χριστ. N^{c.c} Pr vg^d s² eth : Ιησου Χριστου 1. 205. 1854. 2015. 2036 : εν Χριστω Ιησου 046. 21 (- 205. 2020. 2050) al^{pl} Or^a fl arm^{2.3a} | καλουμενη > 1 : επικαλουμενη 2050 : λεγομενη 141 : | δια⁽¹⁾ | και C | θεου] κυριου 620 | και την μαρτ. AC 1. 91. 172. 242. 325*. 424. 432. 1934. 2015. 2016. 2018. 2020. 2036 Pr gig vg arm^{2.4a} bo : και δια τ. μαρτ. N 025. 046. 21 (- 325*. 1934. 2020) al^{pl} Or^a fl s^{1.2} arm^{1.3} eth | Ιησου AN^cC 025. 181. 2015. 2019. 2020. 2036. 2050 fl gig vg arm⁴ : Χριστου arm¹ : Ιησου Χριστου N^{c.c} 046. 21 (- 2020. 2050) al^{pl} Or^a Pr s^{1.2} arm^{2.3a} bo |.

10. εγεν. εν πνευμ.] "and (>a) there was in me the spirit (holy 1)" arm^{1.2.3a} : pr εγω A : pr εγω Ιωανησ gig : pr και s¹ | εν πνευματι εν τη > 2050 | φων. μεγ. οπισθεν (336. 2020 οπισω) μου A 336. 2020. 2067 arm¹ eth : οπισω μου φων. (+ σάλπιγγος 2015) μεγ. NC 025. 205. (2015). 2037 al Pr fl gig vg s^{1.2} arm^{2a} bo : φων. οπ. μου μεγαλ. 046. 2040 al^{pl} Or^a : φωνησ οπ. λεγουσθησ μοι ως σάλπιγγος μεγαλησ 2050 : φωνησ μεγ. 336. (2050). 2067 | οπισθεν μου > arm⁴ | σάλπιγγος] pr φωνη arm^{1.3.4} eth |.

11. λεγουσσης] λεγουσαν N^{c.c} Pr fl s^{1.2} arm⁴ : λαλουσση 920.

εἰς Ἐφέσον καὶ εἰς Σμύρναν καὶ εἰς Πέργαμον καὶ εἰς
Θυάτειραν
καὶ εἰς Σάρδεις καὶ εἰς Φιλαδέλφειαν καὶ εἰς Λαοδικίαν.

12. Καὶ ἐπιστρέψα βλέπειν τὴν φωνὴν ἣτις ἐλάλει μετ' ἐμοῦ.
καὶ ἐπιστρέψας εἶδον ἑπτὰ λυχνίας χρυσᾶς,
13. καὶ ἐν μέσῳ τῶν λυχνιῶν ὅμοιον υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου,
ἐνδεδυμένον ποδήρη καὶ περιεζωσμένον πρὸς τοῖς μαστοῖς
ζώνην χρυσᾶν.

2039. 2040 : φωνουσησ 2020 : > 104 : + μοι 1854. (2050) arm^{1.8}
bo eth : + εγω αλφα κ. το ω πρωτοσ κ. ο εσχατοσ (και) 025.
104) 620 : + εγω ειμι το α κ. το ω (ο) πρωτοσ κ. (ο) εσχατοσ (και)
1. 61*. 336. 628. 2019. 2020. 2023 | ο βλεπ. > κ* | ο] α 172. 424.
2018. 2020 Pr s¹ bo | βλεπειω] βλεπησ 2040 : ακουσει bo |
εισ] + το κ | και πεμψον > arm⁴ : et mittem fl | και¹ > κ* bo |
εκκλησιαισ] + ταισ εν τη ασια bo : + ταισ (ουσαισ) arm | εν Εφεσω
. . . εν Σμυρνα κτλ. arm | εισ² . . . ⁷ > bo : εισ^{2.8} >
arm² | και² . . . ⁶ > Pr : και² > 149. 201. 2015. 2042. 2067 | και
εισ Σμυρν. post Θυατειρ. pon κ | Σμυρναν C 025. 046. 21
(- 205. 620. 2040) al s² : Smyrnam fl : Smirnam Pr gig :
μυρναν A 1. 177. 205. 620. 628. 920. 2017. 2018. 2024.
2040** : μυραν 104*. 2040* : Ζμυρναν κ vg s¹ : Ζμυρνα aim
| Περκαμον 2050 : | εισ Θυατειραν (-τιραν AC : -τηραν 046.
2050) (AC 046) 69. 110. 172. 314. 424. 1854. 1957. 2018.
2020. (2050) : Tyatyrām fl : Tyathiram gig : Thyatiram vg : εισ
Θυατειρασ 1. 2038 : εισ Θυατειρα (-τηρα 620. 632) κ 21 (- 205
2020. 2050) 250. 2037. 2067 al : εν Θυατειροις 025. 205.
209. 2019 : Tiatirae Pr : Thyatera bo | και⁵ | + και 2040 | κ.
εισ Σαρδ. > κ* : post Λαοδ. pon κ^c | Σαρδ.] αρδεις 620 : | Φιλα-
δελφειαν ANC 025. 046. 104. 205. 456. 522. 620. 919. 920.
1849. 1955. 2004. 2015. 2017. 2039. 2042. 2050 bo : Φιλαδελ-
φειαν 21 (- 205. 456. 620. 919. 920. 1849. 2004. 2050) al^{pl} :
"Phrygia" arm¹ | Λαοδικιαν ANC 110*. 205. 2015. 2042. 2050
al bo : Λαοδικειαν 025. 046. 21 (- 205. 2050) al^{pl} : Laudatiae
Pr |.

12. και] ANC 025. 205. 632**. 2020. 2050 Pr fl gig Cyp vg
s^{1.2} bo : εκει 2016 : και εκει 046. 21 (- 205. 632**. 2020. 2050)
al^{pl} | επιστρ. βλεπ. . . . και επιστ. ειδον] conversus respexi ut
viderem . . . et vidi Pr fl : επιστρεψα εβλεψα bo | βλεπ.]
ιδειν 2050 (s¹) | τ. φων . . . εμου] τον λαλουντα μοι 2050 |
ελαλει κC 046 al^{pl} Pr fl gig vg (s²) arm^{2.3.4} : λαλει A
arm¹ : ελαλησε 025. 1. 104*. 620. al s¹ | μετ εμου] μοι arm³
| επιστρεψας > 2050. (Pr fl) arm¹ | λυχν. επτ. χρυσ. 2050 : >
arm¹ |.

13. και¹ > arm¹ | εμμεσω AC 2004 : μεσον κ | των AC 025. 1.

14. ἡ δὲ κεφαλὴ αὐτοῦ καὶ αἱ τρίχες λευκαὶ ὡς ἔριον λευκόν, (α)
καὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς φλόξ πυρός,
15. καὶ οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ ὅμοιοι χαλκολιβάνῳ ὡς ἐν καμίνῳ † πεπ-
υρωμένης †,
καὶ ἡ φωνὴ αὐτοῦ ὡς φωνὴ ὑδάτων πολλῶν.

(α) MSS add a gloss ὡς χιών. See vol. i. 28.

181. 205. 459. 2015. 2020. 2037. 2038. 2042. 2050. 2067 Tyc
Pr fl s arm^{1. 2. 4*} bo : των επτα N 046. 21 (- 205. 2020. 2050)
al^{pl} Or^a gig vg arm² | λυχν.] + των χρυσων 172. 250. 424. 2018.
2023 gig vg^{6*} arm⁴ | ομοιον] ομοιωμα A s¹ (= ωσ ομοιωμα) ho sa :
ομοιος 1854 | του υιου του ανθρ. s² | υιον N 046. 1. 35. 61*. 69.
104. 110. 172. 175. 177. 201. 250. 325. 337. 386. 456. 617.
620. 1934. 2015. 2016. 2018. 2021. 2042. 2050 al : νιω AC 025.
18. 205. 468. 632. 919. 920. 1849. 1854. 2004. 2020. 2037. 2038.
2040. 2067 al^{pl} Or^a Pr Cyp fl gig vg arm | ανθρωπου] + και s¹ |
ενδεδυμενος . . . περιεωσμενος 1854 | ποδηγη NC 025. 046
min fere omn : ποδηγην A (2050) | προσ] εν 172. 2018. 2020 :
ει Pr fl bo : inter Tyc | μαστοις C 025. 046. 250. 2037.^{ms} al^{pl} :
μαζις A 35. 60. 432. 1957. 2015. 2023. 2036. 2037*. 2038. 2041.
2067 : μασθοις N 104. 205. 209. 385. 498. 620. 632. 2042. 2050 :
+ αυτου s^{1. 2} bo eth | χρυσαν AN^aC : χρυσιν 620 : χρυσην N^c 025.
046 min omn^{vid} |.

14. η δε κεφ. . . . τριχ.] "but the hair of his head" arm⁴ |
τριχεις] τριχαις 2050 : + αυτου s¹ arm² | λευκαι > Pr fl arm^{1. 2. 3*} sa
| ωσ¹ AN 35. 175. 386. 617. 620. 632. 920. 1934. 2020.
2040 al^{mu} Or^a : ωσει C 025. 1. 1957. 2015. 2023. 2036. 2037.
2038. 2041. 2042. 2050. 2067 al : ωσπερ 205. 209. 242 : και
ωσ 046. 18. 250. 325. 337. 456. 468. 919. 1849. 2004 al
| ωσ εριον . . . οφθ. αυτ. > arm² | εριον] + και 110 s¹ | λευκον]
καθαρων arm⁴ : > 110 Pr fl Cyp s¹ : + και 2019. 2050
gig vg s¹ arm^{3**} a eth | ωσ χιων > arm^{1. 2. 3.*} 4 | ωσ²] ωσει
(2019). 2020. 2042 : και bo : aut (corrupt for ut) Tyc. | και² > Pr
| ωσ² > 517 |.

15. και > 104. 620 Pr | ομοιοι] ομοιωσ 920 | χαλκολιβ.] χαλκω
λιβανω 025. 104. 175. 620. 2017. 2042. 2050 : aurichalco (auri-
calco Pr) Libani Tyc Pr : aurocalco fl : auricalco gig : orichalco
vg : "burnished brass" bo : + και gig | ωσ . . . πεπυρ. > 498.
arm^{1. 3*. 4} | ωσ > s¹ arm^{2. 3**} a | εν] εκ Pr fl | πεπυρωμενησ AC
Cyp Pr fl : πεπυρωμενω N 205. 209. 336. 620. 628. 2050 gig
vg s^{1. 2} : πεπυρωμενοι 025. 046. 21 (- 205. 620. 2050). 250. 2037.
2038. 2067 al^{pl} Or^a : ignitos velut in fornace ignis Tyc :
"refined amidst a furnace fiery" arm^{2. 3**} a | κ. η φων. . . .
υδ. πολλ. > arm⁴ | υδατων πολλων] πληθουσ λαου 2050 (cf.
Dan. 10⁶) |.

16. καὶ ἔχων ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ δαστέρας ἑπτά,
καὶ ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ ῥομφαία δίστομος ὀξεῖα ἐκπο-
ρευομένη,
καὶ ἡ ὄψις αὐτοῦ ὡς ὁ ἥλιος φαίνει ἐν τῇ δυνάμει αὐτοῦ.

17. Καὶ ὅτε εἶδον αὐτόν, ἔπεσα πρὸς τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ ὡς νεκρός·
καὶ ἔθηκεν τὴν δεξιὰν αὐτοῦ ἐπ' ἐμὲ λέγων

Μὴ φοβοῦ· ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος,

18. καὶ ὁ ζῶν καὶ ἐγενόμην νεκρός,

καὶ ἰδοὺ ζῶν εἰμὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων,
καὶ ἔχω τὰς κλείς τοῦ θανάτου καὶ τοῦ ᾗδου.

16. κα¹ > 1854 bo sa | εχων №C 025. 046. 21 (- 2050) 2037.
2038. 2067 al^{pl} Or^s s^{1.2} : ειχεν №* 172. 250. 424. 2018. 2019 :
habebat Pr fl gig vg arm : > A 2021. 2050 | εν τ. δ. χ. αυτ.
> arm⁴ | εν > 2050 | δεξ. χειρι. αυт. ANC 025. 35. 61. 69. 172.
175. 181. 205. 209. 242. 250. 432. 617. 1934. 1957. 2016. 2017.
2018. 2019. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2041 al^p : δεξια αυт. χειρι
21 (- 35. 175. 205. 617. 920. 1934. 2040. 2050) al^{pl} Or^s : χειρι >
60. 920. 2015. 2040. 2050 Tyc Pr fl gig vg arm² : χειρι αυт.
τη δεξια 046 | αστερεσ A 1934. 2021 | ρομφ. διστ.] πνευμα s¹ |
οξεια > 205. 209. 242. 2050 arm^{1.2.3.4} (bo) | εκπορευομ.] pendente
Tyc | φαεινι ωσ ο ηλιοσ № Pr Cyp fl arm⁴ bo : "like the sun
flashing appeared" arm^{1.2.3.4} | ο > 205. 209. 241. 432. 498. 628.
632. 2020. 2042 | φαεινι] φαινων 2067 : "was flashing" arm⁴ | εν
τη δυν. αυт. > arm |.

17. επεσα ANC 025. 046. 35. 205. 325. 337. 456. 620. 632.
2020. 2050 : επεσον 18. 175. 386. 617. 919. 920. 1849. 1934.
2004. 2037. 2040 al | προσ] εις № 42 : επι 2033 s¹ | ωσ] ωσι №* :
ωσει № arm : και ωσ Or^s bo | εθηκεν AC 025. 046. 21 (- 35.
205. 2050) al^{pl} Or^s : posuit Pr gig vg : επεθηκεν № 1. 35. 61. 205.
2015. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2050. 2067 : inposuit fl Cyp | δεξ.
αυт. ANC 025. 046. 21 (- 35. 205) al^{pl} Pr fl gig vg arm eth
+ χειρα №^c 1. 35. 61. 205. 1957. 2015. 2037. 2038. 2041. 2067
s^{1.2} | λεγων] + μοι 1 al^p arm^{1.2.3} | μη φοβ > №* : + Ιωαννε Pr |
ο πρωт.] ο πρωτοτοκοσ A : "beginning" arm^{1.2} | ο εσχ.] ο >
2050 |.

18. κ. ο ζων > Pr gig : "I am life" arm^{1.2.3.4} | και¹ > №* bo
arm | εγεν. νεκρ.] : "I am (+ same^s) who died" arm^{1.2.3.4} : + και
ειπεν μοι eth | ιδου > arm³ | των αιωνων > 2020 | αιωνων ANC C
025. 2019. 2050. 2067 Pr Cyp fl gig vg bo arm^{1.2.3} : + αμην
№ 046. 21 (- 2020. 2050) 250. 2037. 2038 al Or^s s^{1.2} arm³ : > 2020
| την κλειδα s¹ | κλεισ ANC 025. 35. 205. 250. 325. 456. 468. 620.
632. 2020. 2037. 2038 al. : κλειδασ 046. 21 (- 35. 205. 325. 456.

19. γράψον οὖν ἃ εἶδες

καὶ ἃ εἰσὶν

καὶ ἃ μέλλει γίνεσθαι μετὰ ταῦτα.

20. τὸ μυστήριον τῶν ἐπτὰ ἀστέρων οὓς εἶδες ἐπὶ τῆς δεξιᾶς μου καὶ τὰς ἐπτὰ λυχνίας τὰς χρυσαῖς· οἱ ἐπτὰ ἀστέρες ἄγγελοι τῶν ἐπτὰ ἐκκλησιῶν εἰσὶν, καὶ αἱ λυχναὶ αἱ ἐπτὰ [ἐπτὰ] ἐκκλησίαι εἰσὶν.

468. 620. 632. 2020) al^{ms} Or^a | του θαν. κ. τ. αδ. AHC 025. 046. 21 al^{pl} Tyc Pr fl gig vg s^{1.2} (bo) arm eth : του αδ. κ. τ. θαν. 1. 2015. 2019. 2036. 2037. 2038 al |.

19. οὖν > 1. 498. 620. 2020. 2050 arm^{1.2.3a} | a] o s^{1.2} | εἶδες] οφεί bo : ορασ arm^{1.2.3a} | και α εισιν > arm^{1.2} bo | και¹ > arm^{2.4a} | a² > 2050 | και² > bo | a³ > s¹ | μελλει] δει 2050 : δει μελλειν N* : δει μελλει C : δει 2050 | γινεσθαι AHC 21 (- 35. 386. 468. 617. 632. 2050). 250 al^{pl} Or^a : γενεσθαι N* C 025. 046. 35. 61. 69. 314. 386. 468. 617. 632. 1957. 2015. 2019. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2041. 2042. 2050. 2067 |.

20. οὖς AHC 025. 1. 110. 181. 205. 209. 2037^{**}. 2038. 2050 : ὡν 046. 21 (- 205. 2050). 250. 2037^{*}. 2067 al^{pl} Or^a | εἶδες] ορασ arm² | ἐπὶ τῆς δεξ. NC 025. 046. 250. 2037. 2067 min omn^v Or^a s¹ arm⁴ bo : ἐν τῇ δεξίᾳ A 2038 Pr fl gig vg s^{1.2} arm^{2.3a} eth : ἐν τῇ χειρὶ arm¹ | κ. τῶν ἐπτα λυχνίων 498 Pr fl arm² | τας¹ > 18. 385. 429^{*}. 522. 919. 920. 1849. 1955. 2004. 2039. 2040. 2042 | τας χρυσας > 498 s¹ : τῶν χρυσῶν Pr arm^{2a} : + ταῦτα ἐστὶν 201 : + ταῦτα εἰσιν 93. 386 | ἀστέρες] + ἐπτα bo | ἀγγ. . . . εἰσιν] ἀγγ. εἰσιν τῶν ἐπτ. ἐκκλ. 498 Pr fl gig vg : τῶν ἐπτ. ἐκκλησιῶν εἰσιν οἱ ἄγγελοι arm^{2a} | εἰσιν¹ > N* | και αι λυχν. αι ἐπτα. . . . εἰσιν > 632^{*} | αι λυχν. αι ἐπτα AC 025. 046 al^{pl} gig vg s^{1.2} eth : αι λυχν. ἐπτα 218. 429. 2018. 2019 : ἐπτα λυχν. N* 1. 61.^{ms} 367. 2038 : αι ἐπτα λυχν. N^o 35. 205. 250. 632^{**}. 1854. 1957. 2020. 2037. 2050. 2067 al Or^a | αι ἐπτα] + ας εἶδος 025. 1. (35). (61.^{ms}). 69.^{ms} (205). 1955. (1957). 2036. 2037. 2038. 2067 bo : + αι χρυσαι 2050 : + αι χρυσαι ας εἶδος s¹ : + αι 172. 241. 250. 424. 2020 arm | ἐπτα⁶ > 104. 498 Pr fl (arm^{4?}). Only these authorities attest the original text (see vol. i. 34-35 ; vol. ii., Eng. trans., footnote, *in loc.*). The αι ἐπτὰ belongs to ἐκκλησίαι.

CHAPTER II.

1. Τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῷ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐκκλησίας γράψον
 Τάδε λέγει ὁ κρατῶν τοὺς ἑπτὰ ἀστέρας ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ αὐτοῦ,
 ὁ περιπατῶν ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἑπτὰ λυχνίων τῶν χρυσῶν,

1. τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῷ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐκκλησίας] Since John's usage elsewhere attests the originality of this unique grammatical construction (see *Gram.* in vol. i.), I add here a summary of the documentary evidence for it in 2¹ and in the six other passages where it originally occurred, 2^{8.12.18} 3^{1.7.14}. This evidence is sufficient to establish the originality of τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῷ in all seven passages: when reinforced by the evidence of John's usage elsewhere, it is irresistible. I have accordingly restored the original reading in 3^{1.7.14} where the Greek MSS fail us.

2¹ τ. ἀγγ. τῷ] AC (2019) s¹ arm⁴ Pr (though he reads: angelo ecclesiae Ephesi). In the note Pr. refers to the peculiar construction in the text: Dativo hic casu ecclesiae posuit, non genetivo; ac si diceret Scribe angelo, huic ecclesiae, ut non tam angelum et ecclesiam separatim videtur dixisse, quam qui sit angelus exponere voluisse, unam videlicet faciens angeli ecclesiaeque personam. 2⁸ τ. ἀγγ. τῷ] A (2040 τ. ἀγγ. τησ ο) arm⁴ a. 2¹² τ. ἀγγ. τῷ] 2050 s¹ arm⁴ a sa. 2¹⁸ τ. ἀγγ. τῷ] A Epiph^{bia} Pr s^{1.2} arm⁴ (β γ). C > τω² but does not replace it by τησ. 3¹ τ. ἀγγ. τῷ] Pr s^{1.2} arm⁴. 3⁷ τ. ἀγγ. τῷ] Pr arm⁴. 3¹⁴ τ. ἀγγ. τῷ] arm⁴.

The difficulty of the reading led to the occasional omission of ἐκκλησίας in 2¹⁸ (A), 3¹⁴ (919. 920. 2040), 3¹ (s²), 3⁷ (arm⁴). It is interesting to observe how the evidence for the original reading grows weaker as the text advances. The assurance of the scribes grows as they write. On the individual passages the chief variants are given below.

τῷ ἀγγ. τῷ τοῖς ἀγγελοῖς arm^{1.2}: pr και Pr fl gig: bo sa eth begin 2^{1.8.12.18} 3^{1.7.14} with και (> bo sa) γραψον | τῷ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐκκλησίας AC: τῷ τησ ἐν Εφ. ἐκκλ. 2019: τῷ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ arm⁴: τῷ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ Ἐφέσου s¹: τησ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐκκλ. 8 025. 046 min fere omn Or⁴: Ephesi ecclesiae gig vg: ecclesiae Ephesi Pr bo: τησ Ἐφεσιων ἐκκλησίας 1. 2020 fl arm^{1.2.3} a | λέγει] + κυριοσ 172. 250. 424. 522. 2018. 2039 | κρατων] + παντα και s² | δεξια] χειρι Tyc s¹: δεξια χειρι 172. 250. 2018 arm^{1.2.4} bo sa | αυτου] + χειρι 8* | ο²] και arm^{1.2.3} a | ἐν μεσῳ] ἐμμεσῳ AC: ἐπι 1 | ἑπτα > 498. 620. 628. 2020 Tyc s¹ arm^{1.2}: ~ τ. λ. τ. ἑπτα χρυσ. 2042 | χρυσιων 8 025. 046 min fere omn: χρυσεων AC: χρυσιων 2050 |

2. Οὐδα τὰ ἔργα σου, καὶ τὸν κόπον καὶ τὴν ὑπομονήν σου,
καὶ ὅτι οὐ δύνη βαστᾶσαι κακοὺς,
καὶ ἐπείρασας τοὺς λέγοντας ἑαυτοὺς ἀποστόλους καὶ οὐκ εἰσίν,
καὶ εὗρες αὐτοὺς ψευδεῖς·
3. καὶ ὑπομονήν ἔχεις
καὶ ἰβάστας διὰ τὸ ὄνομά μου
καὶ οὐ κεκοπίακες.
4. ἀλλ' ἔχω κατὰ σοῦ ὅτι τὴν ἀγάπην σου τὴν πρώτην ἀφῆκας.
5. μνημόνευε οὖν πόθεν πέπτωκας,
καὶ μετανόησον καὶ τὰ πρῶτα ἔργα ποιήσον·
εἰ δὲ μή, ἔρχομαί σοι
καὶ κινήσω τὴν λυχνίαν σου ἐκ τοῦ τόπου αὐτῆς.(α)
(α) MSS add gloss ἐὰν μὴ μετανόησης.

2. οἰδα] ειδον 337 eth | κ. τ. κοπ. > 385. 429. 522 | κ. τ. υπομ.
σου κ. τ. κοπ. σου 632 | τον κοπον AC 025. 35. 60. 181. 205.
209. 432. 1957. 2015. 2019. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2041. 2042
Pr gig vg s² : τους κοπους arm^{1a} : τον κοπον σου N 046. 21
(- 35. 205). 250. 2067 Or^s s¹ : τους κοπους σου arm^{2.2.4} bo |
σου² > Pr arm^{1.2a} | και³ > A bo : +οἰδα arm¹ | ου δυνη βαστ.
ου βασταζεις arm^{1.3} | δυνηση 2042 : δυνει 620. 2050 | βασταζει
025. 1. 2020. 2038 | κακον bo | και⁴ | ουσ arm¹ | εαυτους > 181.
2067 : + ειναι vg^{c.1} arm^a | αποστολ. AN^{*C} 025. 94. 337. 2038 vg
arm^{1.2.3.4} : + ειναι N^{c.} 046. 21 (- 337) al^{mu} Or^s Pr gig vg^r s^{1.2} :
και ευρ. αυτ. ψ.] κ. ευρεθησαν ψευδαποστολοι bo |.

3. και υπομ. εχ. > 218. 424. 2018 | υπομ. εχ. (+ κ. θλιψις πασας
N*) κ. εβαστ. ANC 046. 21 (- 35. 205. 620. 2020). 250 al^{mu}
Or^s vg s^{1.2} arm⁴ : et habuisti patientiam et tolerasti Pr : εβαστ.
(εβαπτισας I. 61.^{ms} 2037) κ. υπομ. εχ. (I) 35. (61.^{ms}). 1957. 2015.
2020. 2023. 2036. (2037). 2038. 2067 al : εβαστ. με κ. υπομ. εχ.
025. 104. 205. 209. 336. 459. 620 : υπομ. εχ. κ. εβαστ. αυτους gig
bo | εχεις] habuisti Pr | κ. εβαστ. > 432 | δια > 314. 2016 | και
ου κεκοπιακας AC (s^{1.2}) : κ. ουκ. εκοπιασας N 025. 046. 21 (- 620.
2020). 250. 2037 al^{pl} Or^s : et non (nec Pr) defecisti Pr gig vg :
και κεκοπιακας 336. 432. 628. 2020 arm^{2.4} : καικοπιακας I : και
κεκοπιασας 620 |.

4. αλλ AC 025. I. 385. 620. 2015. 2020. 2037. 2038. 2042.
2050. 2067 Or^s : αλλα N 046. 21 (- 205. 620. 2020. 2050).
250 al : και 205 | εχω κατα σου] + ολιγα gig | την πρωτην σου
αγαπην A | αφηκας AN^{c.} 025. 046 al omn^{vid} : αφηκες N^{*C} |.

5. μνημονευσον 1854. 2020 | ουν > Pr s¹ arm^{1.2.4a} eth | ποθεν]
οθεν 386 : πως bo | πεπτωκας (- ες N) ANC 046. 21 (- 35. 205.
620). 250 al^{mu} Or^s Pr Cyr s² : εκπετωκας 025. I. 35. 104.
205. 620. 1957. 2015. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2041. 2067
gig vg s¹ | κ. μεταν. > s¹ arm³ | κ. τ. πρ. εργ. ποιησον > bo

6. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο ἔχεις ὅτι μισεῖς τὰ ἔργα τῶν Νικολαϊτῶν, ἃ καὶ γὼ μισῶ. 7. Ὁ ἔχων οὖς ἀκουσάτω τί τὸ πνεῦμα λέγει ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις. Τῷ νικῶντι δώσω αὐτῷ φαγεῖν ἐκ τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς ὁ ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ τοῦ θεοῦ.

8. Καὶ τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῷ ἐν Σμύρνῃ ἐκκλησίας γράψον
Τάδε λέγει ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος,
ὃς ἐγένετο νεκρὸς καὶ ἔζησεν·

9. Οἶδά σου τὴν θλίψιν καὶ τὴν πτωχείαν,
ἀλλὰ πλούσιος εἶ,
καὶ τὴν βλασφημίαν ἐκ τῶν λεγόντων Ἰουδαίους εἶναι αὐτοὺς
καὶ οὐκ εἰσίν, ἀλλὰ συναγωγὴ τοῦ Σατανᾶ.

eth | εργα] + σου gig arm | σοι A^{NC} 025. 2050 gig vg s¹ bo
sa : > 181. 2041 arm^{1.2} : + ταχυ 046. 21 (- 2050). 250.
2037. 2038. 2067 al^{pl} Or^s Pr s² arm^a : + ταχει 1 | κινήσω] +
κατα σου 325. 456 | εκ τ. τοπ. αυτ. > s¹ | εαν] ει 35 | μετανοήσει
(-σις 1) 35. 104. 498. 620. 2050 : μετανοησ 205 : μετανοηση Tyc |.
6. «χεις» + αγαθον Pr | οτι μισ.] οτι μισησ 2040 | a > A arm² :
sicut Pr | καγω] εγω s¹ arm^{1.2.3} eth |.

7. ους] ωτα s^{1.2} : + ακουειν bo eth : aures audiendi Pr arm^{1.2.4}
| ακουετω 617 | πνευμα] + αγιον arm^{1.2.4} eth | ταισ] + επτα A |
εκκλ.] + ταισ επτα C : + και s¹ | αυτω AC 025. 046. 21 (- 35.
205) Or^s Pr Cyp vg s² arm eth : > N 35. 60. 205. 209. 1957.
2023. 2041 Tyc gig vg^{4.7} s¹ | εν τω παραδ. A^{NC} C 046. 21 (- 35.
205) al^{mu} Tyc Pr Cyp vg s^{1.2} arm^{1.2.3.4} : εν μεσω τω παραδεισω
N^{c.c} 025 : εν μεσω του παραδεισου 1. 35. 61.^{ms} 205. (εμεσω
205). 250. 1957. 2015. 2018. 2019. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038.
2041. 2067 gig arm^a bo | του θεου A^{NC} 025. 1. 61.^{ms} 205.
2015. 2019. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2067 s¹ arm^a : + μου 046. 21
(- 205) al^{mu} Or^{Ex. ix. 17} Or^s Tyc Pr gig Cyp vg s² arm^{1.2.3.4}
bo eth |.

8. τω εν] See note on 2¹. τω A arm⁴ : τησ NC 025. 046.
21 min^{rell} Or^s eth : τησ + ο 2040 | εν Σμυρνησ εκκλησιασ A :
Smirnae ecclesiae gig (vg) bo : ecclesiae Smirnae Pr s¹ : εν
Σμυρνη εκκλησιασ N : εν Σμυρνη εκκλ. C 025. 046. 21. 250. 2038.
2067 al^{mu} s² arm⁴ (Ζμ.) : τησ εκκλ. του Σμυρναιου arm^{1.3} :
εκκλησιασ μυρναϊων 1 : Σμυρναιων εκκλησιασ 2015. 2036. 2037 :
Σμυρ. AC 025. 046 min^{omn} vid gig s² arm^{1.2.3} bo : Ζμυρ. N vg
s¹ arm⁴ | πρωτος] πρωτοκοσ A | ο² > 2016. 2020. 2041 | ο
εσχ.] "without end" arm¹ : + ο πρωτος των νεκρων 69 | οσ A^{NC}
025. 046. 35. 205. 468^{**}. 620. 632. 2020. 2050 Pr gig vg s^{1.2}
arm^{1.2.4} bo : > 18. 175. 325. 337. 386. 456. 468^{*}. 617. 919.
920. 1849. 1934. 2004. 2040 al^{mu} | εζησεν] vivit gig vg :
revixit Pr |.

9. σου AC 025. 93. 241. 250^{com} Pr gig vg s¹ bo sa eth :
+ τα εργα και N 046. 21. 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 Or^s Tyc s²

10. μὴ φοβοῦ ἃ μέλλεις πάσχειν.

ἰδοὺ μέλλει βάλλειν ὁ διάβολος ἐξ ὑμῶν εἰς φυλακὴν,
ἵνα πειρασθῇτε καὶ ἔχητε θλίψιν ἡμερῶν δέκα.

γίνου πιστὸς ἄχρι θανάτου,
καὶ δώσω σοι τὸν στέφανον τῆς ζωῆς.

11. Ὁ ἔχων οὐδ' ἀκουσάτω τί τὸ πνεῦμα λέγει ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις. Ὁ
νικῶν οὐ μὴ ἀδικηθῇ ἐκ τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ δευτέρου.

12. Καὶ τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῷ ἐν Περγάμῳ ἐκκλησίας γράψον

Τάδε λέγει ὁ ἔχων τὴν ῥομφαίαν τὴν δίστομον τὴν ὀξεῖαν

arm : + τα εργα κ. την υπομονην arm⁴ | πτωχειαν 025. 046. 21
(- 620) Or⁸ : πτωχιαν ANC 1. 498. 620 : + σου gig vg s¹ bo
eth | την βλασφ.] + την κ s^{1.2} : τας βλασφημιας arm^{1.2.3.4} : blas-
phemaris Pr gig vg : "I found not one" bo | εκ ANC 046. 21
(- 35. 205) al^{mu} Pr gig vg s^{1.2} bo : > 025. 1. 35. 205. 1957.
2015. 2019. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2041. 2067 Or⁸ | εαυτ.
Ιουδ. 2015. 2036 (s¹) | Ιουδαϊων κ^cC 2050 arm¹ | εαυτουσ ειναι
2019 | ειναι > 468^{**} s¹ | εαυτ. > 336. 620. 628 : αντουσ 314.
2016. 2019 | κ. ουκ εισιν > arm¹ | σατανα] + εισιν κ^{c. c}. Pr gig
vg arm^{1.2.3} |.

10. μη AC 046. 2020. 2023. 2050. 2067 bo : μηδεν κ 025.
21 (- 2020. 2050) Or⁸ Pr gig vg s^{1.2} eth | α] ων 35 | μελλεισ]
θελεισ arm⁴ | πασχειν ANC 025. 1. 35. 104. 172. 205. 468^{*}
(πασχειν 620). 1957. 2015. 2018. 2019. 2023. 2036. 2041 : παθιν
046. 21 (- 35. 205. 468^{*}. 620). 2067 al^{mu} Or⁸ | ιδου ANC 025.
1. 18. 61. 69. 104. 250. 620. 2018. 2019. 2020. 2036. 2037. 2038
al^{mu} Pr gig vg s¹ arm bo : + δη 046. 21 (- 18. 205. 620. 2020.
2050). 2067 Or⁸ s² : + γαρ 2050 eth : + και 205 | ο διαβ. βαλ.
920. 2020. 2040 s^{1.2} eth | βαλλειν κ^cC 025. 18. 35. 205. 250.
919. 920. 1849. 2004. 2020 al : βαλειν 046. 175. 325. 337. 386.
456. 468. 617. 620. 632. 1934. 2037. 2040. 2050. 2067 al Or⁸ :
βαλλειν βαλιν κ^{*} | εξ υμ. ο διαβ. κ 1. 2037. 2067 al gig | εξ] αφ
1854 | ινα πειρασθ.] ινα πειραθητε ι : ινα πειρασθη 920 | κ. εχ. θλιψ.
> gig | εχητε A 1854. 2019. 2038 Pr (bo) : εχετε C 025. 1. 181.
2050 : εξητε ιιο : εξετε κ 046. 21 (- 2050) Or⁸ Tyc vg s^{1.2} |
θλιψ.] + μεγαλην 2050 | δεκ. ημ. Tyc gig | ημερων ANC 025. 1. 35.
104. 172. 205. 250. 620. 1957. 2015. 2037. 2038. 2050. 2067 al :
dierum Pr : ημερας 046. 21 (- 35. 205. 620. 2050) al^{mu} Or⁸
Tyc s^{1.2} : diebus gig vg | γινου > κ^{*} | γινεσθε . . . πιστοι . . .
υμιν s¹ | αχρει 2050 | μεχρι 632. 2020 |.

11. ουσ] ωτα s^{1.2} arm^{1.4} : + audiendi Pr
arm^{1.4.6} | το] + αγιον arm^{1.2} eth | τ. εκκλ. > arm¹ | ο νικων]
ο γαρ νικων bo |.

12. τω αγγ.] τοις αγγελιοις arm^{1.2.3} | τω εν Π. εκκλ. 2050
(save that it reads Περκαμω) : see note on 2¹ : τω εν εκκλησια

13. Οἶδα ποῦ κατοικεῖς,
 ὅπου ὁ θρόνος τοῦ Σατανᾶ,
 καὶ κρατεῖς τὸ ὄνομά μου,
 καὶ οὐκ ἠρνήσω τὴν πίστιν μου
 καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις † Ἀντίπας, † ὁ μάρτυς μου,
 ὁ πιστός μου, ὃς ἀπεκτάνθη παρ' ὑμῖν
 ὅπου ὁ Σατανᾶς κατοικεῖ.
14. ἀλλ' ἔχω κατὰ σοῦ ὀλίγα,
 ὅτι ἔχεις ἐκεῖ κρατοῦντας τὴν διδαχὴν Βαλαάμ,
 ὃς ἐδίδασκεν τῷ Βαλὰκ βαλεῖν σκάνδαλον ἐνώπιον τῶν υἱῶν
 Ἰσραὴλ,
 φαγεῖν εἰδωλόθυτα καὶ πορνεῦσαι.

Περγαμου s¹ : τω εν τη Περγαμου εκκλησια ? arm⁴ a : τω εν τ. εκκλ.
 Π. sa : της εν Περγαμω εκκλησιας all Greek MSS (- 2050) Or^a :
 της Περγαμειων (Περγαιων¹) εκκλησιας arm^{1.2} : Pergami ecclesiae
 gig vg s² bo : eccles. Perg. Pr eth | λεγει] + κυριος 205 | τ. οξ. τ.
 διωτ. s^{1.2} eth |.

13. οἶδα A^{NC} 025. 2020. 2050 Tyc Pr gig vg s¹ arm^{1.2.4}
 bo sa eth : + τα εργα σου και 046. 21 (- 2020. 2050 [σου τα εργα
 και 325. 456]) al^{pl} Or^a s² arm^{3.a} | πον] και οτι arm^a | κρατεισ]
 κρατησας bo : κρατουσιν arm^{1.5*} | μου¹] σου κ^{*} | ηρνησω] +
 nomen meum et gig | την πιστ.] τον πιστον arm⁸ | και³ AC
 1957. 2050 gig vg s¹ bo eth : > κ 025. 046. 21 (- 2050) al^{pl}
 Pr arm^{2.3.4.a} | εν ταισ] αυταισ 325^{*} : in illis Pr | ημεραισ AC
 vg s¹ : + ταυταισ arm^{1.2} : + εν ταισ κ^{*} : + αισ 046. 21 (- 35.
 205. 620. 2040. 2050) al Or^a (arm^{3**}) : + εν αισ κ^c 025. 1. 35.
 104. 205. 250. 620. 1957. 2018. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2041.
 2067 (s²) (arm⁴) : + in quibus fuit gig : + εμαισ 1. 61.^{ms} : + μου
 (εν) αισ 2040. (2050) | Αντιπας κ^{*}C 025. 046. 21 (- 325. 337.
 456. 2050) al^{ms} vg : Antiphas Pr : Anthipas arm^{3**} : Antipax
 gig : Αντειπας A^{NC}.^c 42. 82. 93. 325. 337. 367. 452. 456.
 498. 2021. 2024^{**}. 2050 Or^a : αντίπας s^{1.2} arm⁴ bo : > eth |
 ο μαρτ.] και ο μαρτυσ 172. 2032 s¹ : πασ μαρτυσ arm² (1) | μου³ > 181.
 2019 arm¹ bo : + και Pr | ο πιστοσ] + οτι πασ μαρτυσ (> μου s¹)
 πιστοσ 2059 s¹ : οτι μαρτυσ μου πιστοσ (> γ) πασ ο πιστευων arm^{6.γ.δ}
 μου¹ AC 61. 69. 2050 Or^a s² : > κ 025. 046. 21 (- 2050) Pr
 gig vg (arm) bo | οσ αν εκτανθη 2050 : ο απεκτανθη 205 : ον
 απεκτειναν bo eth | οσ > 172. 314. 2016 | παρ υμιν] παρ υμων
 920. 2040 s¹ arm^{3**} 4.a : εξ υμων arm² : + εκει 632 | οπου ο Σατ.
 κατοικ. > 2020 s¹ |.

14. ἀλλ. A^{NC} 025. 35. 205. 620. 2020. 2050 al Or^a : αλλα
 046. 21 (- 35. 205. 620. 2020. 2050) 250. 2038. 2067 al | κατα
 σου > κ^{*} : + λεγειν Pr arm^{3**} 4 | ολιγα > arm^{1.2.3*} eth | οτι . . .
 κρατ.] ονοματα κρατουντα bo | οτι > C Pr vg s² | χεισ] χει

15. οὕτως ἔχεις καὶ σὺ κρατοῦντας τὴν διδασχὴν Νικολαϊτῶν
δμοίως.

16. μετανόησον σὺν
εἰ δὲ μή, ἔρχομαί σοι ταχύ,
καὶ πολέμησω μετ' αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ ῥομφαίᾳ τοῦ στόματός μου.

17. Ὁ ἔχων οὖς ἀκουσάτω
τί τὸ πνεῦμα λέγει ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις.

Τῷ νικῶντι δώσω αὐτῷ τοῦ μάννα τοῦ κεκρυμμένου,
καὶ δώσω αὐτῷ ψῆφον λευκὴν,
καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ψῆφον ὄνομα καινὸν γεγραμμένον
ὃ οὐδεὶς οἶδεν εἰ μὴ ὁ λαμβάνων.

A | διδασχην] + του 42. 468. 2019. 2020 | ἐδιδασκεν ANC 025. 1.
2015. 2036. 2037. 2050. 2067 al Pr gig vg : ἐδιδασκεν 046.
21 (-2050) al^{ms} Or^s s^{1.2} arm^{1.2.3} bo : διδασκει arm⁴ | τω
Bal. AC 104 : ἐν τω Bal. 1. 94 : τον Bal. № 21 (-35*). 250.
2037. 2038 Or^s : ἐν τω Βαλααμ τον Bal. 025. 35*. 2067 et
comm. in 250. 2037. 2067 : Bal. 046 : > №* | Βαλακ AN^o
025. 21 (-386. 620. 1849. 2040**. 2050) Or^s : Balac gig
vg arm : Βαλαακ C 046. 620. 1849. 1854. 2040**. 2050 :
Balaac Pr : Βαλααμ 386 | βαλειν] βαλλειν № : ἐμβαλειν 2050 :
βασιλει A | των] τε 2050 | φαγειν ANC 025. 1. 35. 205. 522.
632*. 1957. 2015. 2019. 2020. 2023. 2036. 2050 Or^{num. 2. 100} Pr
gig vg ¹ arm : του φαγ. 42. 325. 336. 367. 456. 468. 620. 628 :
και φαγ. 046. 18. 175. 250. 337. 386. 617. 632**. 919. 920.
1849. 1934. 2004. 2040. 2067 al Or^s (s²) | εἰδωλοθ. > vg arm² :
εἰδωλοθυτον 1854 : de sacrificiis Pr |.

15. συ κρατ.] ο κρατων 2050 | κρατουντας] κρατουντα bo : >
arm^{1.2.3} | Νικολ. AC 046. 18. 175. 325. 386. 456. 468. 617.
919. 1849. 2004 al : των Νικολ. № 025. 1. 35. 104. 205. 337. 620.
632. 920. 1934. 1957. 2015. 2020. 2040. 2050 al (arm⁴ bo) :
"of Nicolaus" arm^{1.2.3} | ομοιωσ ANC 046. 21 (-35. 468. 2020)
Or^s Pr gig vg s^{1.2} (arm⁴) : ο μισω 1. 61.^{ms} : ην μισω 2037 arm² :
ομοιωσ ο (ω 468 : ην 2067) μισω 025. 35*. 42. 181. 468. 2038.
2067 : > 2020 arm^{1.2.3} bo sa eth |.

16. σὺν AC 046. 21 (-35) al^{ms} arm¹ bo eth : μονον arm³ :
> № 025. 1. 35. 61. 69. 1957. 2015. 2019. 2023. 2036. 2037.
2038. 2041 Or^s Pr gig vg s^{1.2} arm² | εἰ δε μη] και bo | σοι > 61.
69. 181. 2020. arm^{1.2.3} eth : σὺν №* | πολεμ.] ἐκπολεμησω 205 |
αυτων] σου 2050 Pr : αυτου arm^{2.3} | εν > Tyc | του στομ. μου
> arm¹ : + και εν τη απειλη η φιλανθρωπια 104. 336. 459. 620. 628
(from the Comm. of Andreas) |.

17. οὖς] οτα s^{1.2} : + ακουειν bo eth : aures audiendi Pr
arm^{1.2.4} | πνευμα] + αγιον arm^{1.3} eth | ἐκκλησ.] + οτι bo | τω

18. Καὶ τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῷ ἐν Θυατείροις ἐκκλησίας γράψον
Τάδε λέγει ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ,
ὁ ἔχων τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὡς φλόγα πυρός,
καὶ οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ ὅμοιοι χαλκολιβάνῳ,

19. Οἶδά σου τὰ ἔργα,
καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην καὶ τὴν πίστιν καὶ τὴν διακονίαν καὶ τὴν
ὑπομονὴν σου,
καὶ τὰ ἔργα σου τὰ ἔσχατα πλείονα τῶν πρώτων.

νικῶντι \aleph 025. 046. $\mathfrak{B}1$ (-620. 2050) α^{pl} : τῷ νικῶντι AC :
| αὐτῷ AC 025. 046 $\min^{feto\ omn}$ Or^a : > \aleph 61^{txt} Tyc gig νg^4 v
s¹ : + φαγεῖν 025. 1. 35. 61.^{ms} 104. 205. 468. 620. 632. 1957.
2015. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2041. 2067 Or^a Tyc gig arm^{4a} :
+ του φαγεῖν 42. 69 : + "food" $\text{arm}^{1.2.3}$ | του μαννα AC $\mathfrak{B}1$
(-35. 205. 468. 620. 632. 2050) α Or^a : μαννα 69 : το μαννα
046 gig νg $\text{arm}^{2.3}$: ἐκ του μαννα \aleph 468*. 1957. 2019. (2050)
Tyc Pr s^{1.2} arm^{4a} bo : ἀπο του μαννα 1. 35. 61.^{ms} 104. 205.
468*. 620. 632. 2015. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2041. 2067 :
ἀπο του ξύλου 025 : ἀπο του ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς arm^1 : + φαγεῖν 172.
250. 2018. 2050 | του κεκρ.] το κεκρυμμὸν 2050 gig νg | δῶσω
αὐτῷ^a > \aleph 2020 arm^a | λευκ. κ. ἐπὶ τ. ψηφ. > s¹ | ψηφ.² | ψημον
C | καινον] κενον C 175. 2040 | γεγραμμ.] ἐγγεγραμμενοι 919 : >
Pr : + ἐπ αὐτὴν bo | ο οὐδεὶς . . . λαμβ. > I | ο > \aleph^* | οἶδεν] εἶδεν
205. 209 bo : + αὐτῷ 2050 |.

18. τῷ ἐν Θυατειροῖς ἐκκλησίᾳ] See note on 2¹. τῷ ἐν Θυατ.
A : ἐν Θυατ. ἐκκλησίᾳ C : τῷ ἀγγ. τῆς ἐκκλ. τῷ ἐν Θυατ. Epiph^{ass} :
ecclesiae qui est Tyatirae Pr : τῷ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ ἐν Θυατ. s¹ : τῷ
τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἐν Θυατ. s² : qui in Theatrea ecclesia $\text{arm}^{4(\beta.\gamma)}$:
τῆς ἐν Θυατ. ἐκκλῆσ. \aleph 025. 046 \min omn^{vid} Or^a : Tyatirae
ecclesie gig : Thyatirae ecclesiae νg : ecclesiae Thyaterae bo :
τῶν Θυατιραιῶν $\text{arm}^{1.2}$: τῆς Θυατειρῶν ἐκκλῆσ. 2020 (arm^3) |
Θυατειροῖς \aleph 1. 18. 35. 175. 205. 250. 386. 468. 617. 919. 920.
1934. 2004. 2037. 2040. 2067 : Θυατιροῖς AC : Θυατηροῖς 025.
149. 201. 632. 1849. 1955. 2036. 2050 : Θυατειρῶν 2020 : Θυατηρη
046. 620 : Θυατειρῇ 69. 93. 104. 110. 177. 325. 337. 456. 498.
2021 : Thyatirae νg : Tyatire gig | ἐκκλησίᾳ > A arm^1 | τουσ
οφθαλμ. A 2019. 2020 Pr gig νg ($\text{arm}^{2.3.4}$) : τον οφθαλμον s¹ :
+ αὐτου \aleph C 025. 046. $\mathfrak{B}1$ (-2020). 250. 2037. 2038 α^{pl} Or^a s²
(arm^{1a}) | φλόγα] φλοξ \aleph Pr : λαμπάδας 1854 | χαλκῷ λιβανῷ
025. 104. 175. 620. 2050 : auricalco Pr : eramento thurino gig :
orichalco νg : "unto brass of Libanan" s² $\text{arm}^{1.2.s^4}$: "unto brass
smelted" arm^{sm} : "burnished brass" (χαλκολιβανος) bo eth |.

19. τα ἐργ. καὶ > 181 | τὴν (> 2020) πιστ. κ. τ. αγαπ. κ. τ.
διακ. 18. 242. 2040 : τὴν αγαπ. κ. τ. διακ. κ. τ. πιστ. I | κ. τ.
αγαπ.] + σου s¹ bo eth | τὴν² > C 2020 | πιστ.] + σου s¹ bo eth
| τὴν διακονίαν καὶ > \aleph^* | τὴν² > 2020 | διακονίαν] + σου s¹ bo

20. ἀλλὰ ἔχω κατὰ σοῦ
 ὅτι ἀφείς τὴν γυναῖκα Ἰεζάβελ, ἣ λέγουσα ἑαυτὴν προφῆτην,
 καὶ διδάσκει καὶ πλανᾷ τοὺς ἐμούς δούλους
 πορνεῦσαι καὶ φαγεῖν εἰδωλόθυτα.
21. καὶ ἔδωκα αὐτῇ χρόνον ἵνα μετανοήσῃ,
 καὶ οὐκ ἠθέλησεν μετανοῆσαι ἐκ τῆς πορνείας αὐτῆς.
22. ἰδοὺ βάλλω αὐτὴν εἰς κλίνην,
 καὶ τοὺς μοιχεύοντας μετ' αὐτῆς εἰς θλίψιν μεγάλην, (α)

(a) Interpolation follows here: ἐὰν μὴ μετανοήσουσιν ἐκ τῶν ἔργων αὐτῆς.
 See Eng. trans. vol. ii. footnote, in *loc.* ἐὰν μὴ is not followed by the
 indicative in our author.

eth | τὴν⁴ > A 2019 | σου² > N 2023 Pr | σου² + καὶ I | πλειονα]
 χειρονα 175. 617*. 1934 |.

20. ἀλλὰ A 046 min mult : ἀλλ NC 025 35. 69. 104. 175.
 205. 314. 385. 617. 620. 1934. 1957. 2015. 2016. 2020. 2037.
 2038. 2050. 2067 al Or^s | ἐχω] λεγω arm^{1.2.3a} | κατὰ σου AC
 025. 046. 21 (-35*. 632*. 2050). 250 al^{mn} Tyc vg s² bo eth :
 σοι arm^{1.2.3a} : + πολὺ N 35*. 181. 632*. 2019. 2022. 2038. 2050
 gig s¹ arm^{4a} : + πολλὰ 2015. 2036 Pr Cyp : + ολίγα I | ἀφείσ
 AN^cC 025. 046. 21 (-2020. 2040. 2050). 2037. 2038.
 al^{mn} Pr Cyp gig vg : ἀφηκασ NC 506. 2019. 2050. 2067 Tyc
 s^{1.2} arm bo eth : ἀφίησ 241. 250. 424. 2018. 2040 : ποθεῖν
 2020 | γυναῖκα NC 025. I. 104. 205. 468*. 620. 2019. 2020.
 2038. 2050 Tyc gig vg arm^{2.3a} bo eth : + σου A 046. 21
 (-205. 468*. 620. 2020. 2050) al^{mn} Or^s Pr Cyp s^{1.2} arm^{1.4} |
 τὴν Ἰεζάβελ A : Ἰαζαβελ N^{*} : Zezabel Pr Cyp arm^{1.2.4a} | ἡ
 λεγουσα AN^cC : ἡ λέγει 046. 21 (-35*. 205. 2020. 2050).
 al^{mn} Or^s gig vg bo eth : τὴν λεγουσαν NC 025. I. 35*. 205.
 1854. 2019. 2020. 2038. 2050 : "who declared" arm^{1.2.4a} |
 αὐτὴν AC 025. 21 (-620) : αὐτὴν N 046. 104. 141. 336. 620.
 628 | προφῆτην AN^cC 21 (-620. 919. 2004. 2040. 2050) al^{mn}
 Or^s : prophetissam gig : προφητεῖαν N^{*} : προφῆτην 025. 046. 104.
 172. 620. 919. 2004. 2019. 2038. 2040. 2041*. 2050 : propheten
 Tyc Pr Cyp vg : + εἶναι N 2050 s¹ arm⁴ | κ. διδάσκει] διδάσκειν
 Pr Cyp vg : καὶ διδασκαλον? bo | πλανα] πλαναν Pr Cyp vg
 | εἰδωλοθ. φαγ. I. 2019 | εἰδωλοθ.] το εἰδωλοθυτον? arm^{1.2.4a} :
 de idolothytis vg (bo) : de sacrificiis (-ficio gig) Pr Cyp gig :
 > arm² |.

21. v. 21 > 205 | καὶ¹ > Pr arm^{1.4} | αὐτῇ] αὐτὴν 2040 | μεταν.]
 μετανοήσει 620. 2050 | κ. οὐ θελ. μεταν. > N^{*} (arm^a) : κ. εἰ μὲν
 θελεῖ μεταν. 2020 : κ. οὐ μετενοήσεν (post αὐτῆς) I arm^{1.2.3} |
 ἠβέλῃσεν A Pr Cyp eth : θελεῖ N^cC 025. 046 min^{omn} Or^s gig
 vg s^{1.2} | πορνείας C 025. 046. 21 : πορνίαις AN | αὐτῆς] ταυτῆς N :
 αὐτῶν κ. οὐ μετενοήσαν arm^a |.

22. ἰδοὺ] εἰδ' οὐ 2020 : + ἐγω I | βάλλω AC 21 (-325.

23. καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῆς ἀποκτενῶ ἐν θανάτῳ.

καὶ γνώσονται πᾶσαι αἱ ἐκκλησίαι
ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ἐραυνῶν νεφροὺς καὶ καρδίας
καὶ δώσω ὑμῖν ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα ὑμῶν.

24. ὑμῖν δὲ λέγω τοῖς λοιποῖς τοῖς ἐν Θυατείροις,
ὅσοι οὐκ ἔχουσιν τὴν διδαχὴν ταύτην,
οἵτινες οὐκ ἔγνωσαν τὰ βαθέα τοῦ Σατανᾶ, ὡς λέγουσιν,

οὐ βάλλω ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἄλλο βάρος·

25. πλὴν ὃ ἔχετε κρατήσατε ἄχρι οὗ ἂν ᾗξω.

456. 468*. 632. 2020. 2050). 1. 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 Pr Cyp
vg arm : βαλῶ κ^o 025. 046. 325. 456. 468*. 632. 2020. 2050 Or^s
gig bo eth : καλῶ κ^s | κλινῇ] φυλακῇ A : καμνον arm^{1.2.3} :
luctum cod. ar. Pr : "pains of a couch" arm⁴ | μοιχευσαντας 61.
69 Pr Cyp | μετ' αὐτησ] αὐτην 2050 | μεγαλ. > arm³ : maximam Pr
Cyp vg arm^a | μετανοήσουσιν AN : μετανοήσωσιν C 025. 046. 21
(- 2050) al^{pl} Or^s : μετανοήσει 2050 : μετανοήση 469 Pr Cyp bo
sa eth | εκ. τ. εργ. αυτ. > bo sa | αὐτησ κC 025. 046. 21 (- 35*.
205. 468. 632) al^{mu} Or^s Pr Cyp gig vg s² arm⁴ eth : αυτων A 1.
(35*). 61.^{ms} 181. 205. 468. 632. 2019. 2023*. 2036. 2037. 2038.
2067 vg^d. v s¹ arm^{1.2.3} a |.

23. καὶ¹ > A 620 arm¹ bo sa | αὐτησ] αυτων 205. 209
arm^{2.3}. s^a | εν] εωσ 468* | θαν.] θυμω 2019 | εραυνων AC : ερευνων
κ 025. 046 min omn^{vid} : scrutator Cyp Pr | νεφ. κ. καρδ.] καρδ. κ.
νεφ. arm¹ (2) s^a 4 bo eth : renis et cordis Pr | καρδιαν s¹ (arm²) |
αποδωσω 2050 | υμιν > arm^{1.2.3} bo | κατα > arm^{1.2.3} | τα εργα]
εργα C : την καρδιαν 2050 | υμων AN^c C 025. 21 (- 2020. 2050)
Pr gig vg s^{1.2} arm⁴ eth : αυτου 046. 2020. 2050 vg^c d arm^{1.2.3} bo
sa : αυτων arm^a : > κ^s |.

24. δε > 468 s¹ | τοις λοιπ.] τοις εν λοιποις κ^s | τοισ¹ >
82 94. 2041 | τοις εν τοις Θυατ. λοιποις 2050 | τοις εν Θυατ.]
των Θυατιραιων arm^{1.2.3} | τοισ² > 205 arm⁴ | Θυατειροις κ^s et c. c
21 (- 149. 620. 632. 2050) : Θυατιροις AC : Θυατηροις 025.
620. 632. 2050 : Θυατηριοις 149 : Θυατηραις 046 : Θυατειραις
61. 69 : Θυατειρη κ^o : Thyatirae vg : Tyatirae Pr : Tyatire gig |
οσοι] οτι 205 : οστις gig | ουκ¹ > κ^s | εχουσιν] εχει gig : εμαθετε
arm^{1.2.3} | οτινεις ουκ] ουδε Tyc | ουκ² > arm¹ | εγνωσαν] εγνωτε
Tyc arm³ a | βαθεια AC 046. 21 (- 205. 2050). 250. 2067
al^{mu} : βαθος bo : altitudinem Tyc Pr : altitudines gig vg | ωσ
λεγ. > arm⁴ | ωσ] α arm^{1.2.3} a | βαλλω AC 025. 21 (- 337. 632.
2050) al^{mu} Tyc gig arm⁴ : βαλῶ κ 046. 1. 61. 69. 177. 337. 632.
1957. 2023. 2050 Or^s Pr vg arm^{1.2.3} a bo eth |.

25. πλὴν ο] ο ουν s¹ : "more than what" arm^{1.2.3} | κρατησατε]
"and is with you" arm^{1.2.3} | αχρι κC 69. 177. 2087 : αχρισ

26. Καὶ ὁ νικῶν καὶ ὁ τηρῶν ἄχρι τέλους τὰ ἔργα μου,
 δώσω αὐτῷ ἔξουσίαν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν,
 27. καὶ ποιμανεῖ αὐτοὺς ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ
 ὡς τὰ σκεύη τὰ κεραμικὰ συντρίβεται,
 ὡς κἀγὼ εἴληφα παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς μου,
 28. καὶ δώσω αὐτῷ τὸν ἀστέρα τὸν πρωϊνόν.
 29. Ὁ ἔχων οὖς ἀκουσάτω
 τί τὸ πνεῦμα λέγει ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις.

025. 046. 21 al^{pl} : ου > 2050 : εωσ A 241 | αν ηξω ANC 025. 35.
 205. 468. 620. 632. 2020. 2050 Tyc Pr gig vg s^{1.2} bo : ανοιξω
 046. 18. 175. 325. 337. 386. 456. 617. 919. 920. 1849. 1934.
 2004. 2040 al^{pl} |.

26. καὶ¹ > 104. 336. 522. 620. 628. 2020 arm^{1.2.3} | ο² >
 2020 | τηρων] κρατων 468* | αχρι τελ. > s¹ | τα εργα μου αχρι
 τελουσ 2050 eth | εξ. επι τ. εθν.] επι > κ* : τα εθνη Tyc |.

27. κ. ποιμ.] ποιμαίνειν (1854) s¹ : et reget gig vg : κ. ποιμα-
 νουσιν arm^{1.2.3} | αυτοσ] αυτον arm² | σιδηρα] + και συντριψει
 αυτουσ 2050 : + και Tyc arm^{1.2} | ωσ σκευος κεραμικον arm^{2.3} bo |
 συντριβεται ANC 1. 104. 2020. 2037. 2038. 2050 al^{pl}. Possibly
 a slip of the author for συντριβονται or rather συντριβησονται :
 συντριβησεται 025. 046. 21 (- 2020. 2050) al^{ma} Or³ : confrin-
 gentur Pr vg (s²) : comminuentur Tyc : συντριψετε s¹ (an itacism
 for συντριψεται) : confringet eas (placed before ωσ¹) gig :
 συντριψει (-ουσιν arm^{1.2.3}) αυτουσ (αυτον arm²) arm bo eth | ωσ²]
 ουτωσ γαρ s¹ | καγω] εγω arm^{1.2.3} |.

28. αυτω] αυτοισ arm^{2.4} | πρωινον NC 025 al omn fere : προιον
 A 046. 2038 |.

29. v. 29 > Pr | ουσ] ωτα s^{1.2} : + ακουειν bo eth : aures
 audiendi arm^{1.2.4} | πνεῦμα] + αγιον arm^{1.3} eth |.

CHAPTER III.

1. Καὶ τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῷ ἐν Σάρδεσιν ἐκκλησίας γράψον
 Τάδε λέγει ὁ ἔχων τὰ ἑπτὰ πνεύματα τοῦ θεοῦ
 καὶ τοὺς ἑπτὰ ἀστέρας,
 Οἶδά σου τὰ ἔργα,
 ὅτι ὄνομα ἔχεις ὅτι ζῆς καὶ νεκρὸς εἶ.

1. καὶ¹ > Pr | τω αγγ.] τοισ αγγελιοισ arm^{1.2.2} | τω εν Σ.
 εκκ.]. See note on 2¹. ecclesiae qui est Sardis Pr : τω εν τη εκ-
 κλησια Σαρδων s¹ : τω εν Σαρδ. s² : τω εν (ταισ) Σαρδισια εκκλησιαισ
 arm⁴ : τησ εν Σ. εκκ. AN 025. 046 min^{omn} Or² : ecclesiae Sardis
 (Sard. eccl. gig) gig vg bo eth : τησ Σαρδικων (Σαρδαιων 2. α)
 εκκλ. arm^{1.2.3} : τησ εν Σαρδ. εκκλησιαισ C | επτα > 181.

τὰ ἔργα

2. γίνου γρηγορῶν, καὶ στήρισον τὰ λοιπὰ ἃ ἔμελλον ἀποθανεῖν,
οὐ γὰρ εὗρηκά σου ἔργα¹ πεπληρωμένα ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ μου.

3^{a b}. μνημόνευε οὖν πῶς εἰλήφας καὶ ἤκουσας,
καὶ τήρει καὶ μετανόησον.

κνί. 15. Ἴδου ἔρχομαι ὡς κλέπτης.
μακάριος ὁ γρηγορῶν καὶ τηρῶν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ,
ἵνα μὴ γυμνὸς περιπατῇ,
καὶ βλέπωσιν τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην αὐτοῦ.

2015 | του θεου > 386 | ἔργα] + και Pr s¹ | ονομα] + "of the
health" bo | οτι ζησ AHC 025. 35. 205. 250. 620. 2020.
2037. 2038. 2050. 2067 al^{ms} Or^s Tyc Pr gig vg s² arm^{1.2.3.4}
bo : και ζησ 046. 21 (-35. 205. 620. 632. 2020. 2050) al^p :
και οτι ζησ 632 s¹ : ζωντοσ arm^a | και^s] + οτι s¹ |.

2. γίνου] και γινου s¹ : γενου 1854 | γρηγορ.] γρηγορων κ* :
vigilans et stabilis Pr | στηρισον AC 025. 35. 175. 337. 468^a.
617. 919. 920. 1849. 1934. 2004. 2020. 2040 al Or^s : στηριζον κ
046. 1. 18. 205. 250. 632. 2037. 2038. 2050. 2067 al Tyc Pr
gig vg s¹ bo eth : στηριζων 620 : τηρησον 42. 141. 201. 325.
385. 386. 429. 456. 468^a. 522. 2015. 2019. 2036 s² : πληρωσον
arm^{1.2.3} | τα λοιπα > Tyc eth : τουσ λοιπουσ (οι) s² | α] οι s² :
οτι arm^a : ει δε μη? bo | εμελλον AHC 025. 172. 181. 250. 424.
468. 2015. 2018. 2019. 2020. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2050. 2067 Or^s
Tyc Pr gig vg s² arm⁴ : ε(οι η)μελλεν 1.^{ms} 104. 336. 620 :
η(οι ε)μελλεσ 046. 21 (-468. 620. 2020. 2050). 93. 201. 498 al
s¹ : μελλεσ arm^a bo | αποθανειν AHC 025. 1.^{ms} 620. 919^a. 2020.
2050 al^{ms} Or^s (αποθνησκειν 468. 2015. 2019. 2036. 2037) Tyc
Pr gig vg s^{1.2} arm^{4a} bo : αποβαλλειν 046. 21 (-35. 468.
620. 919^a. 2020. 2050) : αποβαλειν 35. 1957. 2023 | ευρηκα]
ευρηκαν 046 : invenio vg : + σε οτι s¹ | πεπληρ. τ. εργ. σου 141
s¹ | ἔργα AC 1.^{ms} : τα ἔργα κ 025. 046. 21 al^{pl} Or^s | πεπλη-
ρωμενα > 201. 386 | ενωπιον] + κυριου 35. 205 | μου > 1. 205. 2038.
2067 al^p Pr s¹ arm^{1.3a} |.

3^{a b}. μνημονευε] pr και eth | ον > κ 69 Pr gig s¹ arm^{1.2.3.4}
eth | ηκ. κ. ειληφας 2050 s¹ | κ. ηκουσ. κ. τηρει AHC 025. 1. 35.
104. 172. 250. 468. 620. 1957. 2020. 2037. 2038. 2041. 2050.
2067 gig vg s² arm^{2.4} bo : κ. ηκουσας τηρει s¹ : ηκουσας τηρει
arm^a : et audita custodi Pr : > 046. 21 (-35. 468. 620. 2020.
2050) al^{ms} | και τηρει > arm³ eth |.

κνί. 16. ἰδου] οσ Pr arm³ | ερχομαι] ερχεται κ* (sed corr.
prim. man.) 241. 2020 Pr s¹ arm³ : + εξαιφνης eth | κλεπτης] +
ταχυ 2019 : + και 205 | ο] οτε κ* | τηρων] τιμων 1849 | περι-
πατει 104. 522. 2015 : περιπατηση 2020 : περιπατησει 2019 |
βλεπουσι 1. 2015. 2019. 2036. 2038 : videat Pr | βλεπ. τ. αυσχ.
αυτ.] "their shame appear" arm^{1.2.3a} |.

3°. εἰς οὖν μὴ γρηγορήσῃς
ἤξω ὡς κλέπτῃς,
καὶ οὐ μὴ ἴγνῃς¹
ποῖαν ὥραν ἤξω ἐπὶ σέ·

γνώση

4. ἀλλὰ ἔχεις ὀλίγα ὀνόματα ἐν Σάρδεσιν
ἃ οὐκ ἐμόλυναν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν,
καὶ περιπατήσουσιν μετ' ἐμοῦ ἐν λευκοῖς,
ὅτι ἄξιοί εἰσιν.

5. Ὁ νικῶν οὕτως περιβαλεῖται ἐν ἱματίοις λευκοῖς,
καὶ οὐ μὴ ἐξαλείψῃ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῆς βίβλου τῆς ζωῆς,
καὶ ὁμολογήσῃ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐνώπιον τοῦ πατρὸς μου
καὶ ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀγγέλων αὐτοῦ.

3°. οὖν > 620 | γρηγορ. ΑΚ° etc. : γρηγορήσεις 104. 620 :
μετανοήσης Κ° Pr : μετανοήσης μηδε (καὶ βο) γρηγορήσεις 2050 βο
| ἤξω¹ pr. veniam et subitabo adventum meum ad te Pr | ἤξω
AC 025. 1. 35°. 181. 468°. 2015. 2037. 2038. 2067 vg^a. d. f. s
arm^a βο : + ἐπὶ σε Κ 046. 21 (-35°. 468°) al gig vg^a. v
s¹. 2 arm⁴ eth | γνώσ AC 025. 1. 35. 175. 205. 468°. 617. 1934.
2037. 2038. 2067 al : γνώση Κ 046. 21 (-35. 175. 205. 468°. 617. 620. 1934. 2050) Or^a : γνώσει 104. 620. 459. 2050 : nescies
gig vg : non scies Pr | ποῖαν ὥρ. ἡξ.] "my coming" arm^a | ποῖαν
ὥραν¹ | οἶαν ὥραν (Κ°) : ποῖα ὥρα 181. 367. 632. 2050 |.

4. ἀλλὰ ΑΚC 69. 468. 2020 Or^a : ἀλλ 025. 046 min pl : >
35°. 205 arm^a | ἐχέω¹ εἶω s¹ arm⁴ βο | ἐχ. ὀλ. ὀνομ. ΑΚC 025.
1. 35. 205. 2015. 2020. 2037. 2038. 2050 al Or^a (Pr) vg s¹. 2
eth : ἐχ. ὀν. ὀλ. gig : ὀλγ. ἐχ. ὀνομ. 046. 21 (-35. 175. 205. 2020.
2050) al : ὀλγ. ὀνομ. ἐχ. 61. 69. 175. 314. 522. 2016 : + καὶ 1 |
α ΑΚC 025. 046. 21 (-35. 205. 468. 2020) al Or^a gig : α
1. 35. 205. 209. 432. 468. 2015. 2020. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2067
Pr vg : αὶ 522 | τὸ ἱμάτιον Pr | αὐτ.] εἰς τῶν C : + μετὰ γυναῖκος
βο eth | περιπατήσ.] περιπατήσου A : περιπατοῦσιν 620. 2050
vg^a. f. v s¹ arm^a : ambulaverunt Pr vg^d arm² | μετ' ἐμοῦ > arm^a :
ἐνώπιον μου s¹ | οἱ] καὶ s¹ | οἱ . . . εἰσιν] eth om. here and
trans. after λευκοῖς in ver. 5 | εἰσιν] + καὶ ἀναπαύουσιν οὐκ ἐχουσιν
. . . κ. ο ἐρχομενοσ (from 4³) 35° |.

5. οὕτως ΑΚ°C 18. 35. 456. 920. 1849. 2004 al Or^a Pr gig
vg s¹. 2 arm⁴ βο : οὕτω 325 : οὕτος Κ° 025. 046. 21 (-18.
35. 325. 456. 920. 1849. 2004. 2050). 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 :
αὕτος 2050 : οὕτος οὕτω 467 | περιβαλ.] περιβαλλεται C s¹. 2 :
περιβεβληται 2050 : περιβαλουσιν αὐτον? βο : > eth | ἐξαλείψω]
ἀπαλείψω 2020 : ἐξαλείψουσιν βο 32 | τὸ ὀνομ. αὐτ. . . ὁμολογήσω
> 1. 2015 | αὐτοῦ¹. 2.] αὐτῶν s² arm βο | ἐκ τ. βιβλ.] ἐν βιβλῳ
2040 | τ. ζωῆς] τῶν ζωντῶν 920. 2040 | τὸ ὀν. αὐτ.²] αὐτον gig |
ἐνπ.¹] ἐμπροσθεν Κ | κ. ἐνπ. τ. ἀγγ. αὐτ. > 325. 456 |.

6. Ὁ ἔχων οὖς ἀκουσάτω
τὶ τὸ πνεῦμα λέγει ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις.
7. Καὶ τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῷ ἐν Φιλαδελφίᾳ ἐκκλησίας γράψον
Τάδε λέγει ὁ ἅγιος, ὁ ἀληθινός,
ὁ ἔχων τὴν κλεῖν Δαυεὶδ,
ὁ ἀνοίγων καὶ οὐδείς κλείσει
καὶ κλείων καὶ οὐδείς ἀνοίγει,

8. v. 6 > Pr | ους] ωτα s^{1.2} : + ακουειν bo eth : aures audiendi arm^{1.3.4} | πνευμα] + αγιον arm^{1.2} eth |.

7. και¹ > Pr | τω αγγ.] τοις αγγελιοις arm¹ | τω εν Φιλ. εκκλ.] See note on 2¹ : ecclesiae qui est Philadelphiae Pr : τω εν Φιλαδελφια arm⁴ : τῳ εν Φιλ. εκκλ. all Greek MSS Or^s : Philadelphiae ecclesiae (gig) vg s¹ bo : τῳ Φιλαδελφῶν (-φίων 3) εκκλησιασ arm^{1.2.3.4} | Φιλαδελφια NC 025. 046. 205. 325. 386. 456. 919. 920. 1849. 1934. 2004 al^{mu} : Φιλαδελφιασ A 620. 2050 : Φιλαδελφεια 18. 35. 175. 337. 468. 617. 632. 2020. 2040 al^{mu} | εκκλησιασις N | λεγει] + κυριοσ 172. 2018 | ο αγιος ο αληθ. C 025. 046. 21 (-2050). 2037. 2038. 2067 al^{pl} Or^{Phil. 46} s^{1.2} arm^{4.5} bo eth : ο αγιος και αληθ. 172. 2018 : sanctus et verus Tyc Pr gig vg arm^{1.2.3} : ο αληθ. ο αγιος AN : ο αληθ. > 2050 : ο αγγελος αληθινος O^{1.2} | ο³ > 337 | την > N^{*} | κλειν ANC 025. 046. 21 (-35. 205. 468^{**}. 617. 620. 2050). 250 al^{mu} Or^{Phil. 46} O^{1.2} : κλειδα 1. 35. 69. 172. 205. 468^{**}. 617. 620. 2015. 2019. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2050. 2067 Or^{Phil. 46} : (+ omnes eth) claves Pr s¹ arm eth | Δαδ A 2020 : του Δαδ (Δαδ 632) N 21 (-620. 2020. 2050). 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^{pl} : του οικου (from Is. 22²³) του Δαυειδ bo eth : του αδου 104^{*}. 218. 336. 459. 620. 2050 arm^{1.2.3} | ο ανοιγων] και ανοιγων N | και² > bo | κλεισει ANC 025. 046. 21 (-205. 620. 632^{*}) al^{pl} Or^{Phil. 46} Or^s arm⁴ bo : κλειση 104. 385 : κλειει 1. 61.^{ms} 205. 314. 632^{*}. 2016. 2019. 2023. 2037. 2038. 2067 Tyc Pr gig vg s^{1.2} : κλειων 2015. 2036 (arm⁴) | κλει. (sine add) ANC 025. (35^{*}). 205. 468^{**}. 632^{*}. 2020. 2050 al Or^{Phil. 46} s^{1.2} Tyc Pr gig vg s^{1.2} arm^{4.5} bo : + αυτην 046. 21 (-35^{*}. 205. 468^{**}. 632^{*}. 2020. 2050) al^{mu} Or^s arm^{1.2.3} | και (> A : + ο 2015. 2036) κλειων AN 025. 1. (35^{*}). 172. 205. 250. 314. 468. (2015). 2018. 2019. 2020. 2023. (2036). 2037. 2038. 2050. 2067 Or^{Phil. 46} Or^s (s^{1.2}) (bo) : και κλειει C 61.^{ms} 2016 al gig arm^{4.5} : et qui claudit Pr arm^{2.3} : κλειει Tyc vg : ει μη ο ανοιγων (+ και ουδεις ανοιξει Or^s) 046. 21 (-35^{*}. 205. 468. 620. 2020. 2050) al Or^s : ει μη ο ανοιγων και κλειων 42. 104. 432. 459. 620 | και⁴] quod Pr | ανοιγει AC 025. 61.^{ms} 205. 2019. 2037. 2038. 2067 Or^s Tyc Pr gig vg s^{1.2} arm⁴ : ανοιγων 468 (arm⁴) : ανοιξει (- υξει N) N 046. 21 (-205. 468. 620). 250 al^{mu} Or^{Phil. 46} : ανοιξη 104. 385. 620 |.

8. Οἶδά σου τὰ ἔργα

—ἰδοὺ δέδωκα ἐνώπιόν σου θύραν ἀνεφγμένην,
ἣν οὐδεὶς δύναται κλεῖσαι αὐτήν—

ὅτι μικρὰν ἔχεις δύναμιν,
καὶ ἐτήρησάς μου τὸν λόγον,
καὶ οὐκ ἤρνήσω τὸ ὄνομά μου.

9. ἰδοὺ διδῶ ἐκ τῆς συναγωγῆς τοῦ Σατανᾶ,
τῶν λεγόντων ἑαυτοὺς Ἰουδαίους εἶναι καὶ οὐκ εἰσὶν
ἀλλὰ ψεύδονται—

ἰδοὺ ποιήσω αὐτοὺς ἵνα ἤξουσιν
καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν ἐνώπιον τῶν ποδῶν σου,
καὶ γνώσιν ὅτι ἐγὼ ἡγάπησά σε.

10. ὅτι ἐτήρησας τὸν λόγον τῆς ὑπομονῆς μου,
κἀγὼ σε τηρήσω ἐκ τῆς ὥρας τοῦ πειρασμοῦ
τῆς μελλούσης ἔρχεσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ὅλης,
πειράσας τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

8. οἶδ. σ. τ. εργ. > Pr | τ. εργ. σου κ s² | εργα] + και την πιστιν σου bo : + και s^{1.2} eth | θυρ. ενωπ. σου ανεωγμ. 920. 2040 | ανεωγμ. AC 046. 21 (-205. 2020. 2050) al Or^a : ηνεωγμ. κ 025. 172. 205. 2016. 2018. 2020. 2050 | ην] και ι. 61.^{me} 2037. 2067 eth : > bo : οτι arm² | αυτην > κ (35^a) 2023. 2038 Pr gig vg arm⁴ * | οτι] + ου 2020. 2036. 2037 | μικρ. . . . δυν.] pusillas . . . vires Pr | [χειρ] χει ι. 1957. 2037 | τ. λογ.] τα εργα 920. 2040 : τους λογους arm^{2.3} * |.

9. ἰδου] και ιδου s¹ | διδω AC : δεδωκα κ : διδωμι 025. 046. 21 (-205. 620. 2050) al^{pl} Or^a gig : διδω μοι 205 : διδομι 620. 2050 : δωσω Pr vg bo eth | Σατανα] + εκ Pr s^{1.2} | των λεγ.] τους λεγοντας bo | αλλα > eth | ιδου² και ι. 181. 2023. 2037. 2038. 2067 | ηξουσιν ANC 025. 69. 82. 201. 218. 314. 386. 632. 2015. 2016. 2018. 2019. 2036. 2050 arm : ηξωσιν 046. 21 (-386. 632. 2050). 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^{mu} Or^a : ηξω ι | ιδου . . . ηξουσιν > eth | και²] + ποιησω αυτους ινα bo | προσκυνησουσιν ANC 025. ι. 42. 82. 149. 201. 2016. 2036. 2050 arm : προσκυνησωσιν 046. 21 (-149. 2050). 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al Or^a : + σε (σοι) και πεσουνται bo | ηξ. ενωπ. τ. ποδ. σου κ. προσκυν. Pr | και³] + παντες bo | γνωσιν AC 025. 046. 21 (-2050). 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 gig s² arm³ * : γνωσονται 2019. 2050. 2087 vg s¹ vid : γνωσονται 2023 : γνωση κ 69 Pr arm⁴ : γνωσει Or^a | εγω ANC 025. 205. 250. 468. 620. 2020. 2037. 2038. 2050. 2067 Or^a gig vg s^{1.2} bo eth : > 046. 21 (-205. 468. 620. 2020. 2050) al^{mu} Pr | ηγαπισα ι49. 2040 | σε] + και 2020 |.

10. οτι] και A arm⁴ * | τον λογον μου και την υπομ. bo eth |

11. ἔρχομαι ταχύ· κράτει ὁ ἔχεις·
ἵνα μηδεὶς λάβῃ τὸν στέφανόν σου.
12. Ὁ νικῶν ποιήσω αὐτὸν στύλον ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ θεοῦ μου,
καὶ ἔξω οὐ μὴ ἐξέλθῃ ἔτι,
καὶ γράψω ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ μου,
καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς πόλεως τοῦ θεοῦ μου,
τῆς καινῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ, ἣ καταβαίνουσα ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀπὸ
τοῦ θεοῦ μου,
καὶ τὸ ὄνομά μου τὸ καινόν.
13. Ὁ ἔχων οὖς ἀκουσάτω
τί τὸ πνεῦμα λέγει ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις.
14. Καὶ τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῷ ἐν Λαοδικίᾳ ἐκκλησίας γράψον
Τάδε λέγει ὁ Ἄμην,
ὁ μάρτυς ὁ πιστὸς καὶ ἀληθινός,
ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κτίσεως τοῦ θεοῦ,

καγῶ] και δια τουτο καγω eth | τηρησω > κ : ετηρησα arm² eth |
της ωρας τ. πειρασμ. της > 2050 : της ωρας > s¹ bo | πειρασται] +
παντας arm^{1.2.3} bo | κατοικουντας > bo |.

11. ερχ.] ιδου ερχομαι 468^{**}. 2015. 2019. 2036 al vg^d f v arm¹
: και ιδου ερχ. eth | μηδεις λαβη] μη λαβη τις ταχυ 104. 336.
459. 620 | μηδεις] (ne) quis alius Pr : (ne) alius Cyp | λαβη]
λαβοι 2050 (arm^{1.2.3.4}) | σου] + και s¹ arm¹ eth |.

12. ο νικων] τον νικωντα arm^a | αυτον] αυτω κ^{*} 920 Or^a | εν
> κ^{*} arm | τ. ναω] τω ονοματι 920. 2040 | μου¹ > 385. 2019
Or^a s¹ | και εξω . . . της πολεως του θεου μου > 2050 | ετι > κ
arm² | επ αυτον > C 2015 : επ αυτω 61^{*}. 2019. 2036. 2037 :
super illud Tyc : + το ονομα μου και 2020 | τ. θ. μ. κ. το ονομ.
> 046 | κ. τ. ον. της πολ. τ. θεου μου > 1. 181 s² : και δωσω
αυτοις τον οικον μου arm¹ | του θεου μου³ > s¹ eth : του πατρος
μου bo | της καινης πολεως του πατρος μου bo | η καταβαινουσα
Ακ^{*}C 025. 1. 141. 181. 205. 432. 459. 1854. 2015. 2050. 2087 :
η καταβεννουσα 025 : της καταβαινουσης κ^c : η καταβαινει 046. 21
(- 205. 2050). 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 Or^a | εκ. τ. ουρ. > s¹
arm¹ sa | εκ ΑκC 025. 046. 1. 35. 205. 325. 337. 456. 468. 2020.
2037. 2038. 2050. 2067 al Tyc Pr gig vg bo : απο 18. 175.
386. 617. 620. 632. 919. 920. 1849. 1934. 2004. 2040 al | του⁴
> 632 | απο > 386. 620 arm^{2.3.4} | μου⁵ ΑκC 025. 35. 205.
468. 632. 2050 al Or^a Tyc Pr gig vg s^{1.2} arm^{3.4} bo : > 046
21 (- 35. 205. 468. 620. 632. 2050) al^{ma} arm² : αυτον arm^{8**a} |
καινον] + και s¹ |.

18. v. 13 > Pr | ους] ωτα s^{1.2} : + ακουειν bo eth : aures
audiendi arm^{1.2.3.4} | τι το πν. . . εκκλησιαισ > arm⁴ | πνευμα]
+ αγιον arm^{1.2} eth |.

14. τω αγγ.] τοις αγγελιοις arm^{1.2} | τω εν Λαοδ. εκκ.] See
note on 2¹. τω εν Λαοδ. εν εκκ. arm⁴ : της εν Λαοδ. εκκ. ΑκC

15. Οἶδά σου τὰ ἔργα,
ὅτι οὔτε ψυχρὸς εἶ οὔτε ζεστός.
ὄφελον ψυχρὸς ᾗς ἢ ζεστός.
16. οὕτως, ὅτι χλιαρὸς εἶ
καὶ οὔτε ἴψυχρὸς οὔτε ζεστός,
μέλλω σε ἐμῆσαι ἐκ τοῦ στόματός μου.
17. ὅτι λέγεις ὅτι Πλούσιός εἰμι
καὶ πεπλούτηκα καὶ οὐδὲν χρειάν ἔχω,
καὶ οὐκ οἶδας ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ ταλαίπωρος καὶ ὁ ἐλεινὸς
καὶ πτωχὸς καὶ τυφλὸς καὶ γυμνός,

ζεστός
οὔτε ψυ-
χρὸς

025. 046 min^{text} omn : τησ εν Λαοδ. (Λαοδικεῖα 919) 919. 920.
2040 : τη εν Λαοδ. εκκλησιασ 18 : Laodiciae ecclesiae gig vg :
ecclesiae Laudatiae Pr : τησ εκκλησιασ Λαοδικεῖα (-κί-
α) s¹ arm^a bo : τησ εκκλησιασ Λαοδικεων 1 arm² s¹ | Λαοδικία
A^{NC} 104. 149. 201. 620 : Λαωδικία 2050 : Λαοδικεῖα 025.
046. 21 (-149. 620. 2050) : Laudatiae Pr : Lavodike
arm⁴ | ο αμην] + και κ* | και² A 025. 046. 21 (-620. 2050).
250. 2038. 2067 s² arm : ο 69. 104. 459. 620. 2015. 2036.
2037. 2050 : και ο NC 82 bo | αληθινος] + και κ s¹ arm^{1.2.3} a
eth | η αρχη] απαρχη 2015. 2036. 2037 : απ αρχησ arm⁴ :
+ τησ αρχησ arm^a : ο απ αρχησ eth | τησ κτισ.] τησ εκκλησιασ
κ : τησ κτησεωσ 1849 : τησ πιστεωσ 201. 386 | του θεου] + μου
gig |.

15. οτι > s¹ | ζετοσ . . . ψυχροσ 205. 209 arm^{1.2.3} |
ει > κ* | οφελον ψυχρ. ησ η ζετοσ > A 1. 241 arm^{1.2.3} | οφελον]
ωφελον 025. 046. 205. 522 : + η s¹ | ησ] εισ 046. 336. 620.
2017 |.

16. ουτως . . . ψυχροσ > arm² | ουτως οτι] οτι ουτως κ bo :
οτι 1854. 2019 : sed quia (quoniam Pr) Pr gig vg : και s¹ | ψυχρ.
ουτε ζεστ. A 025. 205. (2050) al vg s¹ : ζετοσ ουτε ψυχροσ (κ)C
046. 21 (-205. 2050). 1 al^{mn} s² arm³ bo : κ. ουτε ζετοσ ουτε
ψυχρ. > 60 Pr gig arm^{1.2.4} a | και ουτε . . . στοματοσ μου > eth |
ουτε¹ A^{NC} 025. 046. 205. 617. 632. 2020. 2050 vg arm³ : ου
21 (-205. 617. 632. 2020. 2050) al Or^a (s^{1.2}) | ζετοσ] + ει
κ* | ψυχροσ] + ει κ* 2050 | μελλω σε εμεσαι εκ τ. στομ. μου]
παυσε του στοματοσ σου κ* | εμεσαι] εμμεσαι 046. 617. 919.
1934 : εμιν κ* : αιμεσαι 2050 : "judge" arm^{1.2.3} : + και
ελεγχω σε 250. 2020 | του στομ.] τησ καρδιασ bo | μου] σου κ*
arm^{1.2.3} |.

17. οτι] τι 18 : και eth | οτι² AC 1. 35*. 172. 175. 205. 242.
250. 314. 617. 1934. 2015. 2016. 2018. 2020. 2036. 2037.
2040. 2050 al gig vg s^{1.2} bo : > κ 025. 046. 21 (-35*. 175.
205. 617. 1934. 2020. 2040. 2050). 2038. 2067 al Or^a Cyp |
ειμι] ει s¹ | κ. πεπλουτ > bo sa | ουδεν AC 181. 2038 : ουδεινοσ κ
025. 046. 21. 250. 2037. 2067 Or^a | εχω] εχεισ 620 | συ > κ* |

18. συμβουλευέω σοι ἀγοράσαι παρ' ἐμοῦ χρυσίον πεπυρωμένον
ἐκ πυρὸς ἵνα πλουτήσῃς,
καὶ ἱμάτια λευκὰ ἵνα περιβάλῃ
καὶ μὴ φανερωθῇ ἡ αἰσχύνῃ τῆς γυμνότητός σου,
καὶ κολλούριον ἐγχεῖσαι τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς σου ἵνα βλέπῃς.
19. ἐγὼ ὅσους ἐὰν φιλῶ ἐλέγχω καὶ παιδεύω·
ζήλευε οὖν καὶ μετανόησον.

ο¹ > κ* 2019. 2050 | ταλ. ει κ* 2050 | ο ταλ. . . . ελεινοσ]
"weak and miserable" bo : ελεινοσ > eth | ο² A 046. 21 (-18.
205. 632. 920. 2004. 2040. 2050). 250 al Or^a : > κC 025.
1. 18. 61. 69. 205. 241. 632. 920. 2004. 2015. 2019. 2036. 2037.
2038. 2039. 2040. 2050 | ελεινοσ AC 104. 620 : ελεινοσ κ 025.
046. 21 (-620) al^{pl} : αληθινοσ 1854 | κ. γυμνοσ κ. τυφλοσ 104.
110. 336. 620. 632. 2050 gig arm⁴ α eth | κ. τυφλ. > s¹ |.

18. συμβ.] συμβουλευεω 2015 arm² (1. 3) α : consule Tyc | σοι]
+ ουν 2020 arm^a bo eth : + λαβε arm^{1. 2. 3} α : αγορασαι] αγο-
ρασον 2020 (Tyc) arm^{1. 2. 3} α : λαβειν eth | παρ εμου > 172. 250.
424. 498. 2016. 2018. 2038 | παρ εμ. χρυσ. AC 025. 1. 35.
205. 2015. 2019. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2050. 2067 al Or^a Tyc
Cyp gig vg s^{1. 2} arm : χρυσ. παρ εμ. 046. 21 (-35. 205. 2050)
al bo sa : + εμον eth | εκ πυροσ] εν πυρι bo eth : εκ πυρασ
046 | πλουτησεισ 620. 2050 | ιματιον λευκον Pr Cyp | λευκα]
λαμπρα bo : τιμια arm¹ | ινα περιβαλ.] περιβαλεισθαι s^{1. 2} | ινα²
> Pr gig vg bo eth | περιβαλλη 046. 61. 69. 172. 205. 617.
1934. 2015. 2036*. 2037 : περιβαλει 104. 2050 | φανερωθη]
φανη 69 Or^a : + εν σοι Pr | αισχυνη] ασχημοσυνη 025. 35*. 104.
205. 620. 2019 | κολλουριον A 025. 35. 61.^{ms} 205. 522. 632. 920.
1849. 1957. 2004. 2019. 2023. 2038. 2040. 2050 al Or^a : κουλ-
λουριον 1. 18. 919. 2037 : κουλουριον 385. 2015. 2036 : κολλυριον
κC 175. 250. 325. 337. 386. 456. 468. 617. 620. 1934. 2020.
2067 al : κολυριον 046 : collirio Pr gig : collyrio Tyc Cyp vg |
εγχεσαι (ενχ. κ 2050 : ενχ. 620) AC 94. (104). 336. 459. 468*.
620. (2015). 2019. 2037. 2050 : εγχεσαι 104. 2015. s^{1. 2} :
εγχερισον 025. 1. 35. 61.^{ms} 1854. 1957. 2023. 2036. 2038. 2041.
2067 eth : inunge Tyc gig vg : ungue Pr Cyp : "give to" bo :
"lay" arm^{2. 3} α : εγχεριση 2020 : ινα εγχερισει 046 : ινα εγχεριση
21 (-35. 205. 468*. 620. 2020. 2050) Or^a : ινα εγχερισθ 205 :
+ επι 60. 432. 1957. 2041 arm | τ. οφθ. σου > s¹ | βλεπεισ 104.
2050 : βλεψεισ 620 arm⁴ |.

19. εγω] οτι εγω arm^{1. 3} bo sa | εαν] αν κ 2019. 2050 | ζηλευε
AC 046. 21 (-35. 205. 468*. 617. 620. 2020). 250 al^{ms} :
ζηλου 314. 617. 2016 : ζηλωσον κ 025. 1. 35. 205. 468*. 620.
2020. 2037. 2038. 2067 al : ζητησον 1957 : rede Pr | ουν > 104.
181. 336. 620. 2015 arm^{1. 2. 3} | και² > arm² | κ. μετανοησον] εισ
μετανοειν eth |.

20. Ἴδου ἔστηκα ἐπὶ τὴν θύραν καὶ κρούω·
ἐάν τις ἀκούσῃ τῆς φωνῆς μου καὶ ἀνοίξῃ τὴν θύραν,
καὶ εἰσελεύσομαι πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ δειπνήσω μετ' αὐτοῦ
καὶ αὐτὸς μετ' ἐμοῦ.
21. ὁ νικῶν δώσω αὐτῷ καθίσαι μετ' ἐμοῦ ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ μου,
ὡς καὶ γὼ ἐνίκησα καὶ ἐκάθισα μετὰ τοῦ πατρός μου ἐν τῷ
θρόνῳ αὐτοῦ.
22. Ὁ ἔχων οὖς ἀκουσάτω
τί τὸ πνεῦμα λέγει ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις.

20. ιδου] + εγω Or^{10. 11. 31} : οτι ιδου bo : και ιδου eth | επι] ante Pr |
ακουση] ανοιξει 2050 | ακουση . . . μου και > Or^{10. 11. 31} and else-
where | ανοιξω κ : ανοιξει 18. 2050 s¹ : + μοι Or^{10. 11. 31} Pr bo eth
| και³ κ 046. 21 (- 205. 468. 620. 632*. 2020. 2050) al¹⁰⁰ Or⁴
Pr s¹ arm⁴ : > A 025. 1. 104. 205. 468. 620. 632*. 2015. 2019.
2020. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2050. 2067 Or^{10. 11. 31} gig vg s²
arm^{1. 2. 3} = bo eth | προσ αυτον > s¹ | δειπνησω] "will dwell"
arm¹ : "will rest" eth | εμου] + in trono meo Pr : + "in my
kingdom" arm^{1. 2. 3} |.

21. ο νικων] pr και s^{1. 2} eth | καγω] εγω s¹ bo eth |.

22. v. 22 > gig | ουσ] ωτα Pr s^{1. 2} : + ακουειν bo eth : aures
audiendi arm^{1. 2. 4} | πνευμα] + αγιον arm¹ eth |.

CHAPTER IV.

1. Μετὰ ταῦτα εἶδον, καὶ ἰδοὺ θύρα ἡνεωγμένη ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ,
καὶ ἡ φωνὴ ἣ πρώτη ἦν ἤκουσα ὡς σάλπιγξ λαλούσης μετ' ἐμοῦ,
λέγων Ἀνάβα ὧδε καὶ δείξω σοὶ ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι μετὰ ταῦτα.

1. μετα] pr και arm^{1. 2. 3} = (bo) eth | και¹ > Pr bo sa eth |
ιδου > eth | θυραν 620. 2050 eth | ηνεωγμενη Ακ 025. 1. 2016.
2020. 2038. 2067 : ηνεωγμενην 2050 : ανεωγμενη 046. 21
(- 2020. 2050). 250. 2037 al Or⁴ : ηνοιχθη arm¹ Tyc : > arm⁴
| και² + ιδου κ Pr | η¹ > 498. 1957. 2020 | φωνη] + η λαλουσα
μετ εμου bo | η πρωτη > s¹ | ην] ησ 205 : > eth | ωσ] + φωνη bo
eth | σάλπιγξ Pr gig s^{1. 2} | λαλουσησ] λαλουσαν κ Pr gig :
λαλουσα 522 : λεγουσησ 141. 218. 1849. 1955 : ελαλησεν s¹
arm³ = | λεγων Ακ* 046. 21 (- 35. 205. 468. 620. 632. 2020).
250 al¹⁰⁰ Or⁴ : λεγουσα κ⁰ 025. 1. 35. 61.^{ms} 205. 468. 632.
1854. 1957. 2020. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2067 : και λεγουσα
μοι 2019 : και λεγουσησ 104. 336. 620 : και λεγουσαν gig : και
ελεγεν s² eth | αναβα] αναβηθι Α | σοι] σε 205. 386 | α] οσα
Α | δει] δη 2050 |.

2. εὐθέως ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι
καὶ ἰδοὺ θρόνος ἔκειτο ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ,
καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον καθήμενος,
3. καὶ ὁ καθήμενος ὅμοιος ὁράσει λίθιν ἰάσπιδι καὶ σαρδίῃ,
καὶ ἵρις κυκλόθεν τοῦ θρόνου ὅμοιος ὁράσει σμαραγδίνῃ.
4. καὶ κυκλόθεν τοῦ θρόνου θρόνους εἴκοσι τέσσαρες,
καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἑξήκοντα τέσσαρας¹ πρεσβυτέρους καθη-
μένους

εἴκοσι
τέσσαρας
θρόνους

2. ευθεως ΑΝ* 046. 21 (-35. 205. 620. 632. 2020) al Or^a
Pr gig vg s² : ευθεως δε Ν^ο : και ευθεως 025. 1. 35. 104. 205.
620. 632. 1854. 2020 al s¹ arm^(1. 2. 4. 4) eth : και arm³ bo | ιδου]
ειδον arm^{1. 2. 3} : ειδον ιδου bo : ιδου ειδον Pr | εκειτο > 2050 bo :
positum Pr (arm^{1. 2. 3}) | εν τ. ουρ. εκειτο 468 eth | εν τ. ουρ. >
632 | τον θρονον ΑΝ 046. 21 (-35. 205. 632) al^{mu} Or^a : του
θρονου 025. 1. 35. 205. 632. 1957. 2015. 2019. 2036. 2037. 2038.
2041. 2067 |.

3. κ. ο καθήμενος ΑΝ 025. 046. 42. 61. 93. 104. 337. 452.
468. 506. 2019. 2021. 2050 Or^a Tyc gig vg s^{1. 2} : et his qui
sedebat Pr : > 21 (-337. 468. 2050) al^{mu} arm^{1. 2. 3. 4} bo
eth | ορασι 205 : ορασις 2050 | λιθω] λιθων 2020 arm³ : λιθον
Tyc vg s^{1. 2} : > arm¹ bo | ιασπ. κ. σαρδ. λιθω Pr | ιασπιδι]
ασπιδι 920 : ησπιδι 2050 : + σμαραγδω 337 : + και σμαραγδω
046. 42. 180. 452. 468. 506. 1854. 2021 | και² > 1854 arm¹ |
σαρδω ΑΝ 046. 21 (-325. 337. 456. 468). 250. 2037. 2067
al^{mu} Or^a : sardi Tyc : sardo Pr : σαρδινω 025. 1. 632*. 2019.
2038 al gig bo sa eth : sardinis vg^d : sardini vg : sardion s²
arm^{2. 3. 4} : sardon s¹ : > 1854 | φισ 025. 21 al^{pl} Or^a Pr gig
vg bo eth : φρεις Ν^ο 046 : ιερεις ΑΝ* 2015. 2036 arm^{1. 2. 3} :
κυκλοθεν] κυκλωθε 920 : κυκλωθεν 18. 104. 201*. 205. 336. 620.
632. 2017. 2024. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2039. 2050 : κυκλω 241.
2019. 2020 | θρονου] + αυτου 2020 : + et ipsa sedes gig | ομοιος²
Α 025. 1. 35*. 104. 181. 314. 429. 632*. 2019. 2036. 2037*.
2038 Pr vg s^{1. 2} : ομοιοι 2015 arm^{1. 2. 3} : ομοιον 205 : ομοια
35**. 241**. 468***. 620. 632**. 1957. 2016. 2023. 2037**.
2041. 2050. 2067 : ομοιως Ν^ο 046. 21 (-35. 205. 468**. 620.
632. 2050) al Or^a | ομ. ορ. σμ. κ. κυκ. τ. θρ. > Ν* | ορασει
σμαραγδινω ΑΝ^ο 025. 35. 205. 250. 468**. 620. 2037. 2067 al
Pr gig vg : ορασει μιαγδινω 2050 : ορασει σμαραγδων (σμαραγδον
arm) s^{1. 2} arm^{1. 2. 3} : ορασις σμαραγδων 69 : ορασις σμαραγδινων
046. 21 (-35. 205. 468**. 620. 632. 2020. 2050) al Or^a : ωσ
(> 632*) ορασις σμαραγδου 241. 632**. 2020 : ορασις σμαρακδου
(arm⁴) bo |.

4. και¹ ΑΝ^ο 025. 1. 35. 205. 468. 620. 632. 2020. 2050 al
Or^a Pr gig vg s¹ arm^{1. 2. 3. 4} bo eth : > 046. 21 (-35. 205.

περιβεβλημένους ἱματίους λευκοῖς,
καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν στεφάνους χρυσοῦς.

5. καὶ ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου ἐκπορεύονται ἀστραπαὶ καὶ φωναὶ καὶ βρονταί·
καὶ ἑπτὰ λαμπάδες πυρὸς καιόμεναι ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου, (α)
6. καὶ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου ὡς θάλασσα ὑαλίνη ὁμοία κρυστάλλῳ,
καὶ (β) κύκλῳ τοῦ θρόνου τέσσαρα ζῶα γέμοντα ὀφθαλμῶν
ἔμπροσθεν καὶ ὀπισθεν·

(α) A gloss is added here: *ἃ ἐστὶν τὰ ἑπτὰ πνεύματα τοῦ θεοῦ*. See vol. i. 117.

(β) A gloss added here: *ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ θρόνου καὶ*. See vol. i. 118.

468. 620. 632. 2020. 2050) s² arm³ | κυκλοθε 920 : κυκλω 2015. 2019. 2036. 2037. 2067 : κυκλωθεν 18. 104. 205. 336. 620. 2017. 2039. 2050 | θρονου] + ειδον Tyc arm⁴ | θρονουστ¹ A⁸ 250. 424. 2018 Tyc : θρονοι 025. 046. 21 al^{pl} Or^s s^{1.2} bo | εικοσι¹] + καὶ 104 al | τεσσαρεσ A 025 min pl : τεσσαρισ 2020. 2050 | και² > 2017 arm¹ | ἐπὶ τ. εικ. τ. θρον > N 2017 Tyc arm¹ | ἐπὶ τ. θρον. εικ. τεσσ. 025. 35. 632* s^{1.2} arm^{2.3.4} bo eth : ἐπὶ τ. θρον. τουσ εικ. τεσσ. 046 min pl Or^s : super thronos viginti quattuor vg (gig) : in quibus seniores sedentes erant xxiii. Pr : ἐπὶ τ. εικ. τεσσ. θρον. (> 920. 2040) A 93. 94. 920. 2040. 2050 : | εικ. τεσσ² > 2020 arm¹ | τεσσαρασ] τεσσαρισ 2050 | θρονουστ² > 920. 2040 : + εἶδον 1957. 2023. 2041 al^{vid} | καθ. πρεσβ. 2020 : καθήμενοι πρεσβύτεροι Pr (arm^{2.3.4} s^{1.2}) | περιβεβλημένοι 1934 : περιβεβλημένοι Pr | περιβεβλ. A 025. 35. 2015. 2036. 2037 Pr vg gig : + εν N 046. 21 (-35). 250. 2038. 2067 (s^{1.2}) Or^s | ἱματιω λευκω Pr gig : ἱματιουσ > N 2050 arm⁴ | αὐτων] εχοντες gig : + εἶχον arm^{1.2} | χρυσεουσ N |.

δ. του θρον.] των θρονων s¹ | εκπορευονται] εξεπορευοντο 104. 620 vg^d arm bo eth (?) | αστρ. κ. φων. κ. βροντ. A⁸ 025. 046. 21 (-2020). 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^{pl} Or^s Pr gig vg s² arm^{2.3.4} bo : αστρ. κ. βροντ. κ. φων. 1. 385. 2020 : βροντ. κ. αστρ. κ. φων. s¹ | καιομ. πυροσ 920. 2040 | πυροσ > vg s¹ arm⁴ | καιομεναι > bo | θρονου² A⁸ 025. 1. 632*. 2019. 2020. 2038. 2050. 2067 Pr gig vg arm bo eth : + αυτου 046. 21 (-456. 632*. 2020. 2050) al^{mu} Or^s s² | α εισιν . . . του θρονου > N* 456 | α εστιν] και 61*. 69 Or^s | α A⁸ 025. 1. 201. 386. 2019. 2038. 2050 vg⁸ s² : αι 046. 21 (-386. 456. 2050). 250. 2037. 2067 al Pr gig vg s¹ | εστιν A : εισιν N^o 025. 046 al⁸ omⁿ | τα A⁸ 025. 1. 61. 69. 468. 632. 1957. 2015. 2019. 2020. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2050. 2067 arm^{2.3} bo : > 046. 21 (-456. 468. 632. 2020. 2050). 250 al^{mu} (s^{1.2}) arm^{1.2.4} | τα επτα πνευματα] το αγιον πνευμα eth | πνευματα "powers (parts 4) of the spirit holy (> 3*)" arm^{1.2.3.4} |.

ε. θρονου] + αυτου 104. 141. 205. 209. 620 | ωσ A⁸ 025. 046. 21 (-386. 632*). 250. 2038 al^{pl} Or^s s² bo : > 1. 201. 386.

7. καὶ τὸ ζῶον τὸ πρῶτον ὅμοιον λέοντι,
καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ζῶον ὅμοιον μόσχῳ,
καὶ τὸ τρίτον ζῶον ἔχων τὸ πρόσωπον ὡς ἀνθρώπου,
καὶ τὸ τέταρτον ζῶον ὅμοιον ἀετῷ πετομένῳ.
8. καὶ τὰ τέσσαρα ζῶα, ἐν καθ' ἐν αὐτῶν ἔχων ἀνά πτέρυγας ἑξέ,(a)
καὶ ἀνάπαυσαν οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς λέγοντες
Ἁγιος ἅγιος ἅγιος Κύριος, ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ,
ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος.

(a) The following clause is interpolated here: *κυκλόθεν καὶ ἔσωθεν γέμουσι ὀφθαλμῶν.*

632* Tyc Pr arm s¹ | θαλασσαν 620. 2050 : + ως eth | ναλινη Aⁿ 025. 046. 21 (- 205. 325. 456. 468. 632. 2020. 2040. 2050) ναλινην 2050 : ναληνη 2040 : νεληνη 60. 205. 241. 325. 456. 468. 498. 632. 2018. 2020. 2022. 2023 | ομα 205 : ομοιαν 2050 | κρυσταλλῳ | κρυσταλλω 632. 2020 : βηρυλλῳ arm⁴ : "the whiteness of crystal" arm^{1. 2. 3} = | ἐμμεσω A 1854 : "at the side of" (?) eth | θρονου² | + μου 2020 | κ. κυκλ. τ. θρον. > 385. 429. 522. 2015. 2050 Tyc arm^{1. 2. 3} bo sa eth | κυκλω | κυκλωθεν 110 | τεσσαρα 025. 046. 21 : τεσσера A | οφθαλμουσ 336. 620. 2015. 2019 | ἐμπροσθεν A min^{tere om} : ἐμπροσθε 920 : ἐνπροσθεν 025. 046 : ante se Pr | οπισθε 920 |.

7. καὶ¹ > 2050 Pr s¹ | το πρῶτον το ζῶον 386 | ζῶον² > arm¹ | καὶ³ > Pr | ἐχων . . . ἀνθρ.] ὁμοιον ἀνθρωπῳ gig arm⁴ : ὁμοιον προσῳπῳ (ως προσῳπον eth) υιον ἀνθρωπου bo eth | ἐχων τ. προσ . . . τετ. ζῶον > 325. 456 | ἐχων A 046. 104. 620. 919. 920*. 1849. 2015. 2019 Or⁴ : ἐχον 025. 21 (- 325. 456. 620. 919. 920*. 1849. 2050) al : εἶχεν arm^{2. 3} : ἦν arm³ : > 2050 arm¹ | το⁶ Aⁿ 025. 1. 35. 61*. 205. 2015. 2019. 2020. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2050 al Or⁴ : > 046. 21 (- 35. 205. 2020. 2050) al^{mu} | ὡς ἀνθρωπου A 42. 2019 vg s¹ : quasi humanam Pr : ὡς ἀνθρωπος 025. 1. 35. 61*. 104. 205. 620. 1957. 2015. 2020. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2041. 2050 s² : ἀνθρωπου 046. 21 (- 35. 205. 325. 456. 620. 2020. 2050). 250. 2067 Or⁴ arm^{1. 2. 3} = : ὁμοιον ἀνθρωπου 2018 : ὡς ὁμοιον ἀνθρωπῳ 025 | καὶ⁴ > Pr | το⁶ > 205 | ζῶον⁴ Aⁿ 025. 35. 468*. 620. 632. 1849. 2020. 2037. 2038. 2050. 2067 al Or⁴ Pr gig vg s^{1. 2} : > 046. 21 (- 35. 468*. 620. 632. 1849. 2020. 2050). 250 al eth (which om. ζῶον thrice before) |.

8. τα τεσσ. ζῶα > bo | τα Aⁿ 025. 18. 35. 205. 620. 632. 919. 920. 1849. 2004. 2040. 2050 al^{mu} Or⁴ : > 046. 175. 325. 337. 386. 456. 468. 617. 1934. 2020. 2037. 2038. 2067 al | ἐν καθ' ἐν αὐτῶν A 025. 35. 104. 172. 181. 205. 250. 620. 2015. 2018. 2036. 2038. 2067 al : singula eorum Tyc gig vg : ἐν ἑκαστον αὐτῶν 020 s¹ ho eth : ἐν καθ' εαυτο 1. 61. ^{ms} : καθ' εαυτῶν 2050 : ἐν καθ' ἐν 046. 21 (- 35. 205. 620. 2020. 2050) al Or⁴ : singula

9. Καὶ ὅταν δώσουσιν τὰ ζῆα δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν καὶ εὐχαριστίαν
τῷ καθήμενῳ ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ,
τῷ ζῶντι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων,
10. πησούνται οἱ εἴκοσι τέσσαρες πρεσβύτεροι ἐνώπιον τοῦ καθη-
μένου ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου,
καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν τῷ ζῶντι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων,
καὶ βαλοῦσιν τοὺς στεφάνους αὐτῶν ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου, λέγοντες

Pr : + εστωσ 250. 424. 2018 s¹ | εχων A 1. 42. 61*. 82. 104.
172. 336. 429. 522. 620. 919. 1849. 1918. 1955. 2017. 2019
: εχον 046. 21 (-205. 620. 919. 1849. 2020. 2050). 250. 2037.
2038. 2067 al Or^s : εχοντα 025. 2020. 2024. 2050 : εχει 2015
: ειχεν 205 : ειχον K 61.^{ms} Tyc Pr gig vg arm⁴ | ανα πτερ. εξ
. . . οφθαλμων] κυκλοθεν απο των ονυχων εσωθεν, γεμοντα οφθαλμων
bo : + απο των ονυχων και επανω, πτερ. εξ κυκλοθεν' και εσωθεν
γεμουσιν οφθαλμων s¹ | πτερυγων 046 | κυκλοθεν] + και εξωθεν
046 al^p : + εξωθεν 61*. 69 | κ. εσωθεν] εσωθεν και εξωθεν Or^s : >
218. 522. 2015. 2018. 2020 arm^s | εσωθεν] εξωθεν 1957. 2050 :
ante se et retro Pr | γεμοντα 1. 2020 : εχοντα 2037 | οφθαλμουσιν
620. 2036. 2037 | και³ quae Pr | ουκ εχουσιν] ουχ εξοσαν K* :
non habebant Tyc Pr gig vg^{a, d} arm⁴ | ημ. κ. νυκτ.] αλλα παντοτε
2050 | ημερας] + τε 632 | λεγοντες AN 025. 046. 21 al^p Or^s :
dicentes Pr gig : λεγοντα 110. 385. 1955. 2023^{**}. 2041 : dicentia
vg : + το 2050 | αγιστ ter AN^c 025. 205. 386. 617. 620.
632. 920 2004. 2037. 2038. 2040. 2050. 2067 al Pr gig vg
s^{1, 2} arm^{1, 2, 4} bo eth : semel Or^s : bis 18. 181 : sexies 141. 2020
: octies K* : novies 046. 35. 175. 250. 325. 337. 456. 468. 919.
1849. 1934 al^{ms} arm^s * | κυριος] + σαβαωθ 205 | ο¹ > K* | ο θεος
> 2050 Or^s arm^{1, 2} | ο θεος ο παντ.] σαβαωθ ο παντο. 35*. 104.
620. 1918. 2015. 2019. 2036. 2037 | ο παντ.] των θεων eth | ο² >
K 2019 | ο ων κ. ο ην 35. 201. 205. 250. 386. 2016. 2019. 2020.
2023^{**}. 2067 (arm) bo sa | κ. ο ων > 620 | και ο ερχ. > eth |.

9. δωσουσιν A 025. 1. 632. 2015. 2019. 2020. 2036. 2037.
2050. 2067 al : δωσωσι(ν) K 046. 61. 69. 104. 181. 205. 620.
1854. 1918. 2017. 2038 Or^s : δωσι(ν) 21 (-205. 456. 468*.
620. 632. 2020. 2050) 250 al : δωσαι 42. 141. 517 : δω 325^{**}.
456 : dederunt gig s¹ arm : dederant Pr | δωσ. τ. ζωα] ζωα
δωσουσιν 2050 | δοξαν > K* arm^{2, s} | και² > 2050 arm^{2, s} * | ευχα-
ριστιασ A arm^{1, 2, s} * : ευχαριστειαν 2015. 2017. 2040 : > 2050
| τω θρονω AN 2050 : (in) trono Pr : του θρονου 025. 046. 21
(-2050) al Or^s : + και προσκυνησουσιν (-σωσιν 2040). 920.
2040 : + και s¹ | τω ζωντι . . . επι του θρονου > 919. 1849. 2004
| τω ζωντι . . . αιωνων > vg^a | των αιωνων > 1854 arm¹ : + αμην
(+ και K) K 2017. 2040* Or^s s¹ arm^{2, s} * : + ευθεωσ Pr |.

10. πησονται . . . τ. αιωνων > 175 arm^{2, s} * | πησονται . . .
και προσκυνησουσιν] και προσκυνησουσιν ενωπιον τ. καθ. . . . οι

11. Ἄξιός ἐστι, ὁ κύριος καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν,
λαβεῖν τὴν δόξαν καὶ τὴν τιμὴν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν,
ὅτι σὺ ἔκτισας τὰ πάντα,
καὶ διὰ τὸ θέλημά σου ἦσαν καὶ ἐκτίσθησαν.

εικ. τ. πρσβ. eth | πεσονται] πιπτονσιν vg^s (procedunt corrupt for procid.) : επιπτον Pr vg^{a, d, v} (procedebant corrupt for procid.) : επεσον arm¹ | εικ] + και min^p s¹ (arm¹) | τεσσαρεισ] τεσσαρισ 2020. 2050 : τεσσαρεισ 620 | ενωπιον . . . θρονου > bo | του καθ. επι > Pr gig arm | προσκυνησωσιν 18. 2004 : πρισκυνουσι 61.^{ms} : προσεκυνουν vg^{a, d, f, v} : adorabunt (corrupt for adorabant) Pr | εις τ. αιων. των. αιων. τω ζωντι s¹ | τω ζωντι > arm⁴ | εις τουσ αιωνασ > arm¹ | αιωνων] + αμην N 205. 2017 s¹ arm² | και βαλουσιν AN^c(?) 025. 21 (-620). 250. 2067 al Or^s gig vg^{a, c, f, g} s^{1, 2} arm⁴ : κ. βαλλουσιν N^s 046. 1. 61.^{ms} 172. 181. 429. 620. 1854. 2015. 2017. 2019. 2023*. 2036. 2037. 2038 bo : κ. εβαλλον vg^{d, v} : mittentes Tyc Pr arm^a | αυτου 205 | ενωπ. τ. θρον. > 920. 2040 |.

11. ει] εστιν arm² : + κυριε N | ο κυριος AN 046. 21 (-35*. 205. 620. 2020). 250. 2067 al^{ms} Or^s s^{1, 2} arm^{2, 3, 4} bo : κυριε 025. 1. 35*. 69. 104. 205. 241. 336. 620. 1854. 1918. 2015. 2019. 2020. 2036. 2037. 2038 Pr gig vg arm^{1, a} : + ημων s¹ | κ. ο θεος ημ > 1 | και¹ > 025. 35*. 69. 104. 205. 241. 336. 620. 1854. 1918. 2015. 2019. 2020. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2067 Pr gig vg arm^{1, 2, a} bo sa eth | ο² > N 468. 2050 Or^s | ημων AN 025. 104. 205. 620. 2020. 2037. 2038. 2050 al Pr gig vg s¹ arm bo eth : + ο ουρανιος 172 : + ο αγιος 046. 21 (-205. 620. 2020. 2050). 250. 2067 al^{ms} Or^s s² | δυναμιν . . . δοξαν . . . τιμην 620 | την² > N | την³ > A | δυναμιν] + και 69 | τα AN 025. 1. 35. 205. 2015. 2019. 2020. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038 2050 al : > 046. 21 (-35. 205. 2020. 2050). 250. 2067 al Or^s | παντα] + και δια σου ειςιν s² | δια > bo | δια θεληματι σου A : δια του θεληματος σου 617 (s¹) : ex voluntate tua (tua potestate Pr) Tyc Pr | ησαν κ. εκτισθ.] haec sunt constituta Pr | ησαν και > 2019 | ησαν AN 21 (-18. 35. 468. 620. 2020. 2050) Or^s Tyc gig vg s^{1, 2}. arm⁴ : ουκ ησαν 046. 18. 69. 2020 : ειςι 025. 1. 35. 104. 172. 250. 468. 620. 1854. 1957. 2018. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2050. (2067) : εγενετο bo : + παντα eth | εκτισθ. κ. ειςι 2067 | κ. εκτισθησαν > A : "and stand sure" arm^{1, 2, 3, a} : α εκτισθησαν eth |.

CHAPTER V.

1. Καὶ εἶδον ἐπὶ τὴν δεξιὰν τοῦ καθημένου ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου βιβλίον γεγραμμένον ἔσθθαι καὶ ὄπισθεν, κατεσφραγισμένον σφραγίσιν ἑξῶθεν ἑπτά. 2. καὶ εἶδον ἄγγελον ἰσχυρὸν κηρύσσοντα ἐν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ Τίς ἄξιός ἀνοίξει τὸ βιβλίον καὶ λύσαι τὰς σφραγίδας αὐτοῦ; 3. καὶ οὐδεὶς ἔδυνάτο ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἢ οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς οὐδὲ ὑποκάτω τῆς οὐραεῖς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἀνοίγει τὸ βιβλίον οὐδὲ βλέπειν αὐτό. 4. καὶ ἔκλαιον πολλοὶ ὅτι τῆς γῆς οὐδεὶς ἄξιός εὐρήθῃ ἀνοίγει τὸ βιβλίον οὐτε βλέπειν αὐτό.

1. καὶ] + μετα τοῦτο eth | τ. δεξ.] + καὶ ἐν μέσῳ Or^a : + του θεου Pr Cyp | βιβλ. γεγραμμ. > κ^a | εσθθαι] A 025. 046 min^{omn} Tyc Pr gig vg Cyp Or^{Pa}. xl. 37^a. Ezek. xiv. 12a. Phil. xiv. 3^a Or^a bo eth : εμπροσθεν κ Or^{Pa}. l. 10^a. Phil. xiv. 4^a sa | οπισθεν AN 1. 69 al Or^{Pa}. l. 10^a. Ezek. xiv. 12a. Phil. xiv. 4^a Cyp s² : εξωθεν 025. 046. 21. 250. 2037. (2038). 2067 al¹ Or^a s¹ arm bo eth : a foris gig : foris Tyc Pr vg : + καὶ οπισθεν καὶ εμπροσθεν 35 : + καὶ οπισθεν 2038 : + καὶ κ^a 42. 337. 468 arm^{1. 2. 3} | κατεσφραγ. εσφραγισμενον 337 : κατεσφραγισμενον 920. 2040 |.

2. εἶδον] ηκουσα gig : + αλλον 172. 250. 2018. 2050 s¹ | κηρυσσ. ισχυρον κ | κηρυσσοντα] + καὶ λεγοντα eth | ἐν AN 046. 21 (-35. 2020). 250. 2067 al^{omn} Or^a : > 025. 1. 35. 172. 1854. 1957. 2015. 2019. 2020. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2041 Or^{Pa}. xl. 37^a. Phil. xiv. 3^a | μεγαλη > 1854 : + καὶ λεγοντα (Pr) arm^{1. 2. 3} | τω] + εστιν 1 vg | αξιος AN 025. 35. 205. 2020. 2038. 2050. al^p Or^a s¹ : + εστιν 046. 21 (-35. 205. 2020. 2050). 250. 2037. 2067 al Tyc Pr gig Cyp s² |.

3. εδυνατο κ 21 (-205. 2040. 2050). 250. 2037. 2038 al : ηδυνατο A 025. 046. 1. 61. 69. 104. 2023^{ab}. 2036. 2040. 2050. 2067 al Or^a : δυναται 205 : + ουτε 2050 Tyc Pr Cyp (arm) | ουρανῳ AN 025. 1. 35. 172. 205. 241. 632^{ab}. 1957. 2015. 2019. 2023. 2037. 2038. 2067 al Or^{Pa}. xl. 37^a Tyc Pr Cyp gig vg s¹ arm bo eth : + ανω 046. 21 (-35. 205. 632^{ab}. 2050). 250 al Or^a s² | ουδε¹ A 025. 1. 35. 104. 205. 620. 1957. 2015. 2020. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038 al : ουτε κ 046. 21 (-35. 205. 620. 2020). 250. 2067 al^{omn} Or^a | ἐπὶ τ. γησ] ἐν τῇ γῇ s¹ : + κατω 386 | ουδε υποκ. τ. γησ > κ 181. 201. 386. 1854. 2023^a arm¹ eth : post αυτο pon 1. 2037 | ουδε² A 025. 1. 35. 104. 314. 620. 1957. 2015. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038 : ουτε 046. 21 (-35. 386. 620). 250. 2067 al^{omn} Or^a | βιβλιον] + καὶ λυσαι τας σφραγιδας αυτου s¹ | ουδε³ 025. 1. 35. 104. 314. 1957. 2015. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038 : ουτε AN 046. 21 (-35. 205). 250. 2067 al Or^a : καὶ 205 s¹ arm^{1. 2. 3} : ου γαρ arm³ : sed neque Pr Cyp | βλέπειν] εβλεπον arm³ |.

4. v. 4 > A 522. 2050 | καὶ κ 025. 1. 181. 2015^{ab}. 2019.

5. καὶ εἰς ἐκ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων λέγει μοι Μὴ κλαῖε· ἰδοὺ ἐνίκησεν ὁ λέων ὁ ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς Ἰούδα, ἡ ρίζα Δαυεὶδ, ἀνοῖξαι τὸ βιβλίον καὶ τὰς ἐπτά σφραγίδας αὐτοῦ. 6. Καὶ εἶδον ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ θρόνου καὶ τῶν τεσσάρων ζώων καὶ ἐν μέσῳ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἄρνιον ἑστηκὸς ὡς ἐσφαγμένον, ἔχων κέρατα ἐπτά καὶ ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐπτά, οἱ εἰσὶν τὰ ἐπτά πνεύματα τοῦ θεοῦ, ἁπεσταλμένοι εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν

ἐσθηκὴς
ἀπεσταλ-
μένα

2038 gig s^{1.2} arm^{2.4} a : + εγω 046. 21 (-2050). 250. 2037. (2067) Or^{Isak. xiv. 176} (>Pr xl. 37a) Or^a Tyc Pr Cyp vg arm^{1.2} | εκλααν N^a : εκλεον N^c | πολυ] πολυν 046 : πολλοι I arm^a eth : πολλα 205 : παντες bo : > Or^{Phil. xiv. 35} | ευρεθη] ευρεθην 2020 : ευρεθησεται N^a | ανοιξαι] + και αναγνωναι I. 35. 205. 1957. 2019. 2023. 2037. 2038. 2067 arm^a | το βιβλ.] την σφραγίδα arm¹ : και λυσαι arm^{2.3} | βλεπειν αυτο] λυσαι τας σφραγιδας αυτου Pr s¹ |.

6. και¹] + απεκριθη 2050 : + ιδου Tyc : + ηλθεν μοι bo | λεγει] ειπεν Cyp vg^a s¹ bo | μοι > 205 gig arm^a | ιδου] + γαρ 2050 | ο² > N 69. 2015** s¹ bo sa : + ων I. 2067 | η ριζα] εκ ριζω arm bo eth : + του 35. 205. 2023 | ανοιξαι AN 025. I. 35. 104. 205. 468** 620. 1957. 2015. 2019. 2020. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2050. 2067 Or^{Pa. xl. 37a. Phil. xiv. 35} Pr gig Cyp vg arm bo eth : ανοιξει s^{1.2} : ο ανοιξας I8. 2039 : ο ανοιγων 046. 21 (-18. 35. 205. 468** 620. 2020. 2050). 250 al^{mu} Or^a | και²] + λυσαι N 2067 arm^{(1).2.3} | επτα > s¹ arm^{1.2} s^{oo} bo eth | σφραγιδας] + δι 2040 |.

6. ειδον] ιδου και A : ειδον και ιδου I72. 2018 Tyc vg | εν μεσω . . . ζων (+ και 620) > 620 s² | εν μεσω του θρονου] θρονοι Tyc | εμμεσω¹ A 2050 | και²] + εν μεσω Pr arm | των τεσσ. ζων] (τα) τεσσαρα ζωα Tyc | εν μεσω² > Pr s¹ arm⁴ a : εμμεσω A | πρεσβ.] + ως arm^{1.2} | εστηκος A 025. 046. 21 (-149*. 620. 2004. 2050) al^{mu} Or^a : εστηκωσ N I. 104. 149*. 172. 2004. 2015. 2017. 2019 : εστικωσ 620. 2050 : > 2038 arm^{1.2} | ως > I8. 632*. 920. 2016. 2024. 2040. 2050 arm bo sa | εσφαγμ.] εσφραγισμενον I04. (920*). 2016. 2017. 2020. 2038. 2067 arm^{oo} | εχων AN 046. I04. 429. 620. 919. 2015. 2017. 2019. 2050 Or^a : εχον 025. 21 (-620. 919. 2020) al^{mu} | κ. οφθαλ. επτα > 2050 | οι AN I. 172. 205. 2020. 2038. 2067 : α 046. 21 (-205. 2020). 250. 2037 al^{pl} : ατωα 241. 498 | τα > 250. 2037. 2067 | επτα³ N 046. 21 (-205. 2050) al^{mu} Tyc Pr gig Cyp vg^{a. c. v} s^{1.2} arm bo : > A I. 181. 205. 2038. 2050 vg^{d. e. h} eth | πνευματα] πνευμα eth : powers arm² : powers of the spirit arm^{1.2} : (parts of the seven) graces of the spirit arm⁴ | του θεου πνευματα I : του θεου > arm¹ | θεου] + τα I. 42. 104. 110. 205. 336. 620. 2036. 2037. 2038 (s^{1.2}) arm^{1.2} s^a bo | απεσταλμενοι A : απεσταλμενα N I. 205. 2020. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2050 (s²) : "sent down" bo : αποστελλομενα 046. 21 (-205. 2020. 2050). 250. 2067 al^{mu} Or^a s¹ arm^{1.2} s^a : > arm⁴ |.

γῆν. 7. καὶ ἦλθεν καὶ εἰληφεν ἐκ τῆς δεξιᾶς τοῦ καθημένου ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου. 8. Καὶ ὅτε ἔλαβεν τὸ βιβλίον, τὰ τέσσαρα ζῶα καὶ οἱ ἑκοσι τέσσαρες πρεσβύτεροι ἔπεσαν ἐνώπιον τοῦ ἄρνιου, ἔχοντες ἕκαστος κιθάραν καὶ φιάλας χρυσᾶς γεμούσας θυμιαμάτων (α)

9. καὶ ᾄδουσιν ᾠδὴν καινὴν λέγοντες

Ἄξιός ἐστι λαβεῖν τὸ βιβλίον

καὶ ἀνοῖξαι τὰς σφραγίδας αὐτοῦ,

ὅτι ἐσφάγης,

καὶ ἡγόρασας τῷ θεῷ ἐν τῷ αἱματί σου

ἐκ πάσης φυλῆς καὶ γλώσσης καὶ λαοῦ καὶ ἔθνους,

(α) MSS add gloss : αἱ εἰσιν αἱ προσευχαὶ τῶν ἁγίων.

7. καὶ² > bo | εἰληφεν] + το βιβλίον I^{2*}. 104. 205. 620. 2019. 2050 Pr gig Cyp vg^{h. a. d. s¹} bo sa : + αὐτο eth | ἐκ] + τῆς χειρὸς 620 arm^{1. 2. 3. 4} | δεξιᾶς] χειρὸς s¹ : + του θεου Pr Cyp | του καθ.] τῆς καθημένου (sic) K² | θρόνου] + το βιβλίον 250^{2*}. 2020. 2037. 2067 Tyc vg |.

8. ἔλαβεν] aperuisset vg | βιβλίον] + καὶ arm³ | τέσσαρα AN 2020 : τέσσαρα 025. 046 al^{pl} : οἱ εκ. τεσσ. πρεσβ. καὶ τ. τεσσ. ζῶα eth | τεσσαρισ 620 : τεσσαρισ 2050 | ἐνωπ. τ. ἀρ. ἐπεσον 205 | ἐπεσαν AN 1. 104. 325^{2*}. 337. 452. 456. 506. 517. 620. 2023. 2050 Or² : ἐπεσον 046. 21 (- 325^{2*}. 337. 456. 620. 2050). 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^{ma} | ἕκαστος ἔχοντες K | ἔχοντες] καὶ εἶχον arm^{1. 2. 3. 4} | ἕκαστος] + αὐτῶν s^{1. 2} | κιθάραν] κιθάρᾳ 1. 104. 205. 385. 468. 617. 620. 1957. 2019. 2023. 2037^{2*}. 2038. 2041. 2067 Tyc Pr gig Cyp vg | φιάλας] φιάλας 2050 : φιάλην s¹ arm^{1. 2. 3. 4} | χρυσᾶς] χρυσᾶς K : χρυσῆν s¹ arm^{1. 2. 3. 4} | γεμούσας] μεστάς 620 bo sa : γεμουσαν s¹ arm^{1. 2. 3. 4} | θυμιαμάτων] + supplicationum Pr Cyp | αἱ A 025. 21 (- 2050). 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^{pl} s^{1. 2} Or² : α K 046. 2019. 2050 | εἰσι] ἦσαν arm¹ : ἐστὶν arm^{2. 4} | αἱ προσευχαὶ A K² 025. 046. 1. 35. 205. 241. 250^{2*}. 468. 620. 632^{2*}. 1957. 2015. 2019. 2020. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2041. 2050. 2067 Or^{1. 2. 3. 4} s^{1. 2} arm bo eth : προσευχαὶ K² 18. 61. 69. 172. 201. 218. 386. 424. 632^{2*}. 920. 1849. 2040 al^{ma} Or² : προσευχῶν 82. 93. 104. 110. 175. 177. 242. 325. 337. 385. 452. 456. 517. 617. 919. 1934. 1955. 2004. 2021. 2024 | τῶν ἁγίων] ὁτῶν ἁγίων Or¹ |.

9. καὶ¹ > s¹ | ᾄδουσιν] ἀδωσιν A : ἀδοντες Pr s¹ : cantabant Tyc arm (bo) : cantaverunt Cyp : + ὡς Tyc | καινὴν ᾠδὴν Pr Cyp vg | καινὴν] + καὶ s¹ arm | εἰ] + κυριε gig vg¹ : + κυριε ο θεος ἡμῶν arm² | ἀνοῖξαι] λυσαὶ s¹ : resignare gig | ἐσφαγῇς] ἐσφαγεῖς 620. 2050 : ἡγορ. τῷ θεῷ A (eth see below) : + ἡμας K 025. 046. 21 (- 205. 620. 2040^{2*}. 2050). 2037. 2067 al^{pl} Or² s^{1. 2} (arm) bo sa : ἡγορ. ἡμας τῷ θεῷ 172. 250. 336. 424. 620. 1918.

βασιλευ-
σουσιν

10. καὶ ἐποίησας αὐτοὺς τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν βασιλείαν καὶ ἱερεῖς,
καὶ βασιλεύουσιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

ἀξιος

11. καὶ εἶδον καὶ ἤκουσα φωνὴν ἀγγέλων πολλῶν κύκλῳ τοῦ
θρόνου, (α) καὶ ἦν ὁ ἀριθμὸς αὐτῶν μυριάδες μυριάδων καὶ χιλιάδες
χιλιάδων, 12. λέγοντες φωνῇ μεγάλῃ

Ἦ Ἀξίον ἔστιν τὸ ἀρνίον τὸ ἐσφαγμένον λαβεῖν τὴν δύναμιν
καὶ πλοῦτον καὶ σοφίαν καὶ ἰσχύιν
καὶ τιμὴν καὶ δόξαν καὶ εὐλογίαν.

13. καὶ πᾶν κτίσμα ὃ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ ὑποκάτω
(α) MSS add a gloss here : καὶ τῶν ζώων καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων,

2016. 2018. 2038. 2050 Pr gig Cyp vg : ἡγορ. τω θεω ημων 180.
205. 2040* sa : ἡγορ. ημας (>eth) εν τ. αιμ. σου τ. θεω s¹.² eth :
εν τω αιματι σου >632 | αιματι | ονοματι 2040* | παντων φυλων
κ. γλωσσων κ. λαων κ. εθνων arm².².⁴ | και γλωσσης >s¹ arm¹ |.

10. αυτους | ημας Pr gig vg⁴.⁷ arm¹.².³ : ex iis eth | τω
θεω ημων >A | βασιλειαν Aκ 2050 Pr gig Cyp vg (s¹) arm⁴
bo : in regnum dei eth : βασιλεισ 046. 21 (- 2050). 250. 2037.
2038. 2067 al¹ Or⁴ s² | ιερεισ | ιερατειαν κ : + και βασιλεισ s¹ eth |
και³ >eth | βασιλευουσιν A 046. 18. 325. 386. 456. 617. 919. 920.
1849. 2004. 2020. 2037. 2040 al s² : βασιλευουσιν κ 025. 1.
35. 82. 91. 110. 172. 175. 177. 205. 250. 314. 337. 429. 468.
620. 632. 1934. 2038. 2050. 2067 Or⁴ al gig Cyp vg s¹ arm⁴
bo : >eth : βασιλευομεν Pr vg arm¹.².³ |.

11. και ειδον >sa eth | φωνην A 025. 046*. 1. 69. 205. 2023.
2036. 2038 al¹ Or⁴ Tyc Pr gig vg arm².².³ bo eth : ωσ φωνην
κ 046*. 21 (- 205. 337). 250. 2037. 2067 al¹.².³ arm⁴ sa :
ωσ φωνη 337 | πολλων αγγελων 920. 2040 Pr | πολλων >620
arm² | κυκλω | κυκλοθεν 1 : κυκλωθεν 468*. | και³ | + κυκλω Pr
arm⁽¹⁾.².⁽³⁾.⁴ | και των πρεσβ. >1 arm¹ | και ην ο αριθμ. αυτ.
>arm³ | μυριαδες μυριαδ. και > Pr gig vg | μυριαδ. μυριαδ.]
μυριασ μυριασ arm : μυριασ μυριαδων s¹.² | και χιλιαδ. χιλιαδων
>1854 | χιλιαδεις | χιλιασ s¹.² | χιλιαδων arm².³ : + και s¹ |.

12. λεγοντες | λεγοντων 498. 920. 2020. 2040. 2050 Pr vg :
κραζοντες arm¹ | αξιον κ 046. 21 min omn^{vid} Or⁴ : αξιος A (s¹) |
εστιν | ει s¹ | εσφαγμ. | εσφραγισμενον 2020 | την > 2019 arm¹ |
δυναμιν . . . ευλογιαν | "praise and riches and honour and glory"
arm¹ | δυν. και >arm².⁴ | και¹ >20. 2020. 2040 | πλουτον Aκ
025. 1. 35. 205. 2020. 2037. 2050. 2067 al arm eth : τον
πλουτον 046. 21 (- 35. 205. 920. 2020. 2040. 2050). 250. 2038
al¹.² Or⁴ : την βασιλειαν bo : divinitatem vg : μεγαλοπρεπειαν
arm⁴ : > 920. 2040 | και³ | + την 386 bo | και ισχυν > bo
arm¹.² : + και βασιλειαν eth | και⁴.⁶.⁸ | + την bo | και ευλογιαν
>arm¹.³ |.

13. ο A 046. 21 (- 35. 205. 468*. 620) al Or⁴ gig s¹ bo eth :
το κ : >620 : + εστιν 025. 1. 35. 172. 205. 250. 241. 468*. 2015.

τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐστίν, καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς πάντα, ἤκουσα λέγοντας¹ λέγοντα

Τῷ καθήμενῳ ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ καὶ τῷ ἀρνίῳ
ἡ εὐλογία καὶ ἡ τιμὴ καὶ ἡ δόξα
καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

14. καὶ τὰ τέσσερα ζῆα ἔλεγον Ἀμὴν, καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ἔπεσαν καὶ προσεκύνησαν.

2018. 2019. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2041. 2050. 2067 al Pr
vg s² (arm) | ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς] ἐν τῇ γῇ 1. 2037 Pr s¹ : ἐπὶ γῆς 336.
2015. 2036 | κ. υποκ. τ. γῆς A 025. 046. 21 (-920. 2040.
2050). 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al Pr gig vg^{a. c. e. v} s^{1. 2} arm⁴
eth : > κ 69. 181. 218. 241. 920. 2040. 2050 vg^{d. f. e} arm^{1. 2. 3. 4}
bo | καὶ⁴ + τα κ (bo) eth : + quae sunt vg | ἐπὶ τῆς θαλασ-
σης (τὴν θαλάσσαν 2020) 241. 2015. (2020). 2036. 2037 (ἐν
τῇ θαλάσσει κ Pr gig vg (s^{1. 2}) arm bo eth) : + ἐστὶ(ν) A 21
(-35. 205. 2020. 2050) al : + α ἐστὶν 025. 046. 1. 35. 205.
429^{2*}. 1957. 2023. 2038. 2041. 2050. 2067 al : + οσα ἐστὶν 172.
250. 424. 2018 Or² : + ο ἐστὶν s¹ | καὶ τα > 2019 : et quae-
cumque sunt Pr | ἐ²] ἐπ 2020 | αὐτοῖς] ea vg^{a. f. e} v : eo vg^{c. e} :
+ sunt gig : + καὶ 42. 61. 69. 241. 632. 2015. 2037 | πάντα
ἤκουσα λεγοντας 025. 18. 314. 2017. 2039. 2050 al^p Or² : πάντα
ηκ. λεγοντα A 1. 69. 181. 2038 : πάντα καὶ ηκ. λεγοντας κ 424.
429. 2019 gig s¹ (bo) : πάντα κ. ηκ. λεγοντων 250. 2018 : πάντα
κ. ηκ. λεγοντα s² : παντας ηκ. λεγοντας 21 (-18. 35^e. 2050).
2037 al^m Tyc Pr vg : παντας καὶ ηκ. λεγοντας (-των 172).
(172). 522 : πάντα κ. παντας ηκ. λεγοντας 046 : πάντα κ. ηκ. παλιν
λεγοντα 35^{*} : πάντα λεγοντα eth | τῷ καθήμενῳ. τὸν καθήμενον s² : ο
καθήμενος arm | τῷ θρόνῳ A 046. 18. 175. 250. 325. 337. 456.
617. 620. 919. 1849. 1934. 2004. 2050 al : (in) throno Tyc Pr
vg : θρόνῳ 141 : τοῦ θρόνου κ 025. 1. 35. 205. 241. 386. 468.
632. 920. 1957. 2015. 2019. 2020. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2040.
2067 al^m Or² : (supra) sedem gig | καὶ⁶ > AN^c s² arm^{1. 2} | καὶ τῷ
ἀρνίῳ > bo | τῷ ἀρνίῳ] το ἀρνίον arm^{1. 2. 3. 4} : + η 919 | ἡ εὐλογ. . .
κρατος² "blessed exalted (> 2) and glorified (+ and almighty 3)"
arm^{1. 2. 3} | ἡ¹ > 025 | ἡ³ > 919^{*} | καὶ το κρατος² παντοκρατορος κ^{*}
(cf arm³) : > arm^{1. 2. 4} : τῶν αἰώνων > arm² Tyc | αἰώνων AN
025. 104. 172. 201. 205. 250. 2018. 2050 al^p Or² Pr gig vg s^{1. 2}
arm^{1. 4} : + αμην 046. 21 (-205. 2050). 2037. 2038. 2067 al^m
arm³ eth |.

14. κ. τ. τεσσ. ζῶα ελεγ. αμην > 920. 2040 | τα > 205. 620 |
τεσσερα A 2020 : τεσσαρα κ 025. 046 min^p Or² | ελεγον AN 025.
1. 35^e. 104. 205. 620. 632. 919. 2015. 2018. 2019. 2020. 2023^{2*}.
2036. 2037. 2038. 2050. 2067 al Or² Pr gig vg s² arm : ελεγεν
172. 250 : λεγοντα 046. 18. 35^{2*}. 175. 325. 337. 386. 456.

CHAPTER VI.

1. Καὶ εἶδον ὅτε ἤνοιξεν τὸ ἀρνίον μίαν ἐκ τῶν ἑπτὰ σφραγίδων, καὶ ἤκουσα ἐνὸς ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων ζῶων λέγοντος ὡς φωνὴ βροντῆς ἔρχου.

2. καὶ εἶδον καὶ ἰδοὺ ἵππος λευκός,
καὶ ὁ καθήμενος ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἔχων τόξον,
καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ στέφανος,
καὶ ἐξῆλθεν νικῶν καὶ ἵνα νικήσῃ.

468. 617. 1849. 1934. 2004 s¹ (bo) | αμην ΑΚ 025. 1. 35*. 69. 314. 2015. 2019. 2020. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2050. 2067 Or^a bo sa : το αμην 046. 21 (-35*. 920. 2020. 2040. 2050). 250 al^{mn} | καὶ² > arm | οι] + εικοσι τεσσαρεσ Pr vg^r | επεσαν ΑΚ 025. 1. 104. 110. 172. 250. 337. 429. 468. 620. 2018. 2019. 2023. 2050. 2067 al Or^a : επεσον 046. 21 (-337. 468. 620. 2050). 2037. 2038 al^{mn} : + ενωπιον αυτου arm^{1. 2. 2. a} | επεσαν και > eth | προσε-
κνησαν] + viventem in saecula saeculorum Pr vg^d : + αυτον arm¹ |.

1. και] μετα ταυτα bo | ειδον > Pr eth | οτε ΑΝC 025. 1. 104. 205. 314. 620. 1957. 2020. 2023. 2036. 2037 al Pr gig s arm⁴ bo : οτι 046. 20 (-205. 620. 2020). 250. 2067 al^{pm} Or^a vg arm : > 2038 | ηνοιξεν] ηνυξεν κ | μιαν > 1 | εκ των επτα ΑΝC 046. 20 (-205. 325. 456). 250. 2037. 2067 al^{pm} Or^a Pr gig vg s arm^{2. 2. 4} eth : επτα > 025. 1. 205. 314. 325. 456. 2015. 2016. 2023. 2038 al arm¹ bo sa | σφραγιδων > κ* (suppl. κ*) | και > 620 bo sa | ενος εκ > 1957 : ενος > 920. 2040 : εξ ενος arm^a : εκ > κ* 468 | λεγοντοσ] λεγοντων κ : > arm | ωσ φωνη βροντησ > Pr eth | φωνη ΑC 046. 20 (-468. 919. 920. 1849). 250. 2037 al^{pm} Or^a bo : φωνην κ 506. 919. 1957 gig vg arm : φωνησ 025. 1. 314. 2016. 2038. 2067 : φωνη 104. 172. 468. 920. 1849. 1955 | βροντησ] βροντων s¹ : + λεγοντοσ Α : + λεγουσαν arm | ερχου ΑC 025. 1. 35. 60. 82. 94. 241. 432. 1957. 2015. 2019. 2020. 2023. 2037. 2038. 2041 Or^a vg^{a. c. e} bo sa : ερχου ante ωσ φων. βροντ. 2036 : ερχομαι arm^{1. 2. 2. a} : ερχου και ιδε κ 046. 20 (-35. 2020). 61. 104. 110. 172. 201. 250. 314. 385. 498. 522. 1955. 2016. 2018. 2067 Pr gig vg^{d. 2. e. v} s eth |.

2. και ειδον > 046. 20 (-35. 205. 468. 620). 250 al^{mn} Or^a Tyc Pr vg^{d. 2. e. v} : pr και ηκουσα s¹ | και¹ > bo | επ αυτον] επ αυτω 1. 61 (?). 2037* | εχων] habebat vg arm : tenebat Pr | τοξον] sagittam Pr | εξηλθεν] επηλθεν Or^a : > arm⁸ | νικων και ινα νικησῃ] ut vinceret et victor exiit Pr | νικων] pr o A arm^{2. 4} | και ινα νικησῃ] και ενικησεν κ bo sa : κ. ινα νικησει 1. 2023. 2038 : κ. ινα νικησῃ (-σει 2019) και ενικησεν 2017. 2019 : κ. ενικησεν κ. ινα νικησῃ s¹ : νικων και > eth | και⁶ > 506 vg gig s² arm |.

3. Καὶ ὅτε ἤνοιξεν τὴν σφραγίδα τὴν δευτέραν, ἤκουσα τοῦ δευτέρου ζώου λέγοντος Ἐρχου.
 4. Καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἄλλος ἵππος πυρρός,
 καὶ τῷ καθήμενῳ ἐπ' αὐτὸν † ἐδόθη αὐτῷ¹ λαβεῖν τὴν εἰρήνην ἐδόθη
 [ἐκ] τῆς γῆς,
 καὶ ἵνα ἑλλήλους σφάξουσιν,
 καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ μάχαιρα μεγάλη.
 5. Καὶ ὅτε ἤνοιξεν τὴν σφραγίδα τὴν τρίτην, ἤκουσα τοῦ τρίτου ζώου λέγοντος Ἐρχου.
 καὶ εἶδον, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἵππος μέλας,
 καὶ ὁ καθήμενος ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἔχων ζυγὸν ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ.

3. ἡνοιξεν] ηνυξεν κ | τὴν σφραγίδα τὴν δευτέραν A^{NC} 025. 1. 172. 205. 250. 314. 424. 2018. 2023. 2038 Tyc Pr gig vg arm : τὴν δευτέραν σφραγίδα 046. 20 (-205). 2037. 2067 al^{pl} Or^a | ἐρχου AC 025. 046. 20 (-205. 386. 468). 1. 61. 69. 82. 104. 110. 314. 336. 385. 498. 522. 1955. 1957. 2015. 2016. 2019. 2023. 2037. 2038. 2041 al^{mn} Or^a vg s bo sa : ἐρχομαι arm : ἐρχου καὶ ἰδε κ 141. 172. 201. 205. 250. 386. 424. 468. 1918. 2018. 2022. 2067 Tyc Pr gig vg^d s^u. v eth |.

4. καὶ ἐξῆλθεν] καὶ (ε)ἶδον καὶ ἰδον (κ. ἰδον > bo sa) ἐξῆλθ. κ 250. 424. 2018. 2067 bo sa | αλλοσ > Tyc s¹ arm² bo sa | πυρρος κC 35. 175. 201^{**}. 241. 242. 325. 429. 456. 468. 498. 617. 1849. 1934. 1955. 1957. 2023^{**}. 2024. 2037. 2041. 2067 al^{mn} Tyc Pr gig vg s arm² a : πυρρος A 025. 046. 1. 18. 61. 69. 104. 110. 172. 201^{*}. 205. 250. 314. 337. 385. 386. 620. 632. 919. 920. 2004. 2020. 2038. 2040 Or^a | τῷ καθήμενῳ] pr εν A | επ αυτον A^{NC} 025. 046. 20 (-18). 250. 2037^{**}. 2038 al^{pm} Or^a : επ αυτω 1. 18. 172. 2015. 2037^{*}. 2067 al^p : super eum Tyc Pr : super illum gig vg | αυτω κ^{*}C 025. 046. 21 Or^a vg s arm bo sa eth. The αυτω should stand in the text : cf. 2⁷. 17. 28 3¹². 21. It should be restored (?) in 21⁶ : > A^κ 2016 Tyc Pr gig | λαβειν > arm². 4 | εκ της γησ κC 025. 046. 20 (-205. 620). 250. 2037. 2067 al^{pm} Or^a Tyc Pr gig vg s eth : > κ^{*} : εκ > A 104. 205. 209. 336. 620. 1918. 2038 : απο της γησ 1. 2019 al^p | καὶ ἵνα A^{NC} 025. 1. 35^{*}. 172. 205. 250. 2018. 2019. 2020. 2038 al Or^a Tyc Pr gig vg s² : καὶ > 046. 20 (-35^{*}. 205. 2020). 2037. 2067 al^{pm} s² bo | σφαξουσιν AC 1849. 2019 : σφαξωσι(v) κ 025. 046. 20 (-1849). 1. 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^{pl} Or^a | μαχαιρα μεγαλη] ~ A bo sa eth |.

5. ἡνοιξεν] ηνυξεν κ : ηνοιγη s¹ | τὴν σφραγίδα τὴν τρίτην] τὴν τριτ. σφραγ. 1. 2019. 2020 al : ἡ σφραγισ ἡ τριτη s¹ | ἤκουσα] εἶδον bo | ἐρχου AC 025. 1. 35. 60. 91. 104. 241. 336. 432. 620. 1918. 1957. 2020. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038 Or^a gig vg^a. f. s¹ bo : + καὶ ἰδε κ 046. 20 (-35. (620). 2020). 61. 69. 110. 172. 181. 201. 250. 314. 385. 498. 522. 1955. 2016. 2018. 2067 Pr

6. καὶ ἤκουσα ὡς φωνὴν ἐν μέσῳ τῶν τεσσάρων ζώων λέγουσαν
Χοῖνιξ σίτου δηναρίου,
καὶ τρεῖς χοίνικες κριθῶν δηναρίου,
καὶ τὸ ἔλαιον καὶ τὸν οἶνον μὴ ἀδικήσης·
7. Καὶ ὅτε ἤνοιξεν τὴν σφραγίδα τὴν τέταρτην, ἤκουσα φωνὴν τοῦ
τετάρτου ζώου λέγοντος Ἐρχου.
8. καὶ εἶδον καὶ ἰδοὺ ἵππος χλωρός,
καὶ ὁ καθήμενος ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ ὄνομα αὐτῷ ὁ θάνατος. (a)
καὶ ἰδόθη αὐτῷ ἐξουσία ἐπὶ τὸ τέταρτον τῆς γῆς. (b)

(a) Here follows an interpolation : καὶ ὁ ἄδης ἠκολούθει μετ' αὐτοῦ.

(b) Here follows an interpolation : ἀποκτεῖναι ἐν βορραῖα καὶ ἐν λιμῷ καὶ ἐν θανάτῳ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν θηρίων τῆς γῆς.

vg^a. d. 8^m. v s³ : + ἰδε eth | καὶ εἶδον > 046. 20 (-35. 205. 468^{**}. 620). 61. 69. 110. 172. 181. 201. 314. 498. 506. 517. 522. 1955. 2016. al^p Or^a gig vg^c. d. 8^m. v s¹ eth | καὶ ἰδου > Pr arm¹ eth : καὶ > bo | ἵππος] pr αλλοσ arm¹ : pr καὶ ἐξηλθεν eth | μελας] μεγας 919. 2020^{*} | ἐπ αὐτον] ἐπ αὐτω 1. 2037. 2067 al^p | ἐχων] habebat Tyc Pr vg arm |.

6. ὡς φωνὴν ANC 025. 35^{*}. 181. 314. 2038 Or^a gig vg : ὡς > 046. 20 (-35^{*}). 250. 2037. 2067 al^p Pr s arm bo sa eth | ἐν μεσῳ] ἐμμεσῳ AC : ἐκ μεσου s¹ : μεσον 35. 205 | τεσσαρων] δ' 35 : > s¹ arm¹ | {ωνων] + ὡς φωνὴν αἰτου bo eth | λεγουσαν] λεγοντων gig vg^d. 2^s arm | χοινιξ] σχοινιξ 920 | δηναριου¹] + ενος Pr gig vg^d | κριθων ANC 025. 1. 181. 205. 2036. 2038. 2067 s² : κριθησ 046. 21 (-205). 250. 2037. al^p Or^a s¹ | δηναριου²] pr του A : + ενος Pr vg^d : > 69. 181 | καὶ] το δε bo sa | καὶ το ελαιον καὶ τον οινον] ~ 2019 Tyc Pr vg s¹ eth | ἀδικησησ] ἀδικησις 025 : ἀδικηθησονται arm¹ |.

7. τὴν σφραγίδα τὴν τέταρτην] τὴν τέταρτην σφραγίδα 2020. 2038 : τὴν σφραγ. τ. δ' 35 | ἤκουσα] pr καὶ 325. 456 | φωνὴν AN 1. 35. 1957. 2015. 2019. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038 al^p Or^a vg s¹ eth : pr τὴν 205 : φωνησ 2067 : > C 025. 046. 20 (-35. 205). 250 al^{pm} Pr gig s² arm bo sa | του τεταρτου ζωου] το τεταρτον ζων C : τεταρτου > s¹ | ἐρχου AC 025. 1. 104. 620. 632^{**}. 1957. 2015. 2019. 2020. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038 al^p Or^a vg^a. f. s s¹ bo sa arm⁴ : + καὶ ἰδε 8 046. 20 (-620. 632^{**}. 2020). 250. 2067 al^{pm} Pr gig vg^c. d. v s² : + ἰδε eth : ἐρχομαι arm |.

8. καὶ εἶδον > 046. 20 (-35. 205. 386. 468^{**}. 620. 632^{**}). 69. 250. 314 al^{mu} Or^a gig vg^c. v arm¹ eth | καὶ ἰδου > Pr s¹ eth : καὶ > bo : ἰδου > arm² | ἵππος] pr καὶ ἐξηλθεν eth | ἵππος χλωρος] ἵππον χλωρον Pr s¹ | χλωρος] λευκος 920. 2040 : pallidus Tyc gig vg (Pr) : "reddish" arm¹ | ο καθήμενος] ο > C | επανω αυτου] αυτου > C 025. 1. 181. 205 | αυτω] + ην Tyc Pr : αυτου s¹ | ο θανατος 025. 046. 20 (-35. 920. 2040). 250. 2037. 2038.

9. Καὶ ὅτε ἤνοιξεν τὴν πέμπτην σφραγίδα, εἶδον ὑποκάτω τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἐσφαγμένων διὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ διὰ τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἣν εἶχον.

10. καὶ ἔκραζαν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ λέγοντες

Ἔως πότε, ὁ δεσπότης ὁ ἅγιος καὶ ἀληθινός,
οὐ κρίνεις καὶ ἐκδικεῖς τὸ αἷμα ἡμῶν
ἐκ τῶν κατοικούντων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς;

2067 al^{pl} Or^{mt. III. 17} Or^a : ο > NC 35. 336*. 432. 920. 2023. 2040.
2041 : ο ἀθανάτος A | ο ἀδης] infernus Tyc Pr vg^{d. f. v} : inferus
vg^{a. c. e} : "all Amenti" bo | ηκαλονθει NC 025. 046. 20 (-35).
250. 2067 al^{pm} Or^a Tyc Pr gig vg arm^{1. 2. 2. a} : ακολουθει 1. 35.
1957. 2015. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2041 s | μετ αυτου AC
025. 1. 35. 104. 498*. 620. 1957. 2015. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038 :
μετ αυτον s² : αυτω κ 046. 20 (-35. 620) al^{pm} Or^a Tyc Pr gig
vg s¹ : αυτοισ (also τισιν) Or^{mt. III. 17} | εδοθη αυτω 046. 20 (-35.
468*). 250 al^{pm} Or^a Pr gig vg s^{1. 2} arm bo sa eth : εδοθη αυτοισ
ANC 025. 1. 35. 468*. 2015. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^p |
το τεταρτον] + μεροσ 452. 2015. 2019. 2036. 2037 : quattuor
partes vg | εν θανατω εν > 325 : εν τη θλιψει bo | υπο των θηριων]
το τεταρτον των θηριων A |.

9. τὴν πέμπτην σφραγίδα] AC 025. 046 al : τὴν σφραγ. τὴν ε.
κ* Tyc vg^c : τὴν ε. σφραγ. κ^o 35 : τὴν σφραγ. τ. πέμπτην 61. 69
s^{1. 2} arm^{1. 2. 2. a} | του θυσιαστηριου] + του θεου Tyc Pr Cyp | των
εσφαγμενων AC 046. 20 (-35. 205. 920). 250. 2037 al^{pl} Tyc Pr
gig Cyp vg s² eth : pr των ανθρωπων κ 025. 1. 35. 60. 181.
205. 209. 432. 1957. 2019. 2023. 2038. 2041. 2067 bo sa :
τασ εσφαγμενας s¹ : των εσφραγισμενων 104. 218. 336*. 920 Or^a |
δια τον λογον] pr δια τον θεον και arm¹ | δια^a > A Pr gig Cyp
bo sa | μαρτυριαν ANC 025. 1. 241. 632**. 2015. 2019. 2036.
2037. 2038 Pr gig Cyp vg bo : εκκλησιαν 2020 : + του αρριου
046. 20 (-632**. 2020). 2067 al^{pm} Or^a s² : + Ιησου s¹ : + Ιησου
Χριστου 172. 250. 424. 2018 : + αυτου Pr Cyp arm^{1. 2. 2} eth | ην
ειχον κ^o ην εσχον κ* |.

10. εκραζαν ANC 046. 20 (-35*. 205. 632**. 2020). 250
al^{pm} Pr Cyp bo : εκραζον 025. 1. 35*. 205. 632**. 2016. 2019.
2020. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2067 Or^a gig vg s : ειπον arm^{1. 2. 2. a} | φωνη
μεγαλη ANC 025. 1. 35. 104. 205. 385. 620. 632**. 2020.
2037. 2038. 2067 al^{mu} Or^a Pr gig vg Cyp s (arm) bo : φωνην
μεγαλην 046. 20 (-35. 205. 620. 632**. 2020). 250 al^{mu}
| αληθινουσ] pr ο ι. 172. 429**. 468. 620. (2018). 2037. 2067 |
εκδικειω] εκδικησεισ κ | εκ των ANC 046. 20 (-35*. 205. 468. 620.
2020). 250 al^{pm} Or^a : απο των 025. 1. 35*. 104. 205. 468. 620.
2015. 2018. 2023. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^p : και των 2020 | επι της
γης] in terris Pr Cyp |.

11. καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς ἐκάστῳ στολὴ λευκή,
καὶ ἔρρεθῃ αὐτοῖς ἵνα ἀναπαύσονται ἐπὶ χρόνον μικρόν,
ὥς πληρωθῶσιν καὶ οἱ σύνδουλοι αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτῶν
οἱ μέλλοντες ἀποκτενέσθαι ὡς καὶ αὐτοί.

12. Καὶ εἶδον ὅτε ἤνοιξεν τὴν σφραγίδα τὴν ἑκτὴν
καὶ σεισμὸς μέγας ἐγένετο,
καὶ ὁ ἥλιος ἐγένετο μέλας ὡς σάκκος τρίχινος,
καὶ ἡ σελήνη ὅλη ἐγένετο ὡς αἷμα·

11. ἐδοθη . . . στολή λευκή] ἐδοθησαν . . . στολαὶ λευκαὶ Pr vg
(Cyp) arm¹ | αὐτοῖς ἐκάστῳ AHC 025. 35. 61. 69. 104. 205. 250.
468. 620. 632^{**}. 1957. 2018. 2019. 2020. 2023. 2036. 2067 al^p
arm⁴ bo : eis singulis Pr gig Cyp : illis singulae vg : αὐτοῖς > 82.
91. 93. 181 : ἐκάστῳ > 046. 20 (-35. 205. 468. 620. 632^{**}.
2020) al^{mu} Or^a arm¹. 2. 2. 2. : ἐκάστῳ αὐτῶν (~2037) 2015. 2037 s
eth | ἐρρεθῇ] ἐρεθῇ K 35. 241. 522. 620. 632 : ἐρρηθῇ 172. 242.
250. 1957. 2018. 2024. 2039 : ἐδοθη 2038 | αὐτοῖς > s¹ | ἀναπαυ-
σονται A 025. 046. 1. 104. 110. 522. 620. 2015. 2019. 2036.
2038 al^p : ἀναπαύσονται KC 20 (-620). 250. 2037. 2067 al^{pl}
: ἀναπνεύσονται 69^{**} : ἀναπαυσασθαι Or^a | ἐπὶ (ἐπὶ K) χρόν. μικ.
KC 025. 1. 18. 205. 632^{**}. 2015. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2067 vg s²
bo sa : χρόνον ἐπὶ μικρὸν A : ἐπὶ χρόνον 046. 20 (-18. 205. 325.
456. 632^{**}. 2020). 250 al^{pm} : ἐπὶ τινα χρόν. μικ. 2020 : ἐπὶ μικ.
χρόν. 241. 2019 eth : ἔως καιροῦ χρόν. μικ. s¹ : χρόνον 325. 456 :
μικρὸν Or^a : ἐπὶ μικρὸν gig : μικ. ἐπὶ χρόν. Cyp : χρόν. μικ. arm
| ἔως] + ου 1. 18. 35. 205. 1957. 2015. 2019. 2023. 2036. 2037.
2038. 2041. 2067 al^p | πληρωθῶσιν AC 385 gig vg s arm bo eth
: πληρωσονται(ν) K 025. 046. 20 (-620. 632. 2040). 1. 250. 2037.
2038. 2067 al^{pl} Or^a : πληρωσονται 620. 632. 2015. 2016. 2019.
2036. 2040 : impleatur numerus Cyp | καὶ οἱ σύνδουλοι >
2019 : καὶ > 046 Cyp vg bo | καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ] καὶ > 386 |
οἱ μέλλοντες AHC 025. 35. 205. 620 Or^a vg s¹. 2 bo : pr καὶ
046. 20 (-35. 205. 620). 2037 al^{mu} (Cyp) | οἱ μελλ. ἀποκτεν.]
qui occidunt gig | ἀποκτενέσθαι AHC 35. 82. 93. 94. 175.
205. 241. 250. 325. 337. 456. 617. 919. 920. 1955. 2004.
2018. 2024 : + υπ αὐτῶν K^{*} (del. K^c) : ἀποκτενέσθαι 18. 42. 91.
104. 110. 172. 242. 385. 386. 468. 506. 620. 632. 1849. 1934.
2015. 2016. 2017. 2019. 2023. 2024. 2036. 2039. 2040. 2041 :
ἀποκτείνεσθαι 025. 046. 1. 61. 69. 336. 429. 498 Or^a (vel—τενεσθαι)
: ἀποθανεῖν arm | ὡς καὶ αὐτοί] καὶ > 385. 2020 : exemplo
ipsorum Cyp |

12. εἶδον > 18. 94. 141. 385. 429. 522. 1849. 1955. 2039.
2040 Tyc eth | ὅτε ἠνοιξεν] ὅτε ἐνυξεν K^{*} (ἠνυξεν K^c) : pr καὶ 025.
1. 35^{**}. 42. 61. 69. 181. 205. 209. 432. 468. 1957. 2019. 2023.
2041 Pr | τὴν σφραγίδα τὴν ἑκτὴν] τὴν ἐκτ. σφραγ. Pr Tyc |
σεισμός] pr ἰδοὺ A vg^a : φῶς s¹ | μέγας ἐγένετο KC 025. 046.

13. καὶ οἱ ἀστέρες τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἔπεσαν εἰς τὴν γῆν,
ὡς συκὴ βάλλει τοὺς ὀλύνθους αὐτῆς
ὑπὸ ἀνέμου μεγάλου σειομένη·

14. καὶ ὁ οὐρανὸς ἀπεχωρίσθη
ὡς βιβλίον ἃ ἐλισσόμενον ἃ,
καὶ πᾶν ὄρος καὶ νῆσος ἐκ τῶν τόπων αὐτῶν ἐκινήθησαν.

ἐλισσόμε-
μενος

15. καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς καὶ οἱ μεγιστᾶνες καὶ οἱ χιλιάρχοι καὶ οἱ πλούσιοι καὶ οἱ ἰσχυροὶ καὶ πᾶς δούλος καὶ ἐλεύθερος ἔκρυψαν ἑαυτοὺς εἰς τὰ σπήλαια καὶ εἰς τὰς πέτρας τῶν ὀρέων.

20. 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^p Or^s Pr arm^s : ~ A 2016 Tyc gig vg arm⁴ | ἐγενετο μελας AC 025. 1. 35. 205. 2015. 2019. 2020. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2067 Tyc Pr gig vg arm^a : ~ K 046. 20 (-35. 205. 2020). 61. 69. 104. 110. 172. 201. 250. 314. 498. 522. 1955. 1957. 2016. 2018. 2023. 2041 al^p Or^s | ὡς . . . τριχίνοσ > eth | σακκοσ] ασκοσ s¹ | ἡ σεληνὴ ὡς ἡ AC 046. 20 (-35. 205). 2067 al^{mu} Or^s Tyc (gig) vg s^{1.2} bo eth : "the moon wholly" arm^{1.2.2.a} : ὡς > 025. 1. 35. 172. 205. 250. 1957. 2018. 2023. 2037. 2038. 2041. 2067 Pr sa | ὡς αἷμα] εἰς αἷμα 1934 : ὡς > Pr gig arm |.

18. τοῦ οὐρανοῦ] τοῦ θεοῦ A : > Tyc Pr vg^{4.4} : de coelo (post ἐπεσαν pon gig bo eth) gig arm bo eth | ἐπεσαν AC 025. 1. 104. 337. 429. 2015 al^p Or^s : ἐπεσον 046. 20 (-337). 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^{mu} arm⁴ : "were shaken down" arm^{1.2.2.a} | εἰς τὴν γῆν] ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν K 241. 468^{**}. 2038 s¹ : super terram vg arm⁴ (bo) : > gig | συκὴ] + σειομένη (Tyc) | βάλλει AC 025. 046. 35. 61. 69. 2019. 2023. 2037. 2038. 2067 Tyc Pr gig vg arm⁴ : ἀποβάλλει 2015. 2036 : βαλεῖ 1 : βαλλοῦσα K 18. 172. 205. 250. 336. 429. 468. 498. 620. 1918. 2039 Or^s : βαλοῦσα 20 (-18. 35. 205. 468. 620. 2020). 42. 93. 94. 141. 201. 209. 218. 241. 242. 385. 424. 452. 506. 517. 522. 1955. 2016. 2017. 2021 al^p : ἀποβαλοῦσα 2020 | ὑπο] ἀπο K 69. 2016^{**} | ἀνεμου μεγάλου AC 046. 20 (-35. 205). 250 al^{mu} Or^s Pr gig vg : ~ 025. 1. 35. 2015. 2037. 2038. 2067 : μεγάλου > Tyc : ὑπο μεγ. σειομένη ἀνεμου 205 | σειομένη] σαλευομένη A 181 : σειομένου 456 |.

14. ο > 1 | ἀπεχωρίσθη] > arm^{1.2.2.a} bo : ἐτακὴ s¹ arm⁴ : ἐλιχθὴ eth | ὡς βιβλίον] καὶ ὡς βιβλία s¹ | ἐλισσομενον AC 046. 35. 69. 82. 104. 250. 337. 468. 2023^{*}. 2040 al^{mu} Or^s Tyc Pr gig vg s² bo eth : ἐλισσομενον 025. 1. 2019. 2023^{**}. 2036. 2037. 2038 : ἐλισσομενος K 20 (-35. 337. 468. 632. 2040). 110. 314. 1957. 2016. 2067 al^p : ἐλισσομενος 632 : ἐλισσοιται s¹ : ἐλιχθὴ arm bo | νῆσος] νήσος C 046 : βουνος K : insulae Tyc Pr vg : pr πασα s¹ bo sa | αὐτῶν > K | ἐκινήθησαν K^{*} C 025. 046 min^p : ἐκινήσαν K^{*} : ἀπεκινήσαν A : ἐσαλευθήσαν 920. 2040 |.

15. καὶ^s > A | χιλιάρχοι . . . πλούσιοι] ~ 1. 2019. 2020. 2038

16. καὶ λέγουσιν τοῖς ὄρεσιν καὶ ταῖς πέτραις
Πέσατε ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ κρύψατε ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ καθη-
μένου ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου
καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς τοῦ ἀρνίου,
17. ὅτι ἦλθεν ἡ ἡμέρα ἡ μεγάλη τῆς ὀργῆς αὐτοῦ,
καὶ τίς δύναται σταθῆναι;

al^p | και οι ισχυροι > 1. 181. 2019. 2038 : α > κ 2024. 2040 |
και ελευθεροσ AC 046. 20 (-35. 205. 2020). 250 al^{pm} Or^s Pr
gig vg s : και πασ ελευθεροσ κ^o 025. 1. 35. 205. 1957. 2015.
2020. 2023. 2037. 2038. 2041. 2067 : > κ^s arm⁴ : και παντες οι
ελευθεροι arm^a bo | πετρασ] οπασ arm bo |.

16. και λεγουσιν] dicentes Pr : και ειπον arm^{1.2.2.a} | τοισ
ορεσιν και ταισ πετραισ] ~ bo arm⁴ : > Tyc : και ταισ πετραισ >
arm^{1.a} | πεσατε A 025. 104. 2015. 2036 Or^s : πεσετε C 046. 20
1. 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^{pl} : πεσεται κ | κρυψατε] κρυψεται κ
: κρυψετε 385* | απο προσωπου . . . του αρνιου > arm^a | του καθη-
μενου . . . της οργης > s¹ | επι του θρονου AC 025. 1. 35. 69*.
104. 205. 241. 468. 632. 1957. 2015. 2019. 2020. 2023. 2036.
2037. 2038. 2067 al^{mu} Or^s : επι τω θρονω κ 046. 20 (-35. 205.
468. 632. 2020). 250 al^{mu} : supra sedem gig : super thronum
(Pr) vg | απο^s κ^o | επι κ* |.

17. οτι > Or^s. η ημερα η μεγαλη της οργης αυτου] η μεγαλη
της οργης αυτου ημερα 18 | η¹ > 2004. 2020 | η μεγαλη > 69. 325.
456. 517 | αυτου A 025. 046. 20 (-2020). 250. 2037. 2038. 2067
al^{pl} Or^s Pr arm^{1.2.2.a} bo : αυτων κC 2020 gig vg s^{1.2} arm⁴ sa |
σταθηναι] σωθηναι 141. 242. 617. 1934 : στηναι 250. 429. 2018.
2019 : + ante illum Pr arm^{1.2} bo |.

CHAPTER VII.

Καὶ μετὰ

1. Ἐμετὰ τοῦτο εἶδον τέσσαρας ἀγγέλους ἐστῶτας ἐπὶ τὰς τέσ-
σαρας γωνίας τῆς γῆς, κρατοῦντας τοὺς τέσσαρας ἀνέμους τῆς γῆς,
ἵνα μὴ πνέῃ ἄνεμος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς μήτε ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης μήτε ἐπὶ

1. μετα AC Or^s Pr gig vg sa : pr και κ 025. 046. 21. 250.
2037. 2038. 2067 al^{pl} s arm^s (bo) eth | τουτο ANC 046. 21
(-205. 468. 920. 2040). 250 al^{pm} Or^s s arm eth : ταυτα 025.
1. 61. 205. 241. 468. 920. 2015. 2019. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2040.
2067 Pr gig vg bo | τεσσαρας¹ C 025. 046. 21 (-35. 866)
Or^s : τεσσαρες A : δ κ 35. 866 | επι] per Pr | τεσσαρας² ANC
046. 21 (-35) Or^s : τεσσαρες 025 : δ 35 | κρατουντας] pr και
337 s arm^{1.a} | κρατουντας . . . ανεμους τ. γης > eth | τεσσαρας³
κC 025. 046. 21 (-35) Or^s : τεσσαρες A : δ 35 | της γης > 2020.
2037 s¹ bo sa | πνεη] πνευση κ 172. 205. 250 : πνεει 2019.

† τὶ δένδρον †. 2. καὶ εἶδον ἄλλον ἄγγελον ἀναβαίνοντα ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνατολῆς ἡλίου, ἔχοντα σφραγίδα θεοῦ ζῶντος, καὶ ἔκραξεν ἀνατολῶν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ τοῖς τέσσαρσιν ἄγγελοις οἷς ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς ἀδικῆσαι τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν, 3. λέγων Μὴ ἀδικήσητε τὴν γῆν [μῖτε] τὴν καὶ θάλασσαν μῖτε τὰ δένδρα, ἀχρὶ σφραγίσωμεν τοὺς δούλους τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τῶν μετώπων αὐτῶν.

4. Καὶ ἤκουσα τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἐσφραγισμένων· ἑκατὸν τεσσαράκοντα τέσσαρες χιλιάδες ἐσφραγισμένοι ἐκ πάσης φυλῆς υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ.

(Or^a) : πειση 920. 2040 : flarent Pr vg^{f.v} bo | ανεμοσ] pr o C 61. 69. 506. 522. 632*. 919. 920. 1955. 2040 : >Pr vg^{f.v} arm² : οι ανεμοι bo | επι της γης >A : in terris Pr | επι της θαλασσης] της >A : + μητε επι των ποταμων bo | επι τι δενδρον C 046. 21 (-35. 205). 250 al^{pm} Or^a (Pr gig vg) : επι παν δενδρον κ 025. 1. 35. 205. 1957. 2015. 2019. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2041 s¹ : επι δενδρου A : επι (τα) δενδρα s² arm bo eth |.

2. ἄλλον ἀγγελον] ~ 42. 325. 456. 468. 620. 866. 1934. 1957. 2036 : ἄλλον >Pr | ἄλλον . . . ἀναβαίνοντα] καὶ ἀνέβη ἄλλος ἀγγελος eth | ἀναβαίνοντα] ἀναβαίντα i bo | ἀνατολῃς κC 025. 046. 21 (-18). 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^{pl} Or^a s² : ἀνατολων A 18. 2039 (s¹) | σφραγίδα et κ^o | σφαγίδα κ* | θεου] pr του 325. 456. 468. 620. 866 | ζωντος] pr του 468 | ἐκραξεν κC 046. 21. 250. 2037. 2038 al^{pl} Or^a Tyc Pr gig vg s arm bo : ἐκράζειν A 025. 2067 | φωνῇ μεγάλῃ] φωνῇ μεγάλῃ 866 | τεσσαρσιν et κ^o | τεσσαρες κ* : δ' 35 | ἀγγελοις] ζωισ arm⁴ | οἱς ἐδόθη] eo quod datum esset Pr | αυτοῖς >35. 336. 337. 2015. 2023. 2036. 2037 gig vg | ἀδικῆσαι] ἀπολεσαι arm^{1.2.a} |.

3. λεγων] + αυτοῖς Pr bo eth | ἀδικήσητε] ἀδικησεται κ : + μητε Or^{10.1.6} | μητε τὴν θάλασσαν C 025. 046. 21 (-866. 2020). 250. 2037. 2067 al^{pl} Or^{10.1.6} : μηδε τὴν θ. κ 866. 2038 : καὶ τὴν θ. A 432. 452. 2020. 2021 Or^a bo sa | μητε² | μηδε κ 866 | ἀχρὶ (-σκ) κC 025. 1. 35. 181. 2038 Or^{10.1.6} : ἀχρισ ου 046. 21 (-35). 250. 2067 al^{pl} Or^a : ἀχρισ αν 94. 2015. 2036. 2037 : ἵνα arm³ | σφραγίσωμεν] σφραγισομεν 337. 2016. 2020. : "I shall have sealed" arm¹ : σφραγισητε bo : σφραγισθωσι eth | ἡμων >241. 2015. 2039. 2040 Tyc s¹ bo sa eth |.

4. καὶ ἤκουσα . . . ἐσφραγισμένων >A | τὸν ἀριθμὸν >920. 2040 | ἐσφραγισμένων] + ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου αὐτῶν bo | ἑκατὸν . . . ἐσφραγισμένοι >18. 141. 385. 429. 919. 920. 1849. 2004. 2039. 2040. 2067 | ἑκατὸν τεσσ. τεσσαρες 025. 205. 386. 620. 866. 1934 : ἑκατὸν καὶ τεσσ. τεσσαρες C 82. 104. 172. 175. 250. 314. 325. 337. 456. 468. 617. 632. 1957. 2018. 2041 : (ἑκατὸν) ἑκατὸν καὶ τεσσ. καὶ τεσσαρες 498 (2020) : ἑκατὸν τεσσ. καὶ τεσσαρες 69 : ρ μ δ' 046. 1. 35 al^{pm} : ἑκατὸν τεσσερακοντα (τεσσαρακοντα A) A*κ : εκ. τεσσ. δ' A** | ἐσφραγισμένοι κC 025. 1. 35.

- 5^{ab}. ἐκ φυλῆς Ἰούδα δώδεκα χιλιάδες ἐσφραγισμένοι,
 ἐκ φυλῆς Ῥουβὴν δώδεκα χιλιάδες, (a)
 7. ἐκ φυλῆς Συμεὼν δώδεκα χιλιάδες,
 ἐκ φυλῆς Λευὶ δώδεκα χιλιάδες,
 ἐκ φυλῆς Ἰσσαχάρ δώδεκα χιλιάδες,
 8. ἐκ φυλῆς Ζαβουλὼν δώδεκα χιλιάδες,
 ἐκ φυλῆς Ἰωσήφ δώδεκα χιλιάδες,
 ἐκ φυλῆς Βενιαμὴν δώδεκα χιλιάδες ἐσφραγισμένοι,
 5^c ἐκ φυλῆς Γὰδ δώδεκα χιλιάδες,
 6. ἐκ φυλῆς Ἀσὴρ δώδεκα χιλιάδες,
 ἐκ φυλῆς Νεφθαλὶμ δώδεκα χιλιάδες
 ἐκ φυλῆς Μανασσὴ δώδεκα χιλιάδες.

(a) On the restoration of the original order of the text, see vol. i. 207 sqq.

205. 632*. 2020. 2037. 2038 al^{ms} Or^{70. 3 sq.} (scmal) Tyc Pr gig vg s² bo : ἐσφραγισμενων 046. 21 (-35. 205. 632*. 2020). 69. 82. 104. 201. 250. 314. 498. 2016. 2017. 2018. 2036 al^p Or^a : > s¹ sa : + ἐπὶ τ. μετωπων αυτων bo | υων Ισραηλ | υων > arm^{2 4} eth : Ισραηλιτων s² |.

5^{a. b.} ἐσφραγισμενοι AHC 025. 35. 468. 632. 2020 Or^a Pr gig vg s² : -μεναι 046. 21 (-35. 468. 632. 2020). 82. 201. 314. 385. 498. 1955. 2016. 2017 al^p : -μενων 69. 104. 522 : > s¹ arm^{2 4} bo eth | Ρουβην AHC 025. 046. 175 Or^a : Ρουβιν 61. 69. 104. 201. 337. 498. 617. 919. 1955. 2004. 2015 : Ρουβιμ 1. 18. 35. 93. 386. 456. 468. 620*. 632. 920. 1849. 2017. 2019. 2020. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2040. 2067 : Ρουβειμ 60. 91. 172. 205. 385. 1934. 2018. 2023. 2041 : Ρουβειν 250. 2016 : Ρουβημ 314. 325. 506. 517. 620*. 866. 2024 : Ruben Pr gig vg : Roubēn bo |.

7. ἐκ φυλ. Συμ. δωδ. χιλ. > κ 172 | Λευι] Λευι κ : Λευι et Ισαχαρ ~ s¹ | Ισσαχαρ AHC 025. 61. 104. 385. 522. 919. 1955. 2017 al^p Or^a vg arm^{1. 2 2 a} : Ισαχαρ C 046. 21 (-919) s¹ arm⁴ bo : Isachar Pr : Ysacar gig |.

8. ἐκ φυλ. Ζαβ. δωδ. χιλ. > 1849 | Ζαβουλων . . . Ιωσηφ] ~ 1934 | Ιωσηφ . . . Βενιαμειν] ~ κ 2015 | Βενιαμειν A 025. 920. 2038 : Βενιαμιν HC 046. 21 (-456. 620. 866. 920) al^p Or^a Pr gig vg s bo : Βενιαμιν 242. 456. 620. 866. 2017 | ἐσφραγισμενοι AHC 025. 35. 205. 468. 632. 2020 Or^a gig vg s¹ bo : -μεναι 046. 21 (-35. 205. 468. 632. 920. 2020. 2040) al^{ms} : > 920. 2040 Pr s² |.

5^c. ἐκ φυλ. Γαδ. δωδ. χιλ. > κ | Γαδ] Δαν 42. 325 (pr man. scripsit in marg.) 336. 456. 620. 866 : Δαδ 1 : Gath Pr |.

Θ. ἐκ φυλ. Ασηρ δωδ. χιλ. > Or^a | Νεφθαλιμ A 046. 61*. 69*. 175. 314. 325. 429. 456. 617. 620. 866. 919. 920. 1849. 1955. 2004 al vg : Nephtalim arm^{1. 2 2 a} : Neptalim Pr gig : Νεφθαλι κ s : Νεφθαλιν C : Νεφθαλημ 69*. 201. 386. 517. 522 : Ephthalim bo : Νεφθαλειμ 025. 1. 18. 35. 61*. 104. 172. 205. 241.

9. Μετὰ ταῦτα εἶδον,
καὶ ἰδοὺ ὄχλος πολὺς, ὃν ἀριθμῆσαι αὐτὸν οὐδεὶς ἐδύνατο,
ἐκ παντὸς ἔθνους καὶ φυλῶν καὶ λαῶν καὶ γλωσσῶν,
ἑστῶτες ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου καὶ ἐνώπιον τοῦ ἀρνίου,
† περιβεβλημένους † στολὰς λευκάς, καὶ φοίνικες ἐν ταῖς
χερσὶν αὐτῶν·

10. καὶ κράζουσιν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ λέγοντες
Ἡ σωτηρία τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν
τῷ καθήμενῳ ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ
καὶ τῷ ἀρνίῳ.

242. 250. 337. 385. 468. 498. 632. 1934. 1957. 2015. 2016. 2017.
2018. 2019. 2020. 2023. 2024. 2037. 2038. 2039. 2040. 2041.
2067 al^{ms} Or^s | εκ φυλ. Μαν. δωδ. χιλ. > 620*. 866 | Μανασση
κ 025. 21 (- 175. 205. 620*. 866). 1. 250. 2067 al^{pl} Or^s Pr gig
vg arm : Μανασση C : Μανασση A : Μανασση 046. 175. 205.
2037. 2038 s : Dan bo |.

9. μετα] pr και s¹ arm¹ bo eth | και ιδου κ 025. 046. 21.
250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^{pl} Or^s Tyc gig s² : > A Pr Cyp vg
s¹ bo sa : ιδου > C | οχλος πολυς κC 025. 046. 21. 250. 2037.
2038. 2067 al^{pl} Tyc gig s² : πολυς > Or^s : οχλον πολυν A Pr
Cyp vg s¹ bo | ον et κ^o] ος κ* : και A | αυτον κC 025. 1. 61.
69. 205. 2019 al^p Or^s s bo : > 046. 21 (- 205). 104. 172. 201.
241. 242. 250. 314. 385. 429. 498. 522. 1955. 1957. 2015. 2016.
2017. 2018. 2023. 2024. 2037. 2038. 2039. 2041. 2067 al^p Tyc
Pr gig Cyp vg | εδυνατο κC 046. 21 (- 205. 2040) al^{pl} :
ηδυνατο 025. 1. 61. 69. 172. 205. 241. 250. 2015. 2023*. 2037.
2040. 2067 al^{ms} Or^s : δυναται 2038 arm⁴ | εκ παντος εθνους] εκ
παντων εθνων Tyc gig vg arm² & a | φυλων] φυλησ s¹ Pr Cyp |
και λαων και γλωσσων > eth | εστωτες κ 025. 1. 35. 205. 1957.
2004. 2019. 2023. 2024. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^p s : εστωτας 046.
21 (- 35. 205. 2004. 2020). 250 al^{ms} Or^s : εστωτων C 2020 :
εστωτα 93. 1955 : stantes Pr gig Cyp vg | ενωπιον¹] επι A |
περιβεβλημενους κC 046. 21 (- 35. 205. 2040). 250 al^{pm}
gig : περιβεβλημενας 242. 2040 : περιβεβλημενοι κ^o 025. 1. 35.
205. 1957. 2015. 2019. 2023. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^p Or^s Tyc vg :
και περιβεβλημενοι s¹ : et erant amicti Pr Cyp | φοινικες κC
025. 1. 35. 104. 172. 205. 250. 2018. 2019. 2020. 2037. 2038.
2067 al^p gig vg arm : palmae fuerunt Pr Cyp : φοινικας κ*
046. 21 (- 35. 205. 2020). 61. 69. 201. 241. 242. 314. 385. 429.
498. 522. 1957. 2015. 2016. 2017. 2023. 2024. 2039. 2041 al^{ms}
Or^s : κιθαραι bo | εν ταις χερσιν] pr ησαν Pr gig Cyp |.

10. και¹ > 1. 2067 bo. κραζουσιν] κραζοντες 1. 2067 bo s¹ :
εκραζον Pr gig Cyp vg arm | λεγοντες] pr και 2067 s¹ : ελεγον
arm¹ : και ελεξαν arm² & a | τω θεω] του θεου A (in marg.) bo :
θεω 1. 2037 (post τω καθ. επι τω θρον.) | τω καθημενω > κ*

11. καὶ πάντες οἱ ἄγγελοι ἱστήκεισαν κύκλῳ τοῦ θρόνου καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ τῶν τεσσάρων ζώων, καὶ ἔπεσαν ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου ἐπὶ τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῶν καὶ προσεκύνησαν τῷ θεῷ, 12. λέγοντες

Ἀμήν· ἡ εὐλογία καὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ σοφία

καὶ ἡ εὐχαριστία καὶ ἡ τιμὴ καὶ ἡ δύναμις

καὶ ἡ ἰσχὺς τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων [ἄμήν]

13. Καὶ ἀπεκρίθη εἰς ἐκ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων λέγων μοι Οὗτοι οἱ περιβεβλημένοι τὰς στολὰς τὰς λευκὰς τίνες εἰσὶν καὶ πόθεν ἦλθον;

14. καὶ εἶρηκα αὐτῷ Κύριέ μου, σὺ οἶδας. καὶ εἶπέν μοι

Οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ἐρχόμενοι ἐκ τῆς θλίψεως τῆς μεγάλης,

καὶ ἔπλυναν τὰς στολὰς αὐτῶν,

καὶ ἐλεύκαναν αὐτὰς ἐν τῷ αἵματι τοῦ ἀρνίου.

(suppl. ^κ) : pr και s¹ | επι τω θρονω A^κ*C 025. 21 (- 205. 468. 632^{**}. 2020). 250. 2067 al^{mu} : επι του θρονου ^κ 046. 1. 104. 205. 468. 632^{**}. 2019. 2020. 2036. 2037. 2038 al^{mu} Or^s s¹ : super thronum Pr Cyp vg : supra sedem gig | τω αρνιω] του αρνιου ^κ : + εις τουσ αιωνας των αιωνων αμην ^κ* (del. ^κ).

11. οι > ^κ* (suppl. ^κ) | ιστηκεισαν A^κ (- κισαν ^κ) 025 : εστηκεισαν C : εισηκησαν 046. 104^{**}. 919. 2017. 2018. 2036 : εισηκεισαν 21 (- 205. 919). 250. 2037. 2067 al^p Or^s : εισηκεισαν 1. 205 : stabant Tyc Pr gig vg arm bo | κυκλω] ενωπιον bo | επεσαν A^κC 025. 42. 181. 325^{*}. 337. 468. 517. 620. 866 al^p Or^s : επεσον 046. 21 (- 325^{*}. 337. 468. 620. 866). 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^p | ενωπιον . . . προσωπον αυτων] επι τ. προσ. αυτων ενωπιον τ. θρον. bo sa eth | του θρονου A^κC 025. 35. 205. 920. 2020. 2037. 2038. 2040. 2067 al Or^s Pr gig vg s¹ arm² 3. 4 bo : + αυτον 046. 21 (- 35. 205. 920. 2020. 2040). 250 al s² | επι τα προσωπα] επι προσωπον 1. 2038. 2067 bo : > arm¹ | και προσεκυνησαν τω θεω > s¹ | και επεσαν . . . λεγοντες] προσεκυνησαν επι τ. προσωπα αυτων ενωπιον τ. θρονου του θεου λεγοντες eth |.

12. αμην] pr αγιος αγιος αγιος 205 | ευλογια . . . δοξα] ~ s¹ eth | και η σοφια > A arm⁴ : ante η δοξα pon 506 : post η τιμη κ. η ευχαριστια pon 2067 | η ευχαριστια > η ^κ* (suppl. ^κ) | και η τιμη > eth | και η ισχυς > bo : και η χαρις arm¹ 2. 4 4 : και η εξουσια arm³ | τω θεω] του θεου bo : τω κυριω arm¹ : κυριω τω θεω arm^a | αμην > C 2015. 2019 Pr |.

13. απεκριθη] + μοι Tyc gig : λεγει μοι arm¹ 2. 2 4 eth | εκ > ^κ 1957 | λεγων μοι > gig arm¹ 2. 2 4 eth : μοι > Tyc arm⁴ | τας στολας τας λευκας] τας λευκας στολας 2015. 2036 | τας² > C | τινες εισιν και > eth : εισιν > 1. 181. 2038 | ηλθον] veniunt vg^f 8 arm¹ 2. 2 4 |.

14. και > bo sa | ειρηκα A^κC 025. 1. 205. 2015. 2019. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^p Or^s : ειπον 046. 21 (- 205). 250. al^{pm} : dixi Pr gig Cyp vg : λεγω arm¹ | κυριε μου ^κC 025. 046.

15. διὰ τοῦτό εἰσιν ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου τοῦ θεοῦ,
καὶ λατρεύουσιν αὐτῷ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ἐν τῷ ναῷ αὐτοῦ,
καὶ ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου† σκηνώσει ἐπ' αὐτούς.
16. οὐ πεινάσουσιν ἔτι οὐδὲ διψήσουσιν ἔτι,
οὐδὲ μὴ παῖση ἔτι αὐτοὺς ὁ ἥλιος οὐδὲ πᾶν καῦμα,
17. ὅτι τὸ ἄρνιον τὸ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ θρόνου ποιμανεῖ αὐτούς,
καὶ ὀδηγήσει αὐτούς ἐπὶ ζωῆς πηγᾶς ὑδάτων·
καὶ ἐξαλείψει ὁ θεὸς πᾶν δάκρυον ἐκ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν.

21 (- 205). 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^{pm} Or^s vg s arm^{2. 3. 4} bo :
μου > A 1. 205 Pr gig Cyp arm^{1. 2} | ειπεν] λεγει gig arm¹ | οι
ερχομενοι] qui venerunt Tyc Pr Cyp eth : qui veniunt gig vg
arm bo | εκ της θλιψεως της μεγαλης] απο θλιψεως μεγαλης
A | επλυναν Ακ 046. 18. 35. 175. 205. 468^{**}. 617. 620.
632^{**}. 1934. 2020 Or^s Tyc gig vg Cyp s arm bo : επλατιναν
42^{*}. 82. 201. 325. 337. 385. 386. 429. 452. 456. 468^{*}. 498. 522.
632^{*}. 919. 920. 1849. 1955. 2004. 2021. 2024. 2040 : επλατειναν
1 : ελευκαναν 2015 : > Pr | και ελευκαναν αυτας > Tyc : "made
them glorious" bo | και⁴ > 620. 866 | αυτας Ακ 025. 1. 35. 60.
93. 181. 205. 209. 432. 468. 1957. 2015. 2023. 2036. 2038. 2041.
2067 gig vg Cyp s arm⁴ bo : αυτους 2037 : > 046. 21 (- 35.
205. 468). 250 al^{mu} Or^s Pr arm² |.

15. δια τουτο] pr και 046^{*}. 2015. 2036. 2037. 2067 | εισιν]
ηλθον eth | λατρευουσιν] δοξαζουσιν eth | ο καθημενος] his qui
sedet Pr Cyp | επι του θρονου Ακ 1. 61. 172. 205. 250. 385.
2015. 2018. 2019. 2020. 2023^{**}. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^{mu} Or^s
s¹ : επι τω θρονω 025. 046. 21 (- 205. 2020) al^{mu} : supra sedem
gig : in throno Tyc Pr vg Cyp | σκηνωσει επ αυτους] κ^c c :
γνωσκει αυτους κ^{*} : γνωσκει επ αυτους κ^c : habitavit supra
illos gig : inhabitavit super eos Cyp : habitat super eos Tyc :
inhabitavit in eis Pr : "dwelleth in them" arm^{1. 2} (3) a |.

18. επι Α 025. 046. 21. 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^{pl} Or^s gig :
> κ 2019 Pr vg Cyp s arm^{2. 3. 4} bo sa | ουδε] + μη Α 61. 69
Or^s | διψησουσιν] διψασουσιν κ 385 : διψησωσιν 025. 69. 2038 | επι²
Ακ 046. 21 (- 205. 2020). 2067 al^{pl} Or^s vg s² arm² bo : umquam
Pr Cyp : > 025. 1. 141. 172. 205. 250. 424. 2018. 2019. 2020. 2037.
2038 gig s¹ arm^{1. 2. 3. 4} a : + "neither shall they toil" bo | μη παιση
ετι] an emendation of Gwynn and Swete of μη πεση επι Ακ 025.
1. 35. 69. 2015. 2019. 2036 al^p : ου μη πεση επι 046. 21 (- 35.
2020). 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^{pm} Or^s : ου μη πεσηται επι 2020 |
ο ηλιος] ο > 2020. 2037 : "cold" arm^{1. 2} s : "shadow" bo | παν
> Tyc arm : το 314. 2016 | κανμα] + patientur Pr Cyp |.

17. ανα μεσον] ενωπιον bo eth | ποιμανει Ακ 025. 046. 1. 35.
61. 69. 104. 205. 314. 429. 468^{*}. 620. 866. 2015. 2019. 2020.
2023^{**}. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2041^{*}. 2067. s arm sa : reget gig
vg Cyp : ποιμαίνει 21 (- 35. 205. 468^{*}. 620. 866. 2020). 42. 82.

CHAPTER VIII.

1. Καὶ ὅταν ᾔνοιξεν τὴν σφραγίδα τὴν ἑβδόμην, ἐγένετο σιγὴ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ὡς ἡμίωρον. (a) 3. καὶ ἄλλος † (b) ἄγγελος ἦλθεν καὶ τοῦ θυσιαστήριον ἐστάθη ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον ἔχων λιβανωτὸν χρυσοῦν, καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ θυμιάματα πολλὰ, ἵνα δώσει ταῖς προσευχαῖς τῶν ἁγίων πάντων ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον τὸ χρυσοῦν τὸ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου. 4. καὶ ἀνέβη

(a) Verse 2 is restored in what appears to have been its original form after 8^s. See vol. i. 218-222, 224.

(b) Read eis.

91. 141. 172. 201. 218. 241. 242. 250. 385. 424. 432. 498. 522. 1955. 1957. 2016. 2017. 2018. 2021. 2023^s. 2024. 2039. 2041^{**} Or^s: regit Pr: περιπατεῖ μετ' αὐτῶν bo | ὁδηγήσει ΑΚ 025. 046. 1. 35. 61. 69. 205. 2015. 2019. 2020. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^p Or^s Tyc gig Cyp vg s arm bo: ὁδηγεῖ 21 (-35. 205. 2020). 42. 82. 91. 104. 250. 385. 429. 2016. 2017 al^{mu} Pr | ζῶσας 1. 2020. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2067: ζῶν καὶ ἐπὶ s¹ | πηγᾶς] fontem Pr arm^s bo | καὶ ἐξαλειψεῖ . . . ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν > 2020 | ἐξαλειψεῖ] ἐξέλει 35 | ο θεος > s¹ arm² 4 | παν δακρυον] παν δακρυον κ^s: παντα τα δακρυα 69 arm: δακρυον eth | ἐκ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν AC 025. 046. 21 (-325. 456. 468^s. 620. 866. 920. 2040). 250. 2038 al^{pm} Pr gig Cyp vg s: ἀπο τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν κ 61. 104. 241. 325. 456. 468^s. 620. 866. 920. 2015. 2023. 2024. 2036. 2037. 2040. 2067 al^p Or^s vg^d v |.

1. καὶ > Tyc | ὅταν AC: ὅτε κ 025. 046. 21. 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^{pl} Or^s | σιγῇ φωνῇ bo | ἡμῶρον AC 337. 498. 1957: ἡμῶριον (εἰμ κ) κ 025. 046. 21 (-337. 866). 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^{pl} Or^s s: semihora Pr gig: media hora Tyc vg: ὡραν bo |.

3. ἄγγελος > s¹ | ἦλθεν] ἐξῆλθεν 69: before ἄλλος arm¹ 2 | ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον A 025. 1. 35. 205. 2019. 2023 al^{mu}: ἐπὶ τοῦ θυσιαστήριον κ 046. 21 (-35. 205). 69. 104. 250. 314. 385. 2015. 2016. 2018. 2037. 2067 al^{mu} Or^s: ἐπὶ τοῦ θυσιαστήριον C: ante altare Tyc gig vg arm¹ eth: super altarium Dei Pr: "at the altar" arm² 2 4 4 | ἔχων] καὶ εἶχεν arm¹ 2 4 eth: εἶχεν arm³ | λιβανωτον] λιβανον το C | θυμιάματα] supplicamenta Pr | ἵνα δώσει > s¹ | δώσει ΑΚC 1. 35. 110. 172. 201. 250^s. 337. 386. 632. 2015. 2037. 2038. 2040 al^p: δωση 025. 046. 21 (-35. 325. 337. 386. 456. 632. 2040). 250^{**}. 2067 al^{mu} Or^s: δω 69. 314. 325. 456. 2019 | ταῖς προσευχαῖς] ταῖς εὐχαῖς 205: orationes gig arm¹ 2 2 4: de orationibus vg^d v: "along with the prayers" bo | θυσιαστήριον] + τοῦ θεοῦ Pr | το ἐνώπιον] το > κ arm¹ 2 2 4 |.

4. ἀνέβη ὁ καπνός] κ^s: ἀναβὴ καπνός κ^s: ο > 506: ἀνέβη > arm² | τῶν θυμιαμάτων] supplicationum Pr | ταῖς προσευχαῖς]

ὁ καπνὸς τῶν θυμιαμάτων ταῖς προσευχαῖς τῶν ἁγίων ἐκ χειρὸς τοῦ ἀγγέλου ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ. 5. καὶ εἰληφέν ὁ ἄγγελος τὸν λιβανωτὸν, καὶ ἐγέμισεν αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου, καὶ ἔβαλεν εἰς τὴν γῆν, καὶ ἐγένοντο † βρονταὶ καὶ ἀστραπαὶ καὶ φωναὶ † καὶ σεισμός.

2. Καὶ εἶδον † τοὺς ἑπτὰ † (α) ἀγγέλους (β) καὶ † ἐδόθησαν¹ αὐτοῖς ^{1860η} † ἑπτὰ † (α) σάλπιγγες. 6. καὶ οἱ † ἑπτὰ † (α) ἄγγελοι οἱ ἔχοντες τὰς † ἑπτὰ † (α) σάλπιγγας ἠτοίμασαν αὐτοὺς ἵνα σαλπίσωσι.

(α) Read *trēs* in the first two cases after the noun but without change of order in the next two. See vol. i. 218-223.

(β) The interpolator of viii. 7-12, to whom the changes in the text are due, added here αὐ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστήκασιν. This termination—*ασιν*—of the perfect does not occur elsewhere in our author, who uses *-αν*.

orationum Pr s² arm⁴ bo : de orationibus gig vg : συν τ. προσευχαισ eth | χειρσ] χειρων arm^{1.2.3.4} | του αγγελου] του > 498. 2020 : των αγγελων 69*. 205 arm^{2.4} : του αρχαγγελου arm¹ | ενωπιον > arm¹ : pr του bo | του θεου > arm^{1.4} |.

5. εἰληφέν] εγεμισεν arm^{1.2.3.4} | τον λιβανωτον] το λιβανωτον 104. 141. 205. 218. 424. 2019. 2024 | και εγεμ. αυτον > eth | αυτον] αυτο 104. 205. 218. 424 | του θυσιαστηριου] + του θεου Pr : pr του επι s¹ : "of Gehenna" arm² | εβαλεν 8 046. 21 Or² Pr gig vg s arm bo eth : εβαλλεν 025 : ελαβον A | βρονται κ. αστραπαι κ. φωναὶ A 336. 2020 s² (d. l. v) : βρονται κ. φωναὶ κ. αστραπαι 8 046. 21 (-35. 2020). 69. 110. 172. 250. 314. 385. 2016. 2018 al² Or² Pr gig vg s¹ bo eth : φωναὶ κ. βρονται κ. αστραπαι 025. 1. 35. 2037. 2067 al^{ma} Tyc arm⁴ : φωναὶ κ. αστραπαι κ. βρονται 104. 2038 : The order of all the MSS is corrupt. We should expect αστραπαι first, since not only in point of fact the lightning is seen before the thunder is heard, but also because this order is preserved always elsewhere in our author: cf. 4⁵ 11¹⁹ 16¹⁸. St. John is an observer of nature, and was not guilty of this blunder. It is due to the interpolator of 87-12. The original order was αστρ. και φωναὶ και βρονται as in 4⁵ 11¹⁹ 16¹⁸. The hopeless order of A—βροντ. κ. αστρ. κ. φων.—is most probably due to the interpolator. The readings of 8 046 Pr vg s¹, of 025 Tyc, are obvious attempts at correction. | και σεισμος > 242. 617. 1934 : σεισμοι 209 Or² arm^{2.3} : + μεγασ vg⁷ arm^{1.4} : + εγενετο μεγασ vg⁸ |.

2. τουσ επτα > 1. 506 : τουσ > 205 | του θεου > arm¹ : του θρονου 620. 866 arm⁴ | εστηκασιν A^{NC} 025. 046. 21 (-35. 325. 456. 468. 2020) Or² : εισηκεισαν 35. 468. 2020 s : εστηκσαν 42. 314. 325. 456. 517 : stabant gig : stant Tyc eth : stantes Pr vg bo | εδοθησαν 8C 025. 046. 21 (-18. 919. 920. 1849. 2004. 2040) Or² Pr gig vg s bo : εδοθη A 18. 172. 919. 920. 1849. 1955. 2004. 2018. 2040. 2041 arm : qui acceperunt Tyc | σαλπιγγες] + ινα σαλπισωσι 920. 2040 : tubas Tyc |.

6. οι εχοντες A 025. 046. 21 (-468*. 620. 866). 250. 2037.

13. καὶ εἶδον καὶ ἤκουσα ἐνὸς ἀετοῦ πετομένου ἐν μεσουρανήματι λέγοντος φωνῇ μεγάλῃ Οὐαὶ οὐαὶ οὐαὶ τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐκ τῶν [λοιπῶν] φωνῶν τῆς σάλπιγγος τῶν τριῶν ἀγγέλων τῶν μελόντων σαλπίζειν.

[7. Καὶ ὁ πρῶτος ἐσάλπισεν·

καὶ ἐγένετο χάλαζα καὶ πῦρ μεμιγμένα ἐν αἵματι,

καὶ ἐβλήθη εἰς τὴν γῆν.

καὶ τὸ τρίτον τῆς γῆς κατεκάη,

καὶ τὸ τρίτον τῶν δένδρων κατεκάη,

καὶ πᾶς χόρτος χλωρὸς κατεκάη.

8. Καὶ ὁ δεύτερος ἀγγελος ἐσάλπισεν·

2067 al^{pl} s arm^{1.2.3.4} bo eth : α > κ 468*. 620. 866. 2019. 2038 Or^s arm⁴ | τας > arm^a | αυτοὺς Ακ^{*} : εαυτοὺς κ^e 025. 046. 21. 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^{pl} Or^s s^{1.2} bo : επ αυτοὺς 69 | σαλπιψωσι] + τοὺς σαλπιγγας arm^{1.3} : + τοὺς επτα σαλπιγγας arm² |.

18. καὶ εἶδον > s¹ eth | ἤκουσα] + φωνὴν Tyc vg arm^{1.2.4} | ενος > κ 025 arm bo sa | αετου Ακ 046. 21 (- 205. 468. 620. 632. 866). 250 al^{mn} Or^s Tyc gig fl s arm^{1.2.3.4} bo eth : ut aquilam Pr : αγγελου 025. 1. 104. 205. 241. 468. 620. 632. 866. 2015. 2019. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2067 arm^a | πετομένου > bo | εν μεσουρανηματι] εν μεσουρανισματι 1 : in medio caeli et terrae eth | λεγοντος] et dicentem Tyc eth | φωνη μεγαλη] + τρισ 104. 432. 2015. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2041 : φωνη τρισ 35. 2019 : φων. μεγ. before λεγοντος gig fl : > Tyc s¹ | ουαι] twice only 1. 2038 eth | τοις κατοικουσιν Α 025. 1. 35. 104. 205. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^{mn} : τοὺς κατοικουντας κ 046. 21 (- 35. 205). 61. 69. 110. 172. 242. 250. 314. 385. 2016. 2018 al^{mn} Or^s | εκ των λοιπων φωνων της σαλπιγγος] εκ της φωνης των σαλπιγγων s¹ : εκ τ. φωνης τ. λοιπων σαλπιγγων s² : φωνων της σαλπιγγος > Pr |.

7. ο πρῶτος Ακ 025. 046. 21 (- 2020) al^{pm} Or^s s arm⁴ : + αγγελος 1. 250. 522. 2015. 2019. 2020. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2067 Tyc Pr gig vg arm^{1.2.3.4} bo eth | και³ > Tyc | μεμιγμενα Α 046. 21 (- 205. 2020). 250. 2037 al^{pl} Or^s Pr gig vg s : μεμιγμενον κ 025. 181. 205. 209. 432. 2020. 2038. 2067 Tyc | εν αιματι] εν > 1. 2038 al^p : υδατι 205 s^{1.2} : εἰς αἷμα Pr gig | ἐβλήθη] ἐβλήθησαν 172. 250. 424. 2018 s^{1.2} | καὶ τὸ τρίτον τῆς γῆς κατεκαη > 1. 2018 arm^{1.4} | τρίτον¹] δεύτερον arm^{2.3} | κατεκαη^{1.2.3}] κατεκαυσαν fl : κατεκαυσεν arm^{2.3.4} | καὶ τὸ τρίτον τῶν δένδρων κατεκαη > 046*. 175. 456 al^p gig arm^{2.4} : καὶ κατεκαη παν δένδρων eth | τρίτον²] δεύτερον arm² | κατεκαη² > Tyc arm^{2.3} bo | καὶ πας χορτος χλωρος κατεκαη > arm^a | χορτος χλωρος] ο χορτ. ο χλωρος 104. 201. 386 : πάντα χορτον χλωρον arm^{1.2.3} bo | χλωρος] της γῆς s¹ | κατεκαη³ > eth |.

8. αγγελος > κ s¹ | ωσ] pr εγενετο 920. 2040 s¹ | πυρι Ακ

- καὶ ὡς ὄρος μέγα πυρὶ καίόμενον ἰβλήθη εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν,
καὶ ἐγένετο τὸ τρίτον τῆς θαλάσσης αἷμα,
9. καὶ ἀπέθανεν τὸ τρίτον τῶν κτισμάτων τῶν ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ τὰ
ἔχοντα ψυχάς,
καὶ τὸ τρίτον τῶν πλοίων διεφθάρσαν.
10. καὶ ὁ τρίτος ἄγγελος ἐσάλπισεν·
καὶ ἔπεσεν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἄστηρ μέγας καίόμενος ὡς λαμπάς,
καὶ ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τὸ τρίτον τῶν ποταμῶν καὶ † ἐπὶ τὰς πηγὰς †
τῶν ὑδάτων,
11. [καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἀστέρος λέγεται ὁ Ἀψινθος]
καὶ ἐγένετο τὸ τρίτον τῶν ὑδάτων ὡς ἄψινθος,
καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπέθανον ἐκ τῶν ὑδάτων ὅτι
ἐπικράνθησαν.

025. 1. 35*. 205. 250. 2020. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^{mu} Or^s Tyc Pr
gig fl vg s² arm^{2.4} : πυροσ bo : > 046. 21 (- 35*. 205. 2020)
al^{pm} s¹ arm^{1.2.4} : [εβλήθη] επεσεν s¹ arm | ωσ οροσ μεγα πυρι | πυρ
μεγα ωσ οροσ eth | εγενετο | εγενηθη N | τριτον] δευτερον arm² |
αιμα] in sanguinem Pr |.

9. το τριτον¹] + μεροσ N 172. 250. 424. 2018. 2019 Pr gig fl
vg bo sa eth : το δευτερον arm^{2.3} | των κτισματων] piscium
Pr : animalium fl arm⁴ : creaturae vg : pr παντων s^{1.2} bo |
των εν τη θαλασση AN 025. 205. 250. 2020. 2037 al^{mu} Or^s fl s
bo eth : > 1. 181 Pr vg : των > 046. 21 (- 205. 2020). 2038.
2067 al^{mu} : eorum quae in mari creata sunt gig | τα εχοντα
ψυχας] τα εχοντα ψυχην (+ ζωησ bo sa eth) N bo sa eth :
τα εχοντα τας ψυχας 42. 242. 468 : των εχοντων τας ψυχας 35* :
το εχον ψυχην s¹ : habentium animas Tyc : > Pr fl | διεφθαρσαν
AN 025. (1). 35. 42. 60. 181. 432. 1957. 2015. 2023. 2036.
2037*. 2041 s² arm^{1.2} : διεφθαρη 046. 21 (- 35. 205). 250.
2038. 2067 al^{pl} Or^s s¹ arm^{3.4} : εφθαρη 205 : corruperunt Tyc :
perit Pr : interiit gig fl vg |.

10. αγγελος > s¹ | λαμπας] πυρ eth : + πυροσ bo | και επεσεν²
> Pr fl | τριτον] + μεροσ 2019 Pr fl vg bo sa eth | και επι τας
πηγας των υδατων > A : υδατοσ bo sa |.

11. του αστεροσ] + τουτου Tyc | λεγεται] ελεγετο 104 arm⁴ |
ο Αψινθος A 025. 046. 21 (- 2020). 250 al^{pm} Or^s s : ο > N^{o.c}
1. 69. 104. 2019. 2020. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^p | αψινθοσ] N^c :
αψινθιον N^c (+ και λεγεται N^c del N^c) bo : αψινθωσ 2067 : absintium
Tyc : absintus Pr : absinthius gig vg^{a.d.v} : absentius vg^f : absin-
thus vg^s : habsintus vg^c : absentium fl : "bitterness" arm^{1.2.3.4} :
"wormwood" arm⁴ | τριτον] + μεροσ Or^s Pr fl gig vg bo eth |
εγενετο] γινεται 1. 2019. 2038 al^p | ωσ αψινθοσ (-ον Or^s) 2038
Or^s : sicut absintium (alloe bo) Pr gig vg s¹ bo sa : quasi
absentium fl : εισ αψινθον A 025. 046. 21 (- 620. 866. 1934).
250. 2067 al^{pl} s² : εισ αψινθιον N 104. 110. 336. 620. 866. 1934.
2015. 2023. 2036. 2037 gig vg : "bitter" arm³ : "into blood

12. Καὶ ὁ τέταρτος ἄγγελος ἐσάλπισεν
καὶ ἐπλήγῃ τὸ τρίτον τοῦ ἡλίου
καὶ τὸ τρίτον τῆς σελήνης καὶ τὸ τρίτον τῶν ἀστέρων,
ἵνα σκοτισθῇ τὸ τρίτον αὐτῶν
καὶ † ἡ ἡμέρα μὴ φάνῃ τὸ τρίτον αὐτῆς καὶ ἡ νύξ †
ὁμοίως.]

into wormwood" arm⁴ | εκ των υδατων οτι επικρανθησαν] (ab) amaritudine aquarum (Pr) fl arm^{1.2.4} eth : οτι επικρανθησαν τα υδατα s¹ | εκ των] επι των A |.

12. αγγελος > s¹ | επληγη] επληξε arm^{1.2.4} : + και εσκοτισθη eth | το τρίτον του ηλιου και > 1934 | τρίτον] + μέρος (thrice in this verse) Pr fl gig vg bo sa eth | και το τρίτον της σεληνης > fl | ινα σκοτισθη το τρίτον αυτων] + και εσκοτισθησαν s² : και εσκοτισθη (-θησαν s¹) το τρίτον αυτων 172. 250. 2018 s¹ arm^{1.3.4} : και εσκοτισθη arm³ : ινα σκοτισθωσι bo : ut minus lucerent Pr : ινα σκοτ. τ. τρίτον αυτων και > eth | η ημερα . . . νυξ] text corrupt : bo alone (και το τρ. αυτων μη φανη ημερας και ομοιωσ νυκτος) either preserves or recovers original sense. Pr fl and eth attempt to recover it. See below. Evidence as follows. η ημερα μη φανη το τρίτον (τεταρτον A) αυτης AN 025. 35. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^{mu} Or^a : και το τρίτον αυτης μη φανη η (> 046. 522) ημερα 046. 175. 325. 337. 456. 468. 617. 620. 866. 1934 al^{pm} ; (αυτων for αυτης 18. 69. 141. 385. 429. 522. 632. 919. 1849. 1955. 2004. 2015. 2024 : αυταις for αυτης 386 : αυτης > 920. 2040 : το τρίτον αυτης > 2020) : et dies eandem partem amitteret Pr fl : et dies non luceat terciam partem gig : et diei non luceret pars tertia vg : και η ημερα ουκ εφαινε το τρίτον αυτης s¹ : και η ημερα ουκ εφανη και το τρίτον arm¹ : "and the third part of them had not light and day" arm³ : μη φαινωσιν και το τρίτον ημερας και νυκτος eth | η νυξ] nocte vg⁴ : noctis vg^d bo eth |.

CHAPTER IX.

< πρῶ-
τοι >

- I. Καὶ ὁ † πέμπτος † ἄγγελος ἐσάλπισεν
καὶ εἶδον ἀστέρα ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πεπτωκότα εἰς τὴν γῆν,
καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ἡ κλεῖς τοῦ φρέατος τῆς ἀβύσσου.

1. και . . . εσαλπισεν > 1849 | και ειδον > eth | αστερα . . . πεπτωκοτα] N^o : αστερας . . . πεπτωκοτας N^a | αστερα εκ του ουρανου πεπτωκοτα] αστερα πεπτωκ. εκ του ουρ. 920. 2040 arm⁴ : εκ του ουρ. αστ. πεπτ. gig | εισ την γην] επι της γης 498. 2020 s¹ bo sa : προς την γην 385 | εδοθη] εδωκαν bo | η κλεις] τας κλειδας bo eth | του φρεατος] των φρεατων s¹ | της αβυσσου > gig |.

2. καὶ ἤνοιξεν τὸ φρέαρ τῆς ἀβύσσου,
καὶ ἀνέβη καπνὸς ἐκ τοῦ φρέατος
ὡς καπνὸς καμίνου μεγάλης,
καὶ ἐσκοτώθη ὁ ἥλιος καὶ ὁ ἀὴρ ἐκ τοῦ καπνοῦ τοῦ φρέατος.
3. καὶ ἐκ τοῦ καπνοῦ ἐξῆλθον ἀκρίδες εἰς τὴν γῆν,
καὶ ἐδόθη αὐταῖς ἐξουσία ὡς ἔχουσιν ἐξουσίαν οἱ σκορπίοι τῆς
γῆς.
4. καὶ ἐρρέθη αὐταῖς ἵνα μὴ ἀδικήσουσιν τὸν χόρτον τῆς γῆς
οὐδὲ πᾶν χλωρὸν οὐδὲ πᾶν δένδρον, εἰ μὴ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους
οἵτινες οὐκ ἔχουσιν τὴν σφραγίδα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν μετώπων.

2. καὶ ἠνοιξεν τὸ φρέαρ τῆς ἀβύσσου A 025. 1. 35. 104. 172.
241. 250. 620. 632. 866. 1957. 2015. 2019. 2020. 2023. 2036.
2037. 2041. 2067 al^p Or^s Tyc Pr gig fl vg s² arm^{1.4} : > N 046. 21
(-35. 620. 632. 866. 2020). 2038 al^{mu} vg^{a.d} s¹ arm^{2.2} : & = bo eth |
καὶ ἀνέβη] de quo ascendit Pr | καπνὸς ἐκ τοῦ φρέατος ὡς > 1.
172. 325. 456. 2018. 2021 | ἐκ] N^c : ἐπὶ N* | τοῦ φρέατος] των
φρεατων s¹ | ὡς καπνὸς] ὡς > A : ὡς ἐκ Pr fl | καπνὸς] N^c :
καμινὸς N* | μεγάλης AN 025. 1. 35. 205. 2015. 2036. 2037.
2038. 2067 al^{mu} Tyc Pr vg fl arm^{1.2.2} : & = bo eth : καιομένης 046.
21 (-35. 205. 2020). 250 al^{mu} Or^s s² : μεγάλης καιομένης 141.
432. 452. 2019. 2020 (μεγάλου). 2021 gig s¹ arm⁴ | καὶ s¹] οὐ Pr
fl | ἐσκοτώθη A 61. 69. 181. 2038 : ἐσκοτίσθη N 025. 046. 21.
250. 2037. 2067 al^p Or^s : tenebris obscuravit Pr fl | ἀηρ] αὐστηρ
205 | ἐκ τοῦ καπνοῦ τοῦ φρέατος καὶ > N* (but not N^c) Pr fl
arm^{1.2} : | τοῦ φρέατος] των φρεατων s¹ : τῆς καμίνου arm³ |.

3. καπνοῦ] + τοῦ φρέατος Tyc vg^{f.v} : φρεατος arm^{1.2} | εἰς]
ἐπὶ arm bo | αὐταῖς A 025. 21. 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^p Or^s :
αὐτοῖς N 046. 104 | ἐξουσία] + καὶ τὰ κέντρα αὐτῶν arm¹ |
ὡς ἔχουσιν ἐξουσίαν] similis eam quae habent fl : ἣν ἔχουσιν s¹ :
ὡς κέντρα σκορπίου arm^{1.2} : : ἵνα γενῶνται ὡς eth | τῆς γῆς] pr ἐπὶ
s² arm³ bo eth : > arm^{1.2} : |.

4. ἐρρεθῇ AN 025. 21 (-35*). 2037. 2038. 2067 al^p Or^s :
ἐρρηθῇ 046. 172. 250. 2018. 2024 : ἐρεθῇ 35* | αὐταῖς A 025.
21 (-18. 919. 2004). 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^p Or^s : αὐτοῖς N
046. 18. 61. 69. 172. 919. 2004. 2039 | ἀδικήσουσιν A 2019 :
ἀδικήσωσιν N 025. 046. 21. 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^p Or^s Tyc
Pr gig fl vg | οὐδὲ παν χλωρον] > N* (N^c wrote χλω above
δενδρον) Tyc Arm : μηδὲ παν χλωρον 2020 : καὶ παν χλωρον
s¹ | χλωρον . . . δενδρον] ~ bo | παν δενδρον] δενδρα s¹ : παν > arm¹ :
παντα δενδρα arm^{2.2.4} : | εἰ μὴ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους] + μονοὺς 1957.
2023. 2041 al^p : nisi tantum homines vg arm | σφραγίδα]
σφραγίδαν N 82. 866 | τοῦ θεοῦ] > 1. 35. 181. 241. 2015. 2036.
2037. 2067 : τοῦ Χριστοῦ arm¹ | μετώπων AN 025. 1. 181. 2015.
2036. 2037. 2038 gig vg^{a.c.d} : + αὐτῶν 046. 21. 250. 2067 al^p
Pr vg. fl s arm^{1.2.4} eth |.

5. καὶ ἐδόθη αὐταῖς ἵνα μὴ ἀποκτείνωσιν αὐτούς,
ἀλλ' ἵνα βασανισθῇσονται μῆνας πέντε.(α)
6. καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις ζητήσουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι τὸν
θάνατον
εὐρήσουσιν καὶ οὐ μὴ εὕρωσιν¹ αὐτόν,
καὶ ἐπιθυμήσουσιν ἀποθανεῖν
καὶ φεύγει ὁ θάνατος ἀπ' αὐτῶν.
7. καὶ τὰ ὁμοιώματα τῶν ἀκρίδων ὅμοια¹ ἵπποις ἡτοιμασμένοις
εἰς πόλεμον,
καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν ὡς στέφανοι ὅμοιοι χρυσοῖ,
καὶ τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῶν ὡς πρόσωπα ἀνθρώπων.

ὅμοιοι

(α) Text adds gloss: καὶ ὁ βασανισμὸς αὐτῶν ὡς βασανισμὸς σκορπίου ἐστὶν
πάσις ἀνθρώπων.

5. καὶ ἐδοθη] et dictum est Pr eth : dictum est fl | αὐταῖς
025. 046. 21 (- 2004). 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^{pl} Or^a : αὐτοῖς
AN 1. 104. 181. 2004 | ἀποκτείνωσιν] ἀδικήσωσιν 920. 2040 | ἵνα²
> s¹ | βασανισθῇσονται AN 025. 1. 35. 181. 2019. 2020. 2038 :
βασανισθῶσι 046. 21 (- 35. 2020). 250. 2037. 2067 al^{pl} Or^a :
cruciarentur Pr (gig) vg fl : cruciarent Tyc arm bo eth | αὐτων
ὡς βασανισμὸς > 149 | πάσις 21 (- 149. 468*. 620. 866. 920.
2020) Or^a Tyc gig fl vg s² arm : πεση AN 025. 046. 104. 149.
172. 620. 866. 920. 2020. 2038 al^{mu} : πεση επ. s¹ : πληξή 60.
432. 452. 506. 2021. 2022. 2023. 2041** : δακή 367. 468* bo sa
eth |.

6. ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις > Tyc : ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ arm¹ |
ζητήσουσιν] ζητοῦσιν 60. 82. 93. 110. 175. 325. 452. 456. 468.
517. 1957. 2024. 2041 | οἱ ἄνθρωποι > Pr | εὐρωσιν A 025. 35.
172. 181. 205. 209. 250. 424. 2015. 2018. 2023. 2036. 2037 :
εὐρησουσιν K 046. 21 (- 35. 205. 325. 337. 456. 468. 620. 866.
1849). 104. 110. 201. 241. 242. 314. 385. 429. 498. 522. 1957.
2017. 2019. 2024. 2041. 2067 al^{mu} Or^a gig fl vg : εὐρησωσιν 1. 61.
69. 82. 325. 337. 456. 468. 517. 620. 866. 1849 : εὐρουσιν 2038 :
inveniunt Pr | ἀποθανεῖν] τὸν θάνατον 104 | φεύγει A 025. 1. 35.
181. 2019. 2020. 2067 : φυγή K : φεύζεται 046. 21 (- 35. 2020).
250. 2037. 2067 al^{pl} Or^a Pr gig fl vg s arm bo eth | ο θανατοσ
απ αὐτων AN 025. 1. 35. 205. 2015 (> απ). 2019. 2020. 2036.
2037. 2067 al^{mu} Pr gig fl vg s arm⁴ : απ αὐτων ο θανατοσ 046. 21
(- 35. 205. 2020). 250. 2038 al^{mu} Or^a arm^{1. 2. 3. *} : ο θανατοσ >
104 |.

7. τὰ ὁμοιώματα] τὸ ὁμοίωμα gig s arm^{1. 2. 3. *} bo | ὅμοια 025.
046. 21. 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^{pl} Pr vg : ὅμοιοι K (s) : ὁμοιω-
ματα A : ὁμοίωμα Or^a arm^{1. 2. *} : ὁμοιον arm³ : similes erant fl
arm⁴ | αὐτων] + ὁμοίωμα Or^a | ὅμοιοι χρυσοῖ AN 025. 1. 35. 172.
205. 250. 429.^{ms} 2015. 2018. 2019. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^{pl}

8. καὶ εἶχαν τρίχας ὡς τρίχας γυναικῶν,
καὶ οἱ ὀδόντες αὐτῶν ὡς λεόντων ἦσαν,
9. καὶ ἔχαν θώρακας ὡς θώρακας σιδηροῦς,
καὶ ἡ φωνὴ τῶν πτερύγων αὐτῶν ὡς φωνὴ ἁρμάτων,
ἵππων πολλῶν τρεχόντων εἰς πόλεμον.
10. καὶ ἔχουσιν οὐράς ὁμοίας σκορπίοις καὶ κέντρα,
καὶ ἐν ταῖς οὐραῖς αὐτῶν ἡ ἐξουσία αὐτῶν
ἀδικῆσαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους μῆνας πέντε.
11. ἔχουσιν ἐπ' αὐτῶν βασιλέα τὸν ἄγγελον τῆς ἀβύσσου,
ὄνομα αὐτῷ Ἑβραϊστὶ Ἀβαδδὼν.(a)

(a) Text adds gloss: καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἑλληνικῇ ὄνομα ἔχει Ἀπολλών.

Observe below how Pr fl vg add et Latine habet nomen Exterminans—a fact which shows how glosses arise.

Or^a Tyc Pr gig fl vg s (arm): "of colour of gold" bo: χρυσοὶ 046. 21 (-35. 205) al^{pm} | καὶ τὰ προσωπα . . . ἀνθρώπων > arm² |.

8. εἶχαν ΑἸ: εἶχον 025. 046. 21. 250. 2037. 2067 al^{pl} Or^a: εἶχοντες 2038 Pr fl: >arm^{1.2.3.a} | τριχας¹ | καὶ αἱ τριχες αὐτῶν (> arm³) arm^{1.2.3.a} | τριχας² > 2020 fl: τριχες arm^{1.2.3.a} | γυναικῶν | γυναικος arm^{1.2.3.a}: ut mulieres fl | ωσ² | + ὀδοντες fl vg^d | λεόντων | λεοντος arm^{1.2.a} | ἦσαν > fl s¹ arm |.

9. καὶ εἶχαν . . . σιδηροῦς > 920. 2040 | θωρακας¹ > 2020: pectora Pr | ωσ θωρακας > 18. 919. 1849. 2004 gig | φωνη² > Pr fl arm² | ἱππων | pr καὶ 337. 468: >325. 456. 620. 866 | πολλων > bo | τρεχόντων | ητοιμασμενων bo |.

10. καὶ ἔχουσιν | καὶ εἶχον 2020. 2067 Tyc Pr vg arm^{1.2.3.4}: > fl | ουρας ὁμοιας | ουραι ὁμοιαι fl: ὁμοιωμα arm⁴ | ὁμοιας 025. 046. 21 (-35. 617). 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^{pl} Or^a Tyc Pr gig vg s arm^{1.2.3} bo: ὁμοιας 617: ὁμοιοις ΑἸ 69: ὁμοιοις 35 | σκορπιοις | σκορπιω s¹ arm^{1.2.3.a}: σκορπιων vg: σκορπιων ἦσαν fl | κεντρα καὶ ἐν ΑἸ 025. 046. 21 (-18. 205. 2020) al^{pm} Or^a s² arm^{2.4} bo: κεντροις καὶ ἐν Pr fl: κεντρα ἦν ἐν vg^{f.v}: κεντρα (δε) ἐν s¹: καὶ > 1. 18. 61. 104. 141. 172. 205. 209. 241. 250. 424. 2015. 2018. 2019. 2020. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2039. 2067 Tyc gig vg eth: καὶ ἐν > arm¹: κεντρον (καὶ arm²) ἐν arm^{2.a} | ἡ ἐξουσια αὐτῶν ΑἸ 025. 35. 172. 205. 209. 250. 424. 2018 al^p gig vg bo: pr καὶ 1. 2019. 2038. 2067 Or^a (Pr fl) vg^d s¹: ἐξουσιαν ἔχουσιν 046. 21 (-18. 35. 205). 69. 110. 201. 242. 314. 385. 429. 498. 522. 1955. 1957. 2015. 2016. 2017. 2023. 2024. 2037 al^{pm} s² (pr καὶ 241. 2036): (καὶ) ἐξουσιαν εἶχον arm^{1.ω}: ἐξουσιαν ἔχουσαι 18. 61. 2039: > 104 eth | ἀδικῆσαι ΑἸ 025. 1. 35. 172. 175. 205. 242. 250. 314. 617. 1934. 2015. 2017. 2018. 2019. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^p Or^a: pr του 046. 21 (-35. 175. 205. 617. 1934) al^{pm} | πεντε | sex Pr |.

11. ἔχουσιν ΑἸ 025. 314: pr καὶ 025. 1. 250. 2037. 2038 al Or^a gig s: καὶ εἶχον 2067 Pr fl vg arm^{4.a}: ἔχουσαι 046. 21 (-205)

12. Ἡ οὐαὶ ἡ μία ἀπῆλθεν· ἰδοὺ ἔρχεται ἔτι δύο οὐαὶ μετὰ ταῦτα.

al^{mu} Tyc | επ αυτων βασιλεια A 025. (025* adds in mg. but writes αυτον). 1. 35. 61. 69. 205. 2015. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2067. Tyc Pr gig vg s¹ : επ αυτων βασιλεισ 2019 : εαυτων τον βασιλεια κ arm⁴ : βασιλεια επ αυτων 046. 21 (-35. 205). 250 al^{mu} Or^s s² arm^s : βασιλεια επ αυτον 18. 172. 452 (επ αυτους 104 : υπ αυτων 336) : | βασιλεια | + τον αρχοντα A : > fl | τον αγγελον της αβυσσου | της αβυσσου τον αγγελον A | τον αγγελον Ακ 025. 1. 35. 69. 104. 205. 632^{**}. 2015. 2019. 2020. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^{mu} Or^s arm^s bo : τον > 046. 21 (-35. 205. 632^{**}. 2020). 250 al^{mu} | ονομα αυτω pr ω κ : ω ονομα 94 Tyc Pr fl (+ est) vg : ονομα αυτον 2067 | αβαδδων Ακ 025 al^p Tyc vg s¹ : αββαδδων 046. 325. 429. 456. 468. 517. 620. 632. 919. 1849. 1955. 2004 : αββαδων 172. 250. 920. 2018. 2040 : αβαδδων 42. 82. 93. 110. 337. 452. 506. 2020. 2021. 2024 al^p : αββαδων 1. 18. 35. 60. 91. 175. 181. 201. 314. 386. 617. 1934. 2015. 2016. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2067 Or^s gig arm^s : αββαδδων 2019. 2041 : αβλαδδων 61. 69 : armageddon Pr : abaddon fl : albagos arm¹ (2) : nabathdon arm⁴ : magedon bo | και εν τη Ακ 025. 1. 35. 205. 314. 2019. 2038 al^p gig s¹ : εν δε τη 046. 21 (-35. 205. 325. 456. 468*. 620. 866. 920). 250. 2037. 2067 al^{pm} Or^s s² : εν τη ελληνικη δε 325. 456. 468*. 620. 866 : εν τη δε τη 920 : graece autem Tyc vg : graeca autem lingua Pr : graeca lingua fl : "who is called in" arm^{1.2.3} | ελληνικη] ελληνιδι κ 205 : + ρησει 2020. 2067 : συριακη s¹ : "Armenian" arm^{1.2} | ονομα εχει] ~ κ 2019 gig : ονομα εχων 522 : "is called" arm^{1.2.3} : > Pr vg arm^{4.5} eth | απολλυν] pr o 2038 bo : απολων 522. 2023* : apolion Tyc : apollion Pr : perdens gig : apollyon fl arm^{3.4} : "destruction" arm^{1.2} : "destroyer" arm⁴ : + latine perdens Tyc : + et latina lingua nomen habens exterminans Pr fl (vg) : + "who is called destruction in Armenian" arm^{1.2.3} |.

12. η ουαι η μια] ουαι μια κ* : ουαι η μια κ° : pr ιδου arm | απηλθεν] παρηλθεν 2015. 2036. 2037 arm^{1.2.3.4} | ιδου] pr και Tyc Pr fl vg^{c.ε.ν} : > arm^{1.2.3.4} eth | ερχεται Ακ* 21 (-632^{**}. 2020). 69. 104. 110. 385. 429. 2016. 2023* al^{mu} Or^s s² arm¹ bo : ερχονται κ° 025. 046. 1. 172. 250. 632^{**}. 2015. 2017. 2018. 2019. 2020. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2067 vg s¹ : secuntur Pr : venient Tyc | ει] αι 432. 2019. 2037. 2038 : ει και αι 241 : alii Pr : alia gig : > 1. 104. 498. 2023. 2067 Tyc fl bo eth | δυο] δευτερα 104 : secundum fl arm^{1.4} bo | μετα ταυτα. και A 025. 1. 35. 172. 205. 250. 632^{**}. 2015. 2020. 2023. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^{mu} Or^s gig vg s² : also Pr eth but > μετα ταυτα : και μετα ταυτα 046. 69 Tyc : μετα ταυτα και (> και κ 469 s¹ bo sa) are joined to ver. 13 by κ 21 (-35. 205. 632^{**}. 2020). 110. 241. 242. 385. 469. 2016. 2024. 2039 al^{mu} s¹ bo sa |.

13. Καὶ ὁ † ἕκτος † ἄγγελος ἐσάλπισεν· < δεύτε-
ρος >
καὶ ἤκουσα φωνὴν μίαν ἐκ τῶν κεράτων τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου τοῦ
χρυσοῦ τοῦ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ,
14. λέγοντα τῷ † ἕκτῳ † ἀγγέλῳ, ὁ ἔχων τὴν σάλπιγγα < δευτέ-
ρος >
Ἀὔσον τοὺς τέσσαρας ἀγγέλους τοὺς δεδεμένους ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ
τῷ μεγάλῳ Εὐφράτῃ.
15. καὶ ἐλύθησαν οἱ τέσσαρες ἄγγελοι
οἱ ἡτοιμασμένοι εἰς τὴν ὥραν καὶ ἡμέραν καὶ μῆνα καὶ
ἐνιαυτόν,
ἵνα ἀποκτείνωσιν τὸ τρίτον τῶν ἀνθρώπων.
16. καὶ ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν στρατευμάτων τοῦ ἱππικοῦ δις μυριάδες
μυριάδων.

18. καὶ > κ (see above) | φωνὴν μιαν] ~ 69 Or^s : φωνὴς μίας
κ^o 2067 : μιαν > κ^{*} 2020 arm^{1.2.3.4} bo : φωνὴν μεγαλὴν 172. 250.
424. 2018 : vocem, unum vg : unum Tyc Pr gig Cyp | μιαν ἐκ
τῶν κεράτων > κ^{*} (μίας ἐκ τῶν κεράτων κ^o) | κεράτων Ακ^o 2015.
2036 gig vg s² bo sa eth : pr τεσσαρων 025. 046. 21. 250.
2037. 2038. 2067 al^m Or^s Tyc Pr (Cyp) s¹ arm : ζῶων
arm^{2.4} | θυσιαστηρίου] + dei Pr : arcae Cyp | ἐνώπιον] + του θρόνου
bo eth |

14. λέγοντα Ακ^{*} Tyc Pr gig vg Cyp : λεγοντος 046. 21 (- 35.
205. 468. 2020) al^m Or^s : λεγουσαν 025. 1. 35. 104. 172. 205.
468. 1957. 2015. 2018. 2019. 2020. 2023. 2036 al^p : λεγουσης κ^o
2067 : λεγων 141 | ἕκτω > Α 2038 | ο ἔχων] τω εχοντι 172. 250. 424.
2018 [τεσσαρας] τεσσαρες κ 172 | τοὺς δεδεμένους . . . ἀγγελοι
(ver. 15) > bo, but not sa eth | ἐπὶ] εν 93. 104. 432 | τῷ ποταμῷ >
1849 | τῷ μεγάλῳ] + ποταμῷ 025 : > arm^{1.2.4.5} | εὐφρατῇ] εφρατη
046 : pr τῷ 468 : eufraten Tyc Pr gig Cyp : Al Frat sa |

15. ἐλοθῆσαν] ἐλυπηθῆσαν Α | οἱ ἡτοιμασμένοι] οἱ > κ 18. 522.
2021. 2039 : οἱ προητοιμασμένοι 2015. 2036 | καὶ ἡμεραν Α 025.
35. 205. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^m Tyc Pr gig vg Cyp : καὶ εἰς
τὴν ἡμεραν 046. 21 (- 35. 205. 2020). 250 al^m Or^s s eth : καὶ τὴν
ἡμεραν 1957. 2015. 2020. 2023. 2036. 2041 bo sa : > κ 1 | ἵνα]
+ μὴ κ | τρίτον] + μέρος 432. 2015. 2036. 2037 Pr Cyp gig vg bo
sa eth |

16. τοῦ ἱππικοῦ Ακ 025. 046. 1. 35. 61. 69. 104. 205. 2015.
2019. 2019. 2020. 2023.^{ms} 2036. 2037. 2038. 2067. al^p Or^s : του
ιππου 21 (- 35. 205. 386. 2020). 42. 82. 110. 336. 385. 1957.
2018. 2023^{*} al^m : των ιππων 386 | δις μυριάδες . . . αριθμον >
arm¹ | δις μυριάδες μυριάδων Α 025. 1^{*}. 205. 2016. 2019. 2038
Or^s (Cyp) : δυο μυριάδων μυριάδας κ : μυριάδες μυριάδων 046. 21
(- 205). 250. 2037. 2067 al^{pm} : myriadi^m myriadium Tyc : octo-
ginta milia Pr : vices milies dena milia gig vg | αὐτων] + ut

17. ἤκουσα τὸν ἀριθμὸν αὐτῶν. καὶ οὕτως εἶδον τοὺς ἵππους ἐν τῇ ὁράσει (α)
καὶ τοὺς καθημένους ἐπ' ἑαυτῶν ἔχοντας θώρακας πυρίνους
καὶ ὑακινθίνους καὶ θειώδεις,
καὶ αἱ κεφαλαὶ τῶν ἵππων ὡς κεφαλαὶ λεόντων,
καὶ ἐκ τῶν στομάτων αὐτῶν ἐκπορεύεται πῦρ καὶ καπνὸς καὶ
θεῖον.

18. ἀπὸ τῶν τριῶν πληγῶν τούτων ἀπεκτάνθησαν τὸ τρίτον τῶν
ἀνθρώπων,
ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ τοῦ καπνοῦ καὶ τοῦ θείου τοῦ ἐκπορευομένου
ἐκ τῶν στομάτων αὐτῶν.

19. ἡ γὰρ ἐξουσία τῶν ἵππων ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτῶν ἐστὶν (β) καὶ
ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἁδικοῦσιν.

(α) The text is corrupt and defective : ἤκουσα τ. ἀριθμὸν αὐτῶν may be an intrusion. After ὁράσει we should restore καὶ τοὺς καθημένους ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, which has been lost through hmt. Next, for καὶ τ. καθημένους ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἔχοντας above read καὶ οἱ καθήμενοι ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἔχοντες.

(β) Text adds an interpolation here : καὶ ἐν ταῖς οὐραῖς αὐτῶν, αἱ γὰρ οὐραὶ αὐτῶν ὁμοίαι ὄφεσιν, ἔχουσαι κεφαλὰς. See vol. i. p. 253 sq.

occiderent tertiam partem hominum Pr | ἤκουσα . . . αὐτῶν > eth. After μυριάδων two lines appear to have been lost.

17. καὶ οὕτως . . . ὁρασεῖ > s¹ | οὕτως > 2020 Tyc Pr
arm¹. 2. 2. a | ἵππους] ἵππικους 046. 69 Or^a | ἐπ' επανω N | ἐχοντασ]
περιβεβλημενους bo | υακινθινους καὶ θειωδεις] καρχηδονα θειου s¹
| υακινθινους] οιακινθινους 325. 456 : ιακινθινους 620. 866 :
hyacinthinas Tyc : hyacintinas vg : iacintinas Cyp gig : spineas
Pr | καὶ θειωδεις > eth | θειωδεις] θυωδεις N* : θιωδεις N^c :
"god-like" arm⁴ | των στοματων] του στοματος 35 Tyc Pr gig
vg Cyp s¹ arm¹. 2. 2. a | εκπορευεται] εξεπορευετο 2020. 2067 | πυρ
. . . καπνοσ] ~ Tyc | καπνοσ . . . θειον] ~ s¹ |.

18. απο] pr καὶ s¹. 2 arm bo : υπο I | των τριων πληγων τουτων]
των > C : τριων > N Or^a arm¹. 2. 2. a : πληγων > I. 2038 : των τριων
τουτων πληγων 205 | απεκτανθησαν] απεκτανθη 468. 498. 2019. 2020
gig vg Cyp | τριτον] + μεροσ gig vg bo sa eth | εκ του πυροσ ANC
025. I. 35. 205. 1957. 2015. 2019. 2020. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038
Or^a vg Cyp : απο του πυροσ 046. 21 (- 35. 205. 2020). 69. 104. 250.
2067 al^{pm} : pr καὶ s¹ arm⁴ | του καπνου ANC 046. 21 (- 35*. 866).
69. 104. 110. 250. 385. 2004. 2036. 2067 al^{pm} Or^a vg Cyp bo sa
eth : pr εκ C 025. I. 35*. 314. 2016. 2037. 2038 al^p gig s : pr απο
866 : > arm¹ | του θειου ANC 046. 21 (- 35*). 250. 2067 al^{pm}
Or^a vg bo sa eth : pr εκ 025. I. 35*. 314. 2016. 2036. 2037. 2038
al^p gig s | του εκπορευομενου] εκπορευομενου > I04 : των εκπορευο-
μενων 2015. 2019. 2020. 2036. 2037. 2067 bo | εκ των στοματων]
εκ του στοματος 205. 920. 1957. 2040 gig vg Cyp s¹ arm¹. 2. 2. a¹ |.

19. ιππων] τοπων A | εν τω στοματι αυτων εστιν και εν ταις

20. καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οἳ οὐκ ἀπεκτάνθησαν ἐν ταῖς
 πληγαῖς ταύταις,
 ἵνα μὴ προσκυνήσουσιν τὰ δαιμόνια καὶ τὰ εἰδωλα
 τὰ χρυσᾶ καὶ τὰ ἀργυρᾶ καὶ τὰ χαλκᾶ καὶ τὰ λίθινα καὶ τὰ
 ξύλινα,
 ἃ οὐτε βλέπειν δύνανται οὔτε ἀκοῦειν οὔτε περιπατεῖν,
 21. καὶ οὐ μετενόησαν ἐκ τῶν φόνων αὐτῶν οὔτε ἐκ τῶν φαρμακίων
 αὐτῶν
 οὔτε ἐκ τῆς πορνείας αὐτῶν οὔτε ἐκ τῶν κλεμμάτων αὐτῶν.

ουραις αυτων] εν ταις ουραις και εν τω στοματι αυτων ην 2020. 2037 :
 in ore et caudis eorum erat Pr | και εν ταις ουραις αυτων > 1.
 2019. 2038 | αυτων] των ιππων 385 : + εστιν s² | αι γαρ ουραι . . .
 αδικουσιν > s¹ | ομοιαι] > C* : ομοιοι 2023 : erant similes Pr
 arm^{1.2.3.4} | οφεισιν ANC 025. 1. 35. 61. 69. 1957. 2015. 2019.
 2020. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038*. 2041. 2067 al^p Or^a Tyc Pr gig
 vg Cyp s² arm^{1.2.4} bo : οφει arm² : οφειων 046. 21 (-35. 2020).
 250 al^{mu} : ομοιαι των οφειων 2038.^{ms} | εχουσαι] εχουσας N* :
 εχουσας N^c 025. 2019 : εχουσιν C* 2038. 2067 [κεφαλαι] +
 draconum Pr | αδικουσιν] ηδικουσιν 2020 : ηδικουν Pr arm^{2.3.4} a
 bo eth : αδικησουσιν arm¹ : + ανθρωπους πεντε μηνας bo eth |.

20. οἱ > gig arm^{2.4} bo | πληγαις] + αυτων N | ουδε . . .
 χειρων αυτων > 919 | ουδε N 046. 61. 69. 2020 : ουτε A 025. 1.
 35. 205. 429**. 632**. 2019. 2037. 2038 al^p Pr gig vg Cyp bo :
 ου C 21 (-35. 205. 632**. 919). 104. 110. 172. 241. 242. 250.
 314. 385. 429*. 1955. 1957. 2015. 2016. 2017. 2018. 2023. 2024.
 2036. 2067 al^p Or^a | των εργαων] του εργου s¹ | προσκυνησουσιν ANC
 104*. 452. 2019 : προσκυνησωσιν 025. 046. 21. 250. 2037. 2038.
 2067 al^{pl} Or^a : adorarent Pr vg^{a.d.f.v.} : adorent gig vg^{a.ε} Cyp |
 τα δαιμονια και] τω δαιμονι η 2020 : > arm¹ | ειδωλα] + id est
 simulacra Cyp : + αυτων arm^{1.2.3.4} | χρυσα] χρυσαια N : χρυσια
 Or^a | και τα χαλκα (χαλκεια N) ANC 025. 046. 35. 468**. 2020.
 Or^a Pr gig vg Cyp. s arm bo eth : > 21 (-35. 205. 468**. 2020).
 42. 82. 104. 110. 201. 218. 241. 242. 314. 336. 385. 429. 498.
 522. 1955. 2016. 2019. 2024. 2039 al^p | λιθινα . . . ξυλινα] ~ N
 743. 1075 s¹ bo eth | δυνανται ANC 025. 046*. 18. 35. 104. 149*.
 205. 241. 250. 468**. 632. 2004. 2015. 2018. 2019. 2020. 2023.
 2024. 2036. 2037. 2067 Or^a : δυναται 046*. 21 (-18. 35. 149*.
 205. 468**. 632. 2004. 2020). 2038 al^{pl} : > s¹ | ακουειν . . .
 περιπατειν] ~ arm¹ | ουτε ακουειν > Cyp |.

21. μετενοησαν] + εκ τουτων ουτε 2020 | φωνων] φωνων gig :
 φωνησ arm² | ουτε εκ των φαρμακιων αυτων > Cyp arm² | φαρμακιων
 A 025. 046. 104. 2038 al^p Or^a : φαρμακων NC 21 (-35. 205.
 468**. 632**. 2020). 250 al^{mu} : φαρμακειων 1. 35. 205. 468**.
 632**. 2020. 2037. 2038*. 2067 al : "sorcery" arm^{1.3.4} :

CHAPTER X.

1. Καὶ εἶδον ἄλλον ἄγγελον ἰσχυρὸν καταβαίνοντα ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, περιβεβλημένον νεφέλῃν, καὶ ἡ ἴρις ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ὡς ὁ ἥλιος καὶ αἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ ὡς στύλοι πυρός, 2. καὶ ἔχων ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ βιβλαρίδιον ἠνεγμένον. καὶ ἔθηκεν τὸν πόδα αὐτοῦ τὸν δεξιὸν ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης, τὸν δὲ εὐώνυμον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, 3. καὶ ἔκραξεν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ ὥσπερ λέων μυκάται. καὶ ὅτε ἔκραξεν, ἐλάλησαν αἱ ἑπτὰ βρονταὶ τὰς ἐαυτῶν φωνάς.

"divination" arm⁴ | πορνείας] πορνείας Ακ^{*} : πορνείας κ^c 025. 866 | οὐτε ἐκ τῶν κλεμμάτων αὐτῶν > Pr s¹ sa | κλεμμάτων] factorum Cyp |.

1. καὶ εἶδον . . . καταβαίνοντα] καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἄλλος ἀγγ. κατέβη eth | ἄλλον ἀγγελον ANC 172. 205. 250. 2018. 2019. 2020. 2038. 2067 Or^a Tyc gig vg s arm^{1.24.a} : ~ 104. 336. (620. 866 αλον) Pr : ἄλλον > 025. 046. 21 (-205. 620. 866. 2020). 1. 2037 al^{pm} | ἰσχυρον > s¹ arm^{1.2} | ἐκ] ἀπο 337 | καὶ ἡ ἴρις ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ] > arm⁸ : καὶ ἡ ἴρις > arm⁴ | ἡ (> κ^c) ἴρις Α (-είσ) κ^c C 046. 21 (-205. 2020). 250 al^{pm} Or^a arm^{1.2.a} bo : ἡ θρίξ κ^{*} : ἡ > 025. 1. 104. 205. 522. 2017. 2049. 2020. 2037*. 2067 al^p : ἰριν 2036. 2037** : ἰριν 2038 : ἰριν 2015 | ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν AC 181 : ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς κ 025. 046. 21. 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^p Or^a | το πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ] + ἡν vg | ο ἡλίου] ο > 2020 | στύλοι] στύλος 205. 2020 Tyc vg (-vg^o) s¹ arm |.

2. καὶ > 2020 | ἔχων ANC 025. 046. 21 (-35. 205. 468**. 632**. 2020). 250 al^{pm} Or^a : κατέχων 2020 : εἶχεν 1. 104. 205. 241. 468**. 632**. 1957. 2015. 2018. 2019. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2041. 2067 al^p Pr gig vg arm : εἶχει 35 | βιβλαρίδιον Ακ^{*} C** 025. 1. 2067 al^p Or^a s : βιβλιαριον κ^c C* 35. 60. 61. 69. 104. 205. 241. 432. 468**. 632**. 1957. 2015. 2019. 2020. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2041 : βιβλίον 046. 21 (-35. 205. 468**. 632**. 2020). 250 al^{pm} Pr gig : libellum vg | ἠνεγμένον κ^c 025. 104. 172. 205. 218. 250. 424. 2016. 2018. 2038. 2067 : ἠνεωγμένων 1 : ἀνεωγμένων 046. 21 (-205). 2037 al^p Or^a : > Α bo | τὸν δεξιὸν > C | τῆς θαλάσσης] τὴν θαλάσσαν 1. 2037. 2038 al^p | τὸν δε εὐώνυμον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς > 866 | τῆς γῆς] τὴν γῆν 1. 201. 386 |.

3. ὥσπερ] pr καὶ Tyc arm^{1.3.a} : ὥσ οτε vg | μυκάται] rugiens Pr bo | ἔκραξεν² | + ὥσ κ^{*} (del κ^c) : + μεγάλη φωνὴ arm^{*} | αἱ ἑπτὰ βρονταὶ] κ^c : ἑπτὰ φωναὶ κ^{*} : αἱ > 1. 91. 94. 104. 866. 2067 arm | τὰς ἐαυτῶν φωνὰς] ταῖς ἐαυτῶν φωναῖς κ 104 gig s¹ arm^{3.4.a} : > Pr | τὰς ἐαυτῶν φωνὰς . . . (ver. 4) γραφεῖν >

4. καὶ ὅτε ἐλάλησαν αἱ ἐπὶ βρονταί, ἡμέλλον γράφειν· καὶ ἤκουσα φωνὴν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ λέγουσαν Σφράγισον ἃ ἐλάλησαν αἱ ἐπὶ βρονταί, καὶ μὴ αὐτὰ γράψῃς.

5. καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος ὃν εἶδον ἐστῶτα ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς

ἤρεν τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ τὴν δεξιὰν εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν,

6. καὶ ὤμοσεν ἐν τῷ ζῶντι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ὅς ἐκτίσεν τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ, καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ,

καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ, ὅτι χρόνος οὐκέτι ἔσται.

7. ἀλλ' ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς φωνῆς τοῦ ἰβδόμου† ἀγγέλου, ὅταν <τρῖτου> μέλλῃ σαλπίζειν, καὶ ἐτελέσθῃ τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ, ὡς εὐηγγέλισεν

arm^{1.2} | τας εαυτων φωνας . . . (ver. 4) βρονται¹ > 386. 620. 866 |.

4. στ] οσα κ 432. 2036. 2037 Pr gig | βρονται¹ | + voces suas vg^v | ημελλον AC 046. 61. 69. 82. 181. 201. 218. 386. 452. 498. 920. 2020. 2024. 2038 Or^a : εμελλον κ 025. 20 (- 386. 920. 2020). 1. 104. 110. 250. 314. 385. 2015. 2037. 2067 al^p | και οτε . . . γραφειν] "And I heard the things which the seven thunders said: I was about to write them also." bo | εκ του ουρανου] + του εβδομου s¹ | σφραγισον] nota tibi Pr | α] οσα κ 94 : ο s¹ | επτα > C gig arm² | και² > Tyc vg bo | μη αυτα ANC 025. 046. 20 (- 35). 250 al^{pm} Or^a Tyc Pr gig vg s² arm^{1.2.2.4} : αυτα > arm^a : μη αυτο s¹ : μετα ταυτα 1. 35. 60. 181. 432. 1957. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2041. 2067 | γραψης] γραψο 205 Or^a : γραφεισ 1. 35. 60. 432. 1957. 2019. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2041 : γραψεισ 104. 522. 2015 : γραψον 2067 |.

5. ο αγγελος] τον αγγελον Pr vg^{a.1.2.3} | εστωτα > 429. 498. 522. 2016^a. 2020 gig | ηρεν] pr os s¹ | την δεξιαν > A 1. 35. 2019. 2038 vg s¹ | εις τον ουρανον] in caelo gig |.

6. και ωμοσεν] + ο αγγελος Tyc | εν τω ζωντι . . . εν αυτη² > Tyc | εν τω ζωντι AN^c 025. 1. 35. 104. 175. 205. 314. 617. 1957. 2015. 2016. 2017. 2019. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^p : per viventem Pr gig vg : εν > κ^a 046. 20 (- 35. 175. 205. 617). 250 al^{pm} Or^a | των αιωνων] > 1. 181. 241. 632^a. 2038. 2067 : + αμην 336. 620. 866. 2019 | και τα εν αυτω > arm¹ bo | και την γην και τα εν αυτη > A 1. 181 | και τα εν αυτη¹ > 256 arm¹ bo | εν αυτη¹] εν αυτοις 2015. 2036. 2037 | και την θαλασσαν και τα εν αυτη NC 025. 046. 20 (- 205. 2020). 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^{pm} Or^a vg s² arm^{(1).2.3} : > AN^a 141. 205. 429. 522. 2016. 2017. 2020. 2023 Tyc Pr gig vg s¹ arm^{4.a} | εν αυτη²] εν αυτοις arm¹ | ουκετι εσται] ουκετι εστι κ^a 141 : ουκ εσται ετι 1. 2036. 2037 : ετι ουκ εσται s¹ |.

7. αλλ > gig bo : ουκ s¹ | της φωνης > Tyc s¹ arm² | του

τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ δούλους τοὺς προφήτας. 8. καὶ ἡ φωνὴ ἣν ἤκουσα ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πάλιν † λαλοῦσαν μετ' ἐμοῦ καὶ λέγουσαν † Ὑπαγε λάβε τὸ βιβλίον τὸ πνευγμένον τὸ ἐν χειρὶ τοῦ ἀγγέλου τοῦ ἐστῶτος ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. 9. καὶ ἀπῆλθα πρὸς τὸν ἄγγελον λέγων αὐτῷ δοῦναί μοι τὸ βιβλαρίδιον. καὶ λέγει μοι Λάβε καὶ καταφαγε αὐτό, καὶ πικραίνει σου τὴν κοιλίαν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ στόματί σου ἔσται γλυκὺ ὡς μέλι.

εβδομου αγγελου] του αγγελου του εβδομου \aleph : του > C | μελλη] μελλει 18. 104. 172. 429. 522. 1849. 1957. 2015. 2016. 2018. 2019. 2036 | και \aleph C 025. 046. **20** (- 35^{**}. 386. 468^{**}). 1. 250. 2037. 2038 al^{pl} Or^{a} vg^{a} $\text{s}^{\text{l},2}$ eth : > 35^{**}. 60. 201. 386. 432. 468^{**}. 1957. 2023. 2041. 2067 Pr gig $\text{vg}^{\text{c},\text{f},\text{v}}$ bo arm : tunc vg^{d} | τελεσθη \aleph C 025. **20** (- 35^{**}. 205. 468^{*}). 250. 2038 al^{pm} s : + γαρ bo : τελεσθη 1. 35^{**}. 205. 468^{*}. 1957. 2015. 2019. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2041. 2067 Or^{a} : τελεσθει 046. 104 : τελεσθηναι 35^{*} : finietur Pr (gig vg arm) | ωσ] o 60. 432. 1957. 2015. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2041. 2067 s^{l} $\text{arm}^{\text{l},2,4,\text{a}}$: οσ 35 | ευηγγελισεν] ευηγγελισατο 35. 60. 93. 181. 432. 506. 1957. 2015. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2041 Or^{a} | τουσ εαυτου δουλουσ \aleph C 025. 35. 205. 2020. 2038 : τουσ δουλουσ εαυτου Or^{a} : τουσ δουλουσ αυτου 046. **20** (- 35. 205. 2020). 250 al^{pm} s^{l} : τουσ αυτου δουλουσ 69. 2019 : τοισ εαυτου δουλοισ 1. 2037. 2067 al^{p} : τοισ αυτου δουλοισ 2015. 2036 : τοισ δουλοισ αυτου 498 gig $\text{arm}^{\text{l},2,4}$: per profetas servos suos Pr : per servos suos vg $\text{arm}^{\text{b},\text{a}}$ bo | τουσ προφητας] pr και \aleph eth : τοισ προφηταισ 1. 498. 2015. 2036. 2037. 2067 |.

8. και η φωνη ην ηκουσα] και ηκουσα φωνην 104 Pr (gig) vg^{d} s^{l} arm^{d} | λαλουσαν . . . λεγουσαν \aleph C 025. 046. 61. 69. 104. 1957. 2019 (+ μοι). 2038 (Pr) gig vg s^{l} arm^{d} : λαλουσα . . . λεγουσα **20**. 1. 250. 2037. 2067 al^{pm} Or^{a} | και λεγουσαν > Pr : + μοι arm^{d} | υπαγε] + και 91. 175. 242. 314. 617. 1934. 2016. 2017 Pr vg^{d} $\text{arm}^{\text{b},\text{c}}$ | βιβλιον AC 69. 314 Pr gig vg : βιβλαριδιον \aleph 025. 1. 2038. 2067 al^{p} Or^{a} s : βιβλιδαριον 046. **20**. 250. 2037 al^{pm} | πνευγμενον \aleph C 025. 1. 61. 172. 250. 2018. 2019. 2038. 2067 al : ανεωγμενον 046. **20**. 2037 al^{pm} Or^{a} : > s^{l} | εν χειρι] > C arm^{b} : εν > 314. 2016 : εκ χειροσ 2019 Pr gig vg | θαλασσησ . . . γησ] ~ s^{l} |.

9. και απηλθα . . . λαβε > s^{l} | απηλθα A 336. 498. 517. 620. 866. 2024 Or^{a} : απηλθον \aleph C 025. 046. **20** (- 620. 866). 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^{pl} | λεγων αυτω] > Tyc : αυτω > Pr | δουναι \aleph C 046. **20** (- 35. 205. 468^{**}. 2020). 250 al^{pm} Or^{a} Tyc Pr gig vg s^{b} arm^{d} : δος 025. 1. 35. 205. 468^{**}. 1957. 2015. 2019. 2020. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2041. 2067 bo | βιβλαριδιον A^{**} C 025. 1. 2038. 2067 al^{p} Or^{a} : βιβλαριον A^{*} : βιβλιον \aleph al^{p} (Pr gig vg) : βιβλιδαριον 046. **20**. 250. 2037 al^{pm} | λαβε και καταφαγε αυτο] λαβε αυτο και καταφαγε \aleph : λαβε αυτο και καταφαγε αυτο \aleph eth

10. καὶ ἔλαβον τὸ βιβλαρίδιον ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς τοῦ ἀγγέλου καὶ κατέφαγον αὐτό, καὶ ἦν ἐν τῷ στόματί μου γλυκὺ ὡς μέλι· καὶ ὅτε ἔφαγον αὐτό, ἐπικράνθη ἡ κοιλία μου. 11. καὶ λέγουσίν μοι Δεῖ σε πάλιν προφητεῦσαι ἐπὶ λαοῖς καὶ ἔθνεσιν καὶ γλώσσαις καὶ βασιλεῦσιν πολλοῖς.

arm^a : accipe librum et devora illum vg : λαβε αυτο σοι bo | σου] σοι s¹ | την κοιλίαν] την καρδιαν A Or^a : + σου s¹ : εν τη κοιλια arm¹. 2. 2. a | εσται γλυκυ] ~Pr : γλυκυ > s¹ |.

10. καὶ] + στε Pr | καὶ ελαβον . . . κατεφαγον αυτο > gig | βιβλαριδιον AC 025. 1. 2038. 2067 al^p Or^a s : βιβλιον κ 046. 20 (- 35. 205). 250 al^{mu} (vg) : βιβλιδαριον 35. 60. 69. 110. 205. 432. 1957. 2015. 2017. 2019. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2041 : libellum Pr | καὶ ἦν . . . εφαγον αυτο > Pr arm¹ | γλυκυ ωσ μελι A 046. 2019 arm³ : ωσ μελι γλυκυ κC 025. 20. 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^{pl} Or^a gig vg s arm⁴ : γλυκυ > arm². a : ωσ μελι > eth | στε εφαγον αυτο > 250. 424. 2018 arm³ | επικρανθη] εγεμισθη κ Pr gig arm¹. 2. 4 | κοιλια] καρδια Or^a (but writes κοιλια above) | μου] + πικριασ κ^o gig arm¹. (3). 4 |.

11. λεγουσιν Ακ 046. 20 (- 35. 205. 468^{**}. 632^{**}. 2020). 250 al^{mu} Or^a vg^a. a. s sa : λεγει 025. 1. 35. 104. 205. 241. 468^{**}. 632^{**}. 1957. 2015. 2016. 2020. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2041. 2067 al^p Tyc Pr gig vg^a. d. f. v s arm bo^{ti} eth | παλιν προφητευσαι] ~ 2020 : παλιν > arm³ | λαουσ . . . εθνεσι] ~ s | επι λαοισ] επι λαου 617. 920. 2040 s² : επι λαουσ 172 : in populos Pr : populis gig vg | εθνεσιν Ακ 025. 1. 35. 205. 241. 468^{*}. 2016. 2019. 2020. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^p Or^a gig vg bo : pr επι 046. 20 (- 35. 205. 468^{*}. 2020). 250 al^{mu} s | καὶ γλωσσαισ . . . πολλοισ > arm¹ | γλωσσαισ] pr επι arm². 2. 4. a |.

CHAPTER XI.

1. Καὶ ἰδόθῃ μοι κάλαμος ὁμοίος ῥάβδω λέγων Ἐγείρε καὶ μέτρησον τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον καὶ τοὺς προσ-

1. καὶ εδοθῃ μοι] dedit mihi Pr : εδωκαν μοι bo | καλαμος ομοιος ραβδω] Aaron virgae similis Tyc : harundinem auream similem virgae Pr bo (m. s^{pl}) eth | ομοιος ραβδω] ωσ ραβδος 2020 | λεγων Ακ^o 025. 20. 1. 2038 al^{pm} Tyc Pr gig vg : + μοι 743. 1075. 2067 arm¹. 2. a bo eth : λεγει κ^{*} : καὶ φωνῇ λεγουσα 2015. 2036. 2037 : pr καὶ εισηκει (εστηκει κ^c. o : ιστηκει 046) ο αγγελος κ^c. o 046. 60. 61. 69. 104. 172. 250. 424. 432. 1957. 2018. 2023. 2041 Or^a s¹. 2^{*} arm : pr καὶ ο αγγελος εισηκει 2019 | εγειρε Ακ 025. 046. 175. 325. 456. 620. (866). 920. 1849. 2004. 2037^{*} al

κυνοῦντας ἐν αὐτῷ. 2. καὶ τὴν αὐλὴν τὴν ἐξῶθεν τοῦ ναοῦ ἐκβαλε
ἐξῶθεν καὶ μὴ αὐτὴν μετρήσης, ὅτι ἐδόθη τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, καὶ τὴν πόλιν
τὴν ἁγίαν πατήσουσιν μῆνας τεσσαράκοντα καὶ δύο.

3. καὶ δώσω τοῖς θυσὶν μάρτυσίν μου, καὶ προφητεύουσιν ἡμέρας
χιλίας διακοσίας ἐξήκοντα † περιβεβλημένους † σάκκους. 4. Οὗτοί
εἰσιν αἱ δύο ἐλαῖαι καὶ αἱ δύο λυχναῖαι αἱ ἐνώπιον τοῦ κυρίου τῆς γῆς

Or^a : εγειρον 60. 94. 205. 2038 : εγειραι 20 (- 175. 325. 456. 620.
866. 920. 1849. 2004). 1. 250. 2067 al | και² > 104 Tyc bo |
μετρησον] μετρησαι 104. 920. 2040 | του θεου > arm^{1.2} | το
θυσιαστηριον] + του θεου Tyc Pr : + αυτου eth | εν αυτω] illud gig
arm⁴ |.

2. καὶ τὴν αὐλὴν . . . μετρήσης > gig | τὴν αὐλὴν τὴν] κ^c :
της αυλης της κ^{*} : atrium autem (Tyc) vg : ara autem Pr | ἐξ-
θεν¹ A 025. 046. 21. 2067 al^{pl} Or^a Tyc Pr vg s² arm^{1.2.2} = bo :
εσωθεν κ^{*} 1. 172. 181. 250. 2018. 2037. 2038 s¹ | ναου] κ^c : λαου
κ^{*} | εκβαλε εξωθεν και > Pr arm⁴ | εκβαλε] κ^c : pr και κ^{*} : εκβαλλε
2037 | εξωθεν² Ακ^c 1. 35. 61. 69. 172. 181. 250. 424. 432. 506.
1957. 2015. 2018. 2019. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2041 Or^a s :
εσωθεν 025 : εσω κ^{*} arm^{1m} : εξω 046. 21 (- 35). 2067 al^{pl}
arm^{1.2} s bo : foras Tyc vg : > arm² = eth | μετρησης] μετρησις
1 : μετρησεις 104. 2036 | τοις εθνεσιν] κ^c : pr και κ^{*} | τὴν πόλιν
τὴν ἁγίαν] ἡ πολις ἡ ἁγία arm¹ bo | τὴν ἁγίαν > Pr | πατήσουσιν]
μετρησουσιν A : + εν αυτη bo : "that they shall trample under
foot" arm¹ | τεσσαρακοντα Ακ : τεσσαρακοντα 025. 21 (- 35) al^{pl}
Or^a : μ' 046. 1. 35 | και δυο A 046 (β'). 21 (- 35. 205. 617. 919.
2020). 429. 2067 al^p s arm : και > κ 025. 69. 205. 250. 617.
919. 2018. 2020. 2023. 2037 Or^a Tyc Pr gig vg bo : β' 1. 35
al^{ma} |.

3. καὶ προφητεύουσιν] ut profetent Pr eth : προφητευσαι
s¹ : και > bo | διακοσις > 69 | ἐξήκοντα] + πεντε κ^c = 69
arm^{1.2} s | περιβεβλημενους Ακ^{*} 025. 046. 35^{*}. 91. 104. 242. 920.
1934. 2015. 2036. 2041 : -μενοι κ^c C 21 (- 35^{*}. 920. 1934). 1.
250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^{pl} Or^a Tyc Pr vg : amictis gig | σακκουσ]
saccis Tyc Pr gig vg^v |.

4. αἱ δύο ἐλαῖαι καὶ > 1^{*}. 2038 | αἱ¹ κ^c : αἱ κ^{*} : > 205 s^{1.2} (γ)
| ἐλαῖαι] αυλαιαι A : αλαιαι C | αἱ δυο² Ακ^c C 025. 046. 21 (- 205.
620. 866). 250. 2037. 2067 al^{pm} Or^a arm : ε δυο 620 : δυο κ^{*} 205.
866 al^p s^{1.2} (γ) | αἱ ἐνώπιον AC 025. 046. 21 (- 35. 175. 205. 386.
1934. 2040). 1. 250. 2037. 2067 al^{pl} bo : αἱ ἐνωπιον 201. 386 :
αἱ > κ 35. 61. 69. 104. 172. 175. 205. 241. 242. 314. 424. 1934-
2016. 2017. 2018. 2038. 2040 Or^a : in conspectu Tyc vg : sub
conspectu Pr : coram gig | του κυριου κC 025. 21 (- 35. 205). 250.
2067 al^{pm} Or^a Tyc Pr gig vg s arm^{3.4} bo : του > A 046 : του θεου
1. 35. 205. 2015. 2019. 2036. 2037. 2038 al^p arm^{*} : "the lord
God" arm^{1.2} | της γης] pr πασης s¹ arm^{1.2} : super terram gig :

† ἐστῶτες †. 5. καὶ εἰ τις αὐτοὺς θέλει ἀδικῆσαι, πῦρ ἐκπορεύεται ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτῶν καὶ κατεσθίει τοὺς ἐχθροὺς αὐτῶν. (α) 6. οὗτοι ἔχουσιν τὴν ἐξουσίαν κλείσαι τὸν οὐρανόν, ἵνα μὴ ὑετὸς βρέχῃ τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς προφητείας αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἔχουσιν ἐπὶ τῶν ὑδάτων στρέφειν αὐτὰ εἰς αἷμα καὶ πατάξαι τὴν γῆν ἐν πάσῃ πληγῇ ὁσάκις ἐὰν θελήσωσιν.

(a) Text adds a gloss here: καὶ εἰ τις θελήσῃ αὐτοὺς ἀδικῆσαι, οὕτως δεῖ αὐτὸν ἀποκτανθῆναι.

> bo | ἐστῶτες AN^C 046. 21 (-35. 205. 337. 468. 617. 632^{**}. 866. 920. 2020. 2040). 250 al^{mn} Or^s s : ἐστῶταισ 866 : ἐστῶσαι K^{co} 025. 1. 35. 104. 205. 241. 337. 385. 468. 617. (620). 632^{**}. 920. 1957. 2015. 2019. 2020. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2040. 2067 al^p : stantes Tyc vg : consistentia Pr |.

5. καὶ εἰ τις αὐτοὺς θέλει ἀδικῆσαι] καὶ εἰ τι θελοῦσι αὐτοὺς ποιήσουσι bo? : "and they (he arm^{2.3.4}) shall desire (desire arm⁴) to hurt them" arm | αὐτοὺς θέλει AC 025. 046. 21 (-468^{*}). 2037. 2067 al^{mn} Or^s Tyc Pr vg s² : ~ K 172. 250. 468^{*}. 2018 gig : θέλει (ἀδικῆσαι) αὐτοὺς 69 s¹ | θέλει] θελή 104. 2038 : θελήσει Pr arm^{1.2.3.4} : voluerit gig vg | ἀδικῆσαι] + sive occidere Tyc | πῦρ ἐκπορεύεται . . . ἀδικῆσαι > 205 | ἐκπορεύεται] ἐκπορεύσεται 61. 69 Or^s arm^{1.2.3.4} : exeat Pr : exiet gig vg | καὶ > bo | κατεσθίει] devorabit gig vg arm^{1.2.3.4} : comburens Pr | εἰ τις] K^c : ἡ τις K^s C 1 : οὕτως 2020 s¹ arm | θελήσῃ AN : θελήσει 2020 Or^s arm^{1.2.3.4} : θέλει C 025. 046. 21 (-2020). 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^p Pr s arm⁴ : voluerit gig vg | θελήσῃ αὐτοὺς AC 025. 046. 21 (-468^{*}). 250. 2037 al^p Or^s gig vg : ~ 1. 468^{*}. 2019. 2023. 2038. 2067 al^{mn} Pr s² : θελήσῃ (ἀδικῆσαι) αὐτοὺς K (s¹) ἀδικῆσαι] ἀποκτείναι 432. 2015. 2019. 2022. 2036. 2037. 2067 | οὕτως] > A : οὕτω 18. 205. 617. 632. 919. 920. 1849. 1934. 2004. 2040 | αὐτὸν] pr καὶ Pr : αὐτοὺς 620. 866 s¹ arm⁴ | ἀποκτανθῆναι] ἀδικηθῆναι arm⁴ |.

6. οὗτοι] pr καὶ s¹ : οἱ bo eth | τὴν ἐξουσίαν AC 025 Or^s : τὴν > K 046. 21. 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^p | ἐξουσίαν κλείσαι τὸν οὐρανὸν ANC 025. 1. 35. 205. 2019. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^{mn} Tyc Pr gig (vg) s : + καὶ after ἐξουσίαν Or^s : τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐξουσίαν κλείσαι 046. 21 (-35. 205. 2020). 250 al^{mn} : ἐξουσίαν τὸν οὐρανὸν κλείσαι 69. 498. 2020 | κλείσαι] μετρησάαι arm⁴ | νετὸς βρέχῃ] ~ 1. 2037. 2067 al^p : νετὸς βρέχῃ 498 : νετὸς βρέξῃ 2020 : νετὸς βρέχει 429. 522. 2015. 2017. 2019. 2021 : καταβαινῇ νετὸς s¹ arm⁴ : pluāt Tyc vg : imbrem pluāt Pr : pluāt pluvia gig : "they rain" arm¹ : + ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν bo eth | τὰς ἡμέρας] ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις 1. 2037 Tyc Pr (vg) s¹ arm⁴ : pr πάσας bo | τὴς προφητείας αὐτῶν 025. 21 (-617. 920. 2040). 250. 2038. 2067 al^{mn} Or^s Tyc Pr gig vg s^{1.2} arm : τὴς προφητείας αὐτῶν ANC 046 : αὐτῶν τὴς προφητείας 1. 617. 920. 2037. 2040 al^p |

7. Καὶ ὅταν τελέσωσιν τὴν μαρτυρίαν αὐτῶν, τὸ θηρίον τὸ ἀναβαῖνον ἐκ τῆς ἀβύσσου ποιήσει μετ' αὐτῶν πόλεμον καὶ νικήσει αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀποκτενεῖ αὐτούς. 8. καὶ τὸ πτώμα αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῆς πλατείας τῆς πόλεως τῆς μεγάλης, ἣτις καλεῖται πνευματικῶς Σόδομα καὶ Αἴγυπτος, ὅπου καὶ ὁ κύριος αὐτῶν ἐσταυρώθη. 9. καὶ βλέπουσιν ἐκ τῶν λαῶν καὶ φυλῶν καὶ γλωσσῶν καὶ ἐθνῶν τὸ πτώμα αὐτῶν

ἐπὶ των υδατων στρεφειν αυτα] στρεφειν τα υδατα s¹ | ἐπὶ των υδατων] omnium aquarum Pr | εἰς αἷμα] in sanguine gig | καὶ] № : > №* | ἐν παση πληγῇ οσακισ εαν θελησωσιν AHC 025. 1. 35. 205. 2015. 2019. 2020. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^p Or^a Pr gig vg s arm^{1.2.4} : εἰς παση πληγῇ after θελησωσιν 046. 21 (-35. 205. 617. 920. 2020. 2040). 250 al^{ma} | ἐν παση πληγῇ AHC 025. 21 (-617. 920. 2040). 1. 2015. 2019. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^{pm} Or^a Pr s (arm^a : εἰς > 046 al^p vg (arm^{1.4}) : ἐν παση > gig : > 617. 920. 2040 | εαν] αν C 2020 | θελησωσιν] θελησουσιν C : θελωσιν 69. 498. 2019. 2038 : θελουσιν 181 |.

7. και οταν τελεσωσιν > 617* (but not 617**). 920. 2040 Or^a (through homoeotel.) arm^{2.3} | τελεσωσιν] τελεσουσι 1. 2037. 2067 | αυτων] της (αυτων και την eth) προφητειασ (-αν eth) αυτων bo eth | το θηριον] + το τεταρτον A | το αναβαινον] № : τοτε αναβαινον №* : το αναβαινων A : quae descendit Tyc | αβυσσου] θαλασσης s¹ | μετ αυτων πολεμον AHC 025. 046. 21 (-205). 250 al^{ma} Or^a Tyc Pr (gig vg) s : πολεμον μετ αυτων 1. 205. 2019. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^p | νικησει] νεικτηση C : νικηση 104 : vicit Tyc | και αποκτενει αυτους > 1. 172. 181. 498. 2019. 2021. 2038 | και > bo | αποκτενει] occidit Tyc |.

8. το πτωμα AC 046. 21 (-35. 205. 2020) al^{ma} Or^a Tyc arm^a : bo : τα πτωματα № 025. 1. 35. 172. 205. 250. 1957. 2018. 2019. 2020. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^p Pr gig vg s arm^{1.2.4} | ἐπὶ της πλατειας] ἐπὶ των πλατειων s¹ : in plateis Tyc vg arm⁴ : in platea gig : in medio Pr : "in the midst of their street" arm^{1.2} (3). : pr εσται №^a bo sa : pr εασει 432. 2015. 2022. 2036. 2037 : pr proicitur Tyc : pr ponet Pr : pr jacebunt gig vg^d arm⁴ : pr posuit eth | της πλατειας > eth | πολειωσ της μεγαλης] της μεγαλης πολειωσ 205 : ἐν τη πολει τη μεγαλη arm^{1.3} : + ριψει 94 : + αταφα 2015. 2036. 2037 : + jacebunt vg^{mo} : Σοδομα] + και εγγυσ ο ποταμος № : Segor arm^{1.4} : + και Βαβυλων arm⁴ | και Αιγυπτου] > Pr : και Γομορρα 2019 : + και Βαβυλων arm^{1.2} : "of Khemi" bo | οπου και] και > № 1. 61. 69. 104. 172. 181. 250. 424. 919. 2018. 2019. 2038. 2067. s¹ bo eth | αυτων] № : > №* : ημων 1 |.

9. βλεπουσιν] βλεψουσιν Pr gig vg arm^{1.2.3} : bo eth | λαων . . . φυλων] ~ № s¹ bo | φυλων] pr των 046 | και εθνων] > 1 Tyc arm¹ : + "they shall look upon" bo | το πτωμα . . . ημισιν > Pr | το πτωμα AHC 046. 21 (-35. 205. 2020. 2040). 250 al^{pm} Or^a

ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ ἡμῖν, καὶ τὰ πτώματα αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀφίουνσιν τεθῆναι εἰς μνήμα. 10. καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς χαίρουσιν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς καὶ εὐφραίνονται καὶ δῶρα πέμψουσιν ἀλλήλοις, ὅτι οὗτοι οἱ δύο προφῆται ἐβασάνισαν τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

11. Καὶ μετὰ τὰς τρεῖς ἡμέρας καὶ ἡμῖν πνεῦμα ζωῆς ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰσῆλθεν ἐν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἔστησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς πόδας αὐτῶν, καὶ φόβος

Tyc arm^{1.2.3.4} : τα πτωματα 025. 1. 35. 205. 1957. 2015. 2019. 2020. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2040. 2041. 2067 gig vg s arm⁴ bo | και ημισυ AHC 025. 35. 429*. 432. 2015. 2023. 2036. 2040 al^p Or^a Tyc gig vg s arm⁴ : και > 046. 21 (- 35. 2040). 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^{pm} | τα πτωματα τα σωματα 2037 arm⁸ : το σωμα 69 : "their bones" arm^{1.2.3.4} | αφιουσιν AHC 025. 1. 181. 2015. 2019. 2036. 2037. 2038 Tyc vg : αφησουσιν 046. 21 (- 2040). 250. 2067 al^p gig s arm bo : αφιασι 2040 : αφησιν Or^a | μνημα (A) N* 025. 046. 21 (- 205). 1. 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^{pm} Or^a Tyc gig arm^{1.2.3.4} bo : μνημειον C 2019 : μνηματα N^c 205. 522 al^p Pr vg s arm^{3.4} |.

10. οἱ κατοικοῦντες] ρι παντες bo | ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς] ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν 172. 314 : ἐπὶ > 2015. 2036 | χαίρουσιν] χαρησσονται 2020. 2067 Pr gig vg s arm⁴ bo | ἐν αὐτοῖς] ἐν αὐτοῖς 2015. 2020. 2036 | ευφραινονται AHC 025. 1. 35*. 181. 205. 2015. 2019. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2040 Or^a arm^{1.2.3.4} : epulantur Tyc : ευφρανθησονται 046. 21 (- 35*. 205. 2040). 69. 104. 110. 250. 314. 2067 Pr gig vg s bo | και ευφραιν. > eth | πεμψουσιν AHC 1. 35. 205. 2037*. 2040 al^{ma} Or^a Pr gig vg s bo eth : πεμπουσιν N 025. 2015. 2019. 2036. 2037*. 2038 Tyc arm^{2.3.4} (sa ?) : δωσουσιν 046. 21 (- 35. 205. 2040). 250. 2067 al^{ma} | αλληλοις] αλληλους C 517 | ουτοι > s¹ | οι δυο προφηται] οι προφηται οι δυο N : προφηται > Pr | τους κατοικουντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς] eos per plagas Tyc |.

11. τας τρεις AC 046. 21 (- 35. 468. 1849. 2020). 2037. 2067 al^p Or^a s² : τας > N 025. 1. 35. 69. 141. 250. 432. 468. 1849. 1957. 2015. 2018. 2019. 2020. 2023. 2038. 2041 s¹ arm^{1.2.3.4} bo : > arm² | ημερας και ημισυ] ημερας after ημισυ 69. 2015. 2020. 2036. 2037. 2067 : και > 69. 2020 : και ημισυ > arm^{1.2} | ημισυ] ημισου AN* : το ημισυ C | ζωης] ζων s¹ arm^{2.3.4} : > bo | εκ του θεου] > 468*. 617. 632* : εκ > arm^{1.2.4} bo | εκ του θεου εισηλθεν] εισηλθεν εκ του θεου C | εισηλθεν] εισελευσεται bo eth | εν αὐτοῖς A 94. 2015*. 2019. 2036. 2037. 2040 Or^a : εν > C 025. 1. 35. 104. 181. 2020. 2038 : εισ αὐτους N 046. 21 (- 35. 2020. 2040). 250. 2067 al^{ma} Tyc Pr gig vg arm bo sa eth : επ αὐτους 1957. 2023. 2041 : s^{1.2} = εν αὐτοῖς Or εισ αὐτους] εστησαν] στησονται 2020 bo eth | αυτων] + και πνευμα ζωης επεσεν επ αὐτους s¹ | επεπισεν AC 025. 35. 325. 337. 456. 468. 620. 632*. 866. 920. 2037. 2038 al^p Or^a : επιπισειται 2020 arm^{1.2.3} bo : επεσαν N 046. 21 (- 35. 325. 337. 456. 468. 620. 632*. 866. 920). 250.

φώνης
μεγάλης
λεγούσης

μέγας ἐπέπεσεν ἐπὶ τοὺς θεωροῦντας αὐτούς. 12. καὶ ἤκουσαν φωνὴν μεγάλην ἔκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ῥέγουσαν αὐτοῖς Ἀνάβατε ὧδε· καὶ ἀνέβησαν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐν τῇ νεφύλλῃ, καὶ ἐθεώρησαν αὐτοὺς οἱ ἐχθροὶ αὐτῶν.

13. Καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ᾠρᾷ ἐγένετο σεισμὸς μέγας, καὶ τὸ δέκατον τῆς πόλεως ἔπεσεν, καὶ ἀπεκτάνθησαν ἐν τῷ σεισμῷ ὀνόματα ἀνθρώπων χιλιάδες ἑπτὰ, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἔμφοβοι ἐγένοντο καὶ ἔδωκαν δόξαν τῷ θεῷ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

14. Ἡ οὐαὶ ἡ δευτέρα ἀπῆλθεν· ἰδοὺ ἡ οὐαὶ ἡ τρίτη ἔρχεται ταχύ.

2067 al^p eth : ἐγενετο s¹ | τοὺς θεωρουντας] των θεωρουντων C 025. 35* |.

12. > Pr | ηκουσαν A^{NC} 025. 429** al^p vg s : ηκουσα 046. 21 (-2020). 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^{pm} Or^s Tyc gig arm bo sa : ακουσονται 2020 | φωνην μεγαλην εκ του ουρανου] de caelo vocem magnam Tyc | φωνην μεγαλην . . . λεγουσαν (λεγουσα 046**) A. 046*. 21 (-35. 205. 2040). 250 al^{pm} Or^s : φωνησ μεγαλησ . . . λεγουσησ NC 025. 1. 35. 60. 181. 205. 432. 1957. 2015. 2019. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2040. 2041. 2067 | αυτοις] > A 2015 Tyc gig : αυτοις 2016* | αναβατε A^{NC} 025. 325. 452. 456. 506. 2019 Or^s : αναβητε 046. 21 (-325. 456. 620. 866). 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^p | αναβειτε 620. 866 : ascende Tyc : "rise ye up and come up" arm^{1.2.3} | εθεωρησαν] εθεωρουν 498. 2020 s¹ : "shall see" bo | αυτοις] "their going up" arm^{1.2} | οι εχθροι] pr παντες arm^{1.2} |.

13. καὶ ἐν A^{NC} 025. 1. 35. 205. 250. 2037. 2038. 2040. 2067 al^{ma} Or^s Pr gig vg s arm^{1.2.3} bo eth : καὶ > 046. 21 (-35. 205. 2040) al^{ma} Tyc arm^{3.4} | ὥρα A^{NC} 025. 1. 205. 2019. 2037. 2040 al^p Or^s Tyc Pr vg s arm^{1.2.3} bo eth : ἡμερα 046. 21 (-205. 2040). 250. 2038. 2067 al^{pm} gig arm⁴ | ἐγενετο] εσται arm² bo | καὶ το] ωστε το C | δεκατον] γ 046 bo : δωδεκατον 175. 2017 : + μερος bo eth | επεισεν] επεισαν s¹ : "was swallowed up" arm^{1.2.3} | ονοματα ανθρωπων χιλιαδες επτα] numero LXX milia hominum Pr : pr καὶ s¹ | ονοματα ανθρωπων] > arm¹ : ονοματα ανθρωποι s¹ : ανθρωποι arm | οι λοιποι] + ανθρωπων arm⁴ : "after that" arm^{1.2.3} | εμφοβοι εγενοντο] ενφοβοι εγεν. C : εν φοβω εγεν. K 69 Or^s Pr (sunt missi) s¹ : in timorem sunt missi vg : "fear (+ great arm^{1.3}) was (shall be arm²) in all" arm^{1.2.3} : "were astounded" arm⁴ | εγενοντο καὶ] γενομενοι 2015. 2036. 2037 | του ουρανου] > Tyc s² : + et terrae Pr : τω εν τω ουρανω s¹ : "heavenly" arm^{1.2.3} |.

14. ἡ οὐαι ἡ δευτερα] η¹ > K^c 1. 172 : pr καὶ 386 : pr ἰδου arm^{1.2.4} : ἰδου αὶ οὐαι αὶ δυο s¹ | απηλθεν] παρηλθεν K 2015. 2036. 2037 : απηλθον s¹ | ιδου] pr καὶ vg^s s¹ arm⁴ bo : > 104. 205. 209. 218. 314. 2018 arm³ eth : καὶ arm^{1.2.3} eth | ιδου ἡ οὐαι ἡ τριτη ερχεται AC 025. 1. 35. 2019. 2020. 2038 al^p Or^s Pr (vg) s (bo) : ιδου ἡ τριτη οὐαι ερχεται 2015. 2036. 2037 : ιδου οὐαι ἡ τριτη ερχεται

15. Καὶ ὁ † ἑβδομος † ἄγγελος ἐσάλπισεν· καὶ ἐγένοντο φωναὶ <τρίτοι> μεγάλαι ἐν τῷ ὀβρανῷ λέγοντες

Ἐγένετο ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ κόσμου τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ,

καὶ βασιλεύσει εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

16. καὶ οἱ εἴκοσι τέσσαρες πρεσβύτεροι οἱ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ καθήμενοι ἐπὶ τοὺς θρόνους αὐτῶν ἔπεσαν ἐπὶ τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῶν καὶ προσεκύνησαν τῷ θεῷ λέγοντες

2040 : η ουαι η τριτη (ταχυ) ερχεται 205 : ιδου ερχεται η ουαι η τριτη
 K 2019 gig : η ουαι η τριτη ιδου ερχεται 046. 21 (- 35. 205. 2020.
 2040). 250. 2067 al^{ms} | ερχεται] veniet vg (arm^{1.2.3.4}) : εληλυθε
 s¹ : tr. after ταχυ 205 |.

15. καὶ] + στε arm^{1.2.3.4} | ο εβδομος αγγελος εσαλπισεν] οι
 επτα αγγελοι εσαλπισαν arm¹ | ο > A | και² > arm^{1.2.3.4} | εγεν-
 οντο] K^c : εγενετο K^s arm^{1.2.3.4} | φωναὶ μεγάλαι] φωνη μεγαλη arm^{1.8}
 eth : φωνη arm⁴ | ἐν τῷ ουρανῷ] ἐκ του ουρανου arm^{1.8} bo eth | λεγον-
 τας A 046. 18. 61. 69. 82. 93. 110. 314. 325. 336. 429. 432. 452. 456.
 506. 517. 522. 617. 620. 866. 919. 920. 1849. 1955. 2004. 2021.
 2039 Or^s : λεγουσαι NC 025. 21 (- 18. 325. 456. 617. 620. 866.
 919. 920. 1849. 2004). 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^{pl} | εγενετο η
 βασιλεια] εγενοντο αι βασιλειαὶ 1. 104. 205. 2038 | η βασιλεια] pr
 πασα arm^{1.2.4} = | του κοσμου] huius mundi gig vg : > 2015. 2037 Pr
 arm^{1.4} | του κυριου ημων] pr και 1934 : του θεου ημων 2015. 2020.
 Pr : και του θεου ημων s¹ : του κυριου του θεου ημων bo | και
 του Χριστου αυτου] Ιησου Χριστου 205. 1934. 2015 (pr του). 2036.
 2037 arm^{1.3} : και > arm⁴ | βασιλευσει] βασιλευει 69. 172. 325.
 336. 456. 517. 620. 866. 2015. 2018. 2036. 2037* : regnavit gig
 s¹ | τουσ αιωνας] + και εισ τουσ αιωνας arm⁴ : τον αιωνα bo | των
 αιωνων] + αμην K 94. 141. 181. 2020 vg^c arm³ bo^{pl} |.

16. οι¹ > K^s A bo | εικοσι τεσσαρες ANC 025. 18. 175. 205.
 250. 386. 617. 920. 1849. 1934. 2020. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^{ms}
 Or^s : κδ 046. 21 (- 18. 175. 205. 386. 617. 920. 1849. 1934.
 2020). 1. 104 al^p : εικοσι και τεσσαρες 429 al^p | οι ενωπιον NC
 025. 21 (- 35*. 205. 2040). 250. 2037. 2067 al^{pl} Or^s s arm^{1.2.4.5}
 bo : qui in conspectu dei sedent Pr (gig) vg : οι > A 046. 1. 35*.
 61. 69. 104. 181. 205. 209. 2038. 2040 Cyp arm³ | του θεου ANC
 025. 1. 35. 205. 1957. 2015. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2040. 2041.
 2067 al^p Pr gig fl vg s¹ arm^{1.2.4.5} : pr του θρονου 046. 21 (- 35.
 205. 2040). 250 al^{pm} Or^s s² arm³ | καθημενοι A 025. 1. 35. 104.
 632**¹. 1957. 2019. 2020. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^p Pr gig vg Cyp (s)
 arm bo eth : pr οι 61. 69. 205 Or^s : καθηνται K^c C 82. 2040 : οι
 καθηνται K^s 046. 21 (- 35. 205. 632**¹. 2020. 2040). 250 al^{pm} |
 επι τουσ θρονου] επι θρονον arm¹ | επεσαν . . . τω θεω > arm¹
 | επεσαν . . . αυτων > arm⁴ | αυτων > bo | επεσαν A(N)C 025. 1.
 104. 110. 337. 429. 620. 866. 2016. 2023*. 2067 al^p Or^s : επεσον

17. Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, Κύριε ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ,
ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν,
ὅτι εἰληφας τὴν δύναμίν σου τὴν μεγάλην
καὶ ἐβασίλευσας.
- 18a. καὶ τὰ ἔθνη ὠργίσθησαν,
b. καὶ ἦλθεν ἡ ὀργὴ σου,
h. καὶ <ὁ καιρὸς> διαφθεῖραι τοὺς διαφθείροντας τὴν γῆν,
c. καὶ ὁ καιρὸς τῶν νεκρῶν κριθῆναι,
g. τοὺς μικροὺς καὶ τοὺς μεγάλους,
d. καὶ δοῦναι τὸν μισθὸν τοῖς δούλοις σου,
e. τοῖς προφήταις καὶ τοῖς ἁγίοις
f. καὶ τοῖς φοβουμένοις τὸ ὄνομά σου.

046. 21 (- 337. 620. 866). 250. 2037. 2038. (2040) al^{ma} : pr και
N 2040 | τα προσωπα | το προσωπον fl bo | και² > bo sa | τω θεω]
> gig : "the Lord God" arm^{1.2.a} | λεγοντες] ελεγον arm¹ : και
ελεγον arm^{2.a} |.

17. σοι] σε 046 | Κυριε] Κυριος N 2038 | ο θεος] + ημων 2015.
2036. 2037 gig vg^s arm² | ο²] N^c : > N^{*} | ων . . . ην] ~ gig eth |
ο ην] + και ο ερχομενος 051. 35. 1957. 2015. 2019. 2023. 2036.
2037. 2040. 2041 al^p (bo) | οτι] pr και N^{*}C : και arm^a : ος
arm^{1.2} | ειληφας] ειληφεσ C | σου την μεγαλην > arm¹ bo |.

18. ωργισθησαν] N^c : ωργισθη N^{*} : οργισθησαν 149. 201. 2015.
2017 al^p | και²] οτι bo | σου] + επ αυτους 2020 | και διαφθειραι] και
> A arm² : quique exterminandi sunt Pr : et conrumpantur fl :
διαφθειρουσ bo | διαφθειροντας AN 046. 21 (- 35. 468**). 2037 al^p
Or^a arm bo eth : διαφθειραντας C 35. 60. 104. 172. 241. 242.
250. 468**. 1957. 2018. 2023. 2041 Pr gig fl vg Cyp s : φθει-
ροντας 025. 1. 2038. 2067 | καιρος] κληρος C : + της κρισεως bo
| των νεκρων] των εθνων 617. 920. 2020 : τους νεκρους bo |
κριθηναι] > Pr : κρινεισ arm² : κριναι bo | τους μικρους και τους
μεγαλους AN^{*}C Or^a : τοισ (pr και 2020 gig) μικροισ και τοισ
μεγαλοισ N^{c.c} 025. 046. 21. 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^p Pr gig fl
vg Cyp s² arm : τοισ μικροισ μετα των μεγαλων s¹. It is possible
to explain the variation of tenses as due to the dislocation of
lines h and g. Thus AN^{*}C preserve the acc. (τους μικρους in
apposition to the subject of κριθηναι) even after the transposition
of the line after και τοισ φοβ. σου. Next comes the corrector's
stage: the acc. is changed into a dat. to agree with τοισ φοβ.
Possibly the original order was a, b, h, g, c, d, e, f. The τους
μικρους κτλ. would then qualify τους διαφθειροντας κτλ. In any
case the order in the MSS is wrong. | δουναι] + αυτοισ bo | και
τοισ αγιοισ > Pr gig | τοισ αγιοισ και τοισ (> N) φοβουμενοισ]
τους αγιοισ και τους φοβουμενοισ A (a correction?) : τοισ αγιοισ
και > 051 : και > 35*. 205. 2015. 2019. 2036. 2037. 2038 al^p
arm^{1.2.a} | αγιοισ] + σου 617. 920. 2020 |.

19. καὶ ἡνοίγη ὁ ναὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ὃ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, καὶ ὤφθη ἡ κιβωτὸς τῆς διαθήκης αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ναῷ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐγένοντο ἄστραπαι καὶ φωναὶ καὶ βρονταὶ καὶ σεισμός καὶ χάλαζα μεγάλη.

19. ηνοιγη ΑΝ (ηνυγη) C 025. 1. 35. 61. 69. 104. 172. 205. 250. 1957. 2015. 2018. 2019. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2040. 2067 al^p Or^a eth : ηνοιχθη 046. 21 (- 35. 205. 2040) al^{mn} | ο εν τω AC 61. 69. 172. 250. 2018. 2020. 2040 Or^a gig fi arm bo eth : ο > κ 025. 046. 21 (- 2020. 2040). 2037. 2038. 2067 al^p Tyc vg s | ουρανῷ] + ανω κ* (del. κ*) | ωφθη] εδοθη C | τῆς διαθήκης αὐτου] του θεου arm^a | αὐτου¹ AC 025. 1. 35*. 172. 205. 250. 2015. 2018. 2019. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2040 al^p gig vg s arm^{1.2.3.4} : του κυριου 21 (- 18. 35*. 205. 386. 2040). 2067 al^p Or^a : κυριου 046. 18. 104. 1957. 2039 : του θεου κ 201. 386 fi eth : > Tyc bo | εν τω ναῷ] > arm² : pr "which is" arm^{1.3} eth | αὐτου² > s¹ bo | ἐγένοντο] κ* : ἐγενετο κ* | και φωναὶ και βρονται ANC 025. 046. 21 (- 2020) Or^a Pr arm^{(1.2).3.4} sa eth : φωναὶ . . . βρονται ~ 69. 172. 250. 498. 2015. 2019. 2020. 2036. 2037 gig fi s (arm⁴) bo : και φωναὶ > 314. 2016 Tyc : και βρονται > vg | και σεισμος ANC 025. 1. 35*. 205. 2015. 2019. 2020. 2023. 2036. 2040. 2067 al^p Or^a Tyc Pr gig fi vg s arm^{2.4} eth : και ο σεισμος 181 : και σεισμοι 172. 250. 424. 2018. 2037. 2038 arm¹ bo sa : > 046. 21 (- 35*. 205. 2020. 2040) al^{mn} arm³ | και χαλαζα μεγαλη > Tyc |.

CHAPTER XII.

1. Καὶ σημεῖον μέγα ὤφθη ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, γυνὴ περιβεβλημένη τὸν ἥλιον, καὶ ἡ σελήνη ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν αὐτῆς, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτῆς στέφανος ἀστέρων δώδεκα. 2. καὶ ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα, ἔχουσα

1. και] > Pr : + ιδου bo | περιβεβλημένη] περιβλεπομενη A | η σεληνη] κ* : την σεληνην κ* : η > 1. 175. 498 : + ην 2020 | αστερων] ακανθων s¹ | δωδεκα ANC 025. 046. 21 (- 35. 337) Or^a : δεκα δυο 1. 181. 2037. 2067 : 48 35. 337. 2015. 2017 al^p : xxii. gig |.

2. εν γαστρι εχουσα] erat praegnans ventre Pr : in utero habebat fi : "she was with child" arm^{1.2.3.4} | και κραζει κ 2040 vg^{a.8} : και > A 025. 1. 35. 2015. 2019. 2036. 2037. 2038 : και εκραζεν C Pr fi vg^{2.7} : εκραζεν 21 (- 35*. 1849. 2040). 1. 104. 110. 172. 250. 2016. 2067 al^{mn} Or^a vg^d s³ : εκραζεν 046. 1849 al^p arm⁴ : εκρακεν 35 ? : και εκραζεν gig arm^{1.2.4} : "who cried out" arm⁸ : et clamans vg^a s¹ : κραζουσα bo | ωδινουσα] pr και A s eth | και βασανιζομενη] και > bo : et cruciatur Pr fi : "and in many pains she was nigh" arm¹ | τεκειν] pr του 468*. 2040 |.

πυρρός
μέγας

καὶ κράξει ὀδίνουσα καὶ βασανιζομένη τεκεῖν. 3. καὶ ὤφθη ἄλλο σημεῖον ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, καὶ ἰδοὺ δράκων ¹μέγας πυρρός¹, ἔχων κεφαλὰς ἑπτὰ καὶ κέρατα δέκα, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτοῦ ἑπτὰ διαδήματα. 4. καὶ ἦ οὐρὰ αὐτοῦ σύρει τὸ τρίτον τῶν ἀστέρων τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ἔβαλεν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν γῆν. καὶ ὁ δράκων ἔστηκεν ἐνώπιον τῆς γυναικὸς τῆς μελλούσης τεκεῖν, ἵνα ὅταν τέκῃ τὸ τέκνον αὐτῆς καταφάγῃ.

5. καὶ ἔτεκεν υἱόν, ἄρσεν, ὃς μέλλει ποιμαίνειν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ· καὶ ἤρπασθη τὸ τέκνον αὐτῆς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ πρὸς τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ.

3. μέγας πυρ(ρ)ος A 025. 051. 1. 35. 172. 205. 1957. 2015. 2019. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2040. 2041 al^p Tyc vg s¹ sa eth : ~MC 046. 21 (- 35. 205. 2040). 250. 2067 al^{ma} Or^a Pr gig fi s² arm^{1.2.3.4} (bo) | μέγας] + "exceedingly" arm¹ : "it is very great" bo | πυρρος AC 025. 051. 21 (- 18. 205. 337. 386. 617. 919. 920. 1849. 2004. 2040). 2037. 2038. 2067 al^{ma} Or^a : rufus Tyc Pr gig fi vg eth : πυρος C 046. 1. 18. 205. 250. 337. 386. 617. 919. 920. 1849. 2040 s : "fiery" arm^{1.2.3.4} : "of colour of fire" bo : > arm⁴ : + ομοιος πυρι eth | ἐπι τας κεφαλὰς] ἐπι της κεφαλῆς 205 (arm^{1.2}) : ἐπι τας ἑπτα κεφαλὰς arm⁴ | αὐτου] αὐτων A 172 | ἐπτα² > 1. 181. 2038 |.

4. ἡ οὐρα αὐτου] > gig : αὐτου > 1 | συρει] trahebat Tyc Pr fi vg | των αστερων] K^o : + το τρίτον K^{*} | του ουρανου] > 1. 2067 : των εν τω ουρανω s¹ | αὐτους] + εκ του ουρανου arm^{2.4} | εἰς την γην > arm⁴ | ἔστηκεν] ἑστηκει C s : ἑστη 61. 69 | της μελλουσης τεκειν] > bo eth : "who wished to bear" arm^{1.2.3} sa | τεκειν] τικτηιν 051. 35. 432. 1957. 2023. 2041 | τεκη] + ἡ γυνη arm^{1.2.3.4} | το τεκνον αὐτης > arm⁴ | τεκνον] παιδιον 2020 : filium gig vg bo : natum Pr fi | αὐτης > bo | καταφαγῃ] + αὐτο(ν) arm³ : + αὐτο(ν) ο δρακων arm^{1.2.3.4} | ἵνα . . . καταφαγῃ] ἵνα εαν τεκη το τεκνον ο δρακων καταφαγῃ αὐτο bo : ἵνα οταν τεκη καταφαγῃ το τεκνον αὐτης eth |.

5. ἔτεκεν] + ἡ γυνη Tyc arm^{1.2.3.4} | υιον > Tyc Pr arm^a | αρσεν AC : αρσενι 025. 2038. 2040 : αρρενα K 21 (- 2040). 1. 250. 2037. 2067 al^p Or^a : αρενα 046 | μελλει ποιμαινειν] "shall shepherd" arm^{1.2.3} : recturus est Pr gig fi vg | παντα τα εθνη] τα εθνη 205. bo : "his people" arm^{1.2} | εν ραβδω AKC 046. 21 (- 35^{*}. 205. 2040). 250. al^p Or^a Pr gig fi vg s (bo) : εν > 025. 051. 1. 35^{*}. 181. 205. 498. 2015. 2037. 2038. 2040. 2067 | και² > Pr | ηρπασθη AC 025. 21 (- 386. 2040). 1. 69. 104. 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^p Or^a : ηρπαχθη 046 : ηρπαγη K 60. 241. 385. 386. 432. 1957. 2016. 2023. 2040. 2041 | τεκνον] παιδιον 2020 | αὐτης > bo | πρως² > 1. 205. 2019. 2037. 2038 al^p |.

6. καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἔφυγεν εἰς τὴν ἔρημον, ὅπου ἔχει ἐκεῖ τόπον ἡτοιμασμένον ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἵνα ἐκεῖ ἱσχυοῦσιν αὐτὴν ἡμέρας χιλίας τρέφωσιν διακοσίας ἐξήκοντα.

7. Καὶ ἐγένετο πόλεμος ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ,

ὁ Μιχαὴλ καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ τοῦ πολεμῆσαι μετὰ τοῦ δράκοντος,

καὶ ὁ δράκων ἐπολέμησεν καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ, 8. καὶ οὐκ ἴσχυσεν, ἰσχυσαν

οὐδὲ τόπος εὐρέθη † αὐτῶν † ἔτι ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ.

6. η¹ > 205 | όπου έχει . . . απο του θεου] "where was her place (a place for her arm^{2.4}) prepared of God" arm^{1.2.4} : "which hath there a place prepared of God" arm⁴ : και (>bo) εις τον τοπον ον ητοιμασεν αυτη ο θεος bo sa eth | χει] ειχε 2020 fl vg^d s | κει¹ AN 025. 046. 21 (- 2020). 250. 2067. al^{pm} Or^s s¹ arm^{3.4} : tr after τοπον 205. 241. 632** gig : >C 051. 1. 69. 2019. 2020. 2037. 2038 al^p Pr fl vg s³ arm^{1.2.4} | ητοιμασμενον] pr αυτη arm^{2.4} : + αυτη arm³ | απο του θεου ANC 025. 1. 35. 1957. 2023. 2037*. 2038. 2040. 2041 : απο > 205 : υπο του θεου 046. 21 (- 35. 205. 468*. 620. 866. 2040). 250. 2037**. 2067 al^{mu} Or^s : υπο θεου 468*. 620. 866 | κει²] tr after αυτην 468 Pr fl : > 051 s¹ | τρεφωσιν A 025. 1. 18. 205. 250. 617. 2020. 2037. 2040. 2067 al^{mu} Or^s : εκτρεφωσιν 046. 21 (- 18. 205. 617. 2020 2040) al^{mu} : τρεφουσιν NC 051. 2019. 2038 : εκτρεφουσιν 429. 522 : "she may be fed" arm^{1.4} | αυτην] κ⁰ : αυτον κ² : > 69 arm^{1.4} | χιλιας διακοσιας εξηκοντα AN 025. 21 Or^s (arm^{3.4}) : + πεντε κ⁰ (arm^{1.2.3.4}) : χιλιας διακοσιας ξ' 046 : ασξ' 2015 : αωξ' 69 : χιλ. και διακ. και εξηκ. s : mille ducentis quadraginta gig : "a thousand two hundred and ninety" bo |.

7. πολεμος] + μεγας gig bo | ο] ο τε A s³ | του πολεμησαι AC 025. 35. 432. 1957. 2019. 2023. 2040. 2041 al^p : > Or^s : του > κ 046. 21 (- 35. 2040). 1. 69. 104. 110. 250. 314. 385. 429. 2015. 2016. 2017. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^{mu} s³ : ut pugnarent Pr fl : pugnabant Tyc (gig vg) arm^{1.2.3.4} : πολεμουντες s¹ arm⁴ | μετα] κατα 1. 201. 386 al^p | και ο δρακων . . . αυτου] και ο δρακων και οι αγγελοι αυτου επολεμησαν 205 s^{(1).2} | και ο δρακων] του δευτερου s¹ |.

8. και] sed fl arm^{1.4} : > arm⁴ | ισχυσεν A 21 (- 35. 205. 337. 1849 (2020). 2040). 250 al^{mu} (bo) eth : ισχυσαν (+ προσ αυτον κ) NC 025. 1. 35. 205. 337. 1849. 2015. 2019. (2020). 2036. 2037. 2038. 2040. 2067 al^{mu} Or^s Tyc Pr gig fl vg s (arm) : ισχυον 046. 69 : + πολεμων μετ αυτων bo | ουδε ANC 046. 21 (- 35. 205). 250. 2067 al^{mu} : ουτε 025. 1. 35. 205. 2019. 2037. 2038 al^p Or^s | τοποσ ευρεθη αυτων] τοτε ευρεθη κ² : τοποσ > 69 | ευρεθη αυτων AC 025. 046. 1. 69. 2020. (2040) al^{mu} Or^s gig vg : ~ 2015. 2036. 2037. 2067 Tyc (Pr) fl s² : ευρεθη αυτοις κ^{0.4}. 35. 1849*.

9. καὶ ἐβλήθη ὁ δράκων ὁ μέγας, ὁ ὄφης ὁ ἀρχαῖος,
ὁ καλούμενος Διάβολος καὶ ὁ Σατανᾶς,
ὁ πλανῶν τὴν οἰκουμένην ὅλην—
ἐβλήθη εἰς τὴν γῆν,
καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐβλήθησαν.
10. καὶ ἤκουσα φωνὴν μεγάλην ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ λέγουσαν
"Ἄρτι ἐγένετο ἡ σωτηρία καὶ ἡ δύναμις
καὶ ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν καὶ ἡ ἐξουσία τοῦ Χριστοῦ
αὐτοῦ,
ὅτι ἐβλήθη ὁ κατήγερ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν,
ὁ κατηγορῶν αὐτοὺς ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν ἡμέρας καὶ
νυκτός.
11. καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐνίκησαν αὐτὸν διὰ τὸ αἷμα τοῦ ἀρνίου,
καὶ διὰ τὸν λόγον τῆς μαρτυρίας αὐτῶν,
καὶ οὐκ ἠγάπησαν τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτῶν ἄχρι θανάτου.

2019 s¹ arm : ευρεθη αυτω 21 (-35. 1849*. 2020. 2040). 104.
110. 250. 314. (~385) al^{mn} | τοποσ αυτων ετι εν τω ουρανω ευρεθη
Pr | ετι > N^{c. o} 104. 2015. 2036 s arm |.

9. ο μεγασ ο οφισ] ο μεγασ οφισ N 1. 2067 : ο οφισ ο μεγασ
617. 920. 2040 Pr bo : μεγασ οφισ 2038 | ο οφισ] pr και arm² |
ο Διαβ. και > eth | και ο Σατανας AC 025. 1. 35*. 2038. 2040.
2067 al^p Or^a s : και > N bo : ο > 046. 21 (-35*. 2040). 250.
2037 al^{mn} | ο πλανων . . . γην > Tyc | ο πλανων] qui seducebat
Pr (bo) eth : qui seducet fl | ἐβληθη] pr και gig fl s^{1. (2)} : και
επεσεν arm⁴ : "the lion fell" arm^{1. 2} | μετ αυτου ἐβληθησαν] >
506. 2015. 2036. 2037 : μετ αυτου > 051. 1. 35*. 2038 : ἐβλη-
θησαν > Tyc arm¹ | ἐβληθησαν] επεσαν arm^{2. a} : επεσεν arm² |.

10. ηκουσα] ηκουσαν 2037. 2040 | φωνην μεγαλην . . . λεγου-
σαν] φωνησ μεγαλησ . . . λεγουσησ 2067 | μεγαλην > arm⁴ | εν
τω ουρανω] εκ του ουρανου 205. 2040 Tyc Pr gig s¹ arm^{1. 4. a} : after
λεγουσαν 1. 2037 al^p : > 452. 2021 | αρτι > Pr : ιδου s¹ | και
η βασιλεια > fl | και η εξουσια του Χριστου αυτου > Tyc s¹ |
Χριστου] κυριου C | ἐβληθη] κατεβληθη 1. 35. 2023. 2038. 2067 al^p
: exclusus est Tyc : "hath fallen" arm | κατηγερ A : κατηγοροσ
NC 025. 046. 21. 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^p Or^a : "the betrayer"
arm⁴ | των αδελφων ημων > s¹ | ο κατηγορων] qui accusabat Pr
vg s² : "who was betraying" arm⁴ | αυτους A 025. 1. 205. 2015.
2019. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2067 : αυτων NC 046. 21 (-205). 250.
al^p Or^a : > bo | θεου] + και του κυριου (Ιησου Χριστου) arm^{1. (2)} |
ημων² > 1. 61. 69. 522. 2015. 2036. 2037. 2039. 2067 arm^{1. 2. a}
bo eth |.

11. και¹] οτι bo : > arm² | αυτοι] ουτοι N : > Pr | ενικησαν]
superatus est Pr | αυτον] ab ipsis Pr : > s¹ | δια το αιμα] δια τον
αιματος 69. 2019 arm^{1. 2. 3. a} : εν τω αιματι s¹ : δια το ονομα 2015.
2036. 2037 | του αρνιου] + του θεου arm^{1. 2} | τον λογον] > C arm⁴ :

12. διὰ τοῦτο εὐφραίνεσθε οἱ οὐρανοὶ καὶ οἱ ἐν αὐτοῖς σκηνοῦντες·
οὐαὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν,
ὅτι κατέβη ὁ διάβολος πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἔχων θυμὸν μεγάλον,
εἰδὼς ὅτι ὀλίγον καιρὸν ἔχει.

13. Καὶ ὅτε εἶδεν ὁ δράκων ὅτι ἐβλήθη εἰς τὴν γῆν, ἐδίωξεν τὴν
γυναῖκα ἣτις ἔτεκεν τὸν ἄρσενά. 14. καὶ ἐδόθησαν τῇ γυναικὶ αἱ
δύο πτέρυγες τοῦ ἀετοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου, ἵνα πέτηται εἰς τὴν ἔρημον
εἰς τὸν τόπον αὐτῆς, ὅπου τρέφεται ἐκεῖ καιρὸν καὶ καιροὺς καὶ

του λογου arm¹. 2. 3. a : το αιμα bo | της μαρτυριας] την μαρτυριαν
C : των μαρτυριων arm⁴ | αυτων] αυτου 172. 205. 241. 632. 2022
arm | και³ οτι bo | ουκ] ουχ A | την ψυχην] τας ψυχας 172. 250.
424. 2018 vg^c. d. f. v arm⁴ | αυτων] εαυτων NC | αχρι] μεχρι 468.
620. 632*. 866 |.

12. δια] pr και 205 eth | οι ουρανοι A 051. 1. 35. 241. 429^{ab}.
632. 1957. 2015. 2019. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2040. 2067 al^p
Or^a arm¹. a bo eth : οι > NC 025. 046. 21 (- 35. 632. 2040).
250 al^{mn} s : ο ουρανος arm². 3 : ουρανος arm⁴ | εν αυτοις σκηνοῦντες
A 025. 046. 21 (- 920) Or^a s : εν αυτοις κατασκηνοῦντες C :
κατοικουντες εν αυτοις K (Pr fl vg bo sa eth) : "all (> arm³ :
'ye' arm⁴) who are dwelling ('the dwellers' arm³) in them
('it' arm³. 4. a) arm : εν αυτοις κατοικουντες 385. 429. 506. 522.
920. 2016. 2037 (gig) | την γην και την θαλασσαν C 025. 35*.
2015. 2036. 2038. 2040 : pr εω K : pr τοις κατοικουντι 1.
2037 : την αγαπην και την θαλασσαν A : τη γη και τη θαλασση 046.
21 (- 35*. 2040). 250. 2067 al^{pm} Or^a : vae terrae et mari gig fl vg s
arm bo eth : vae vobis (tibi Tyc) terra et mare Tyc Pr | κατεβη]
καταβαινει s¹. (2) : "is fallen" arm¹. 2. 3. a | διαβολος] "dragon"
arm¹. 2. 3*. 4 : "adversary" arm³. a | υμας] αυτους s¹ | εχων] pr ο
1. 2037 arm³. a | εχων θυμον μεγα] μεγα > K arm¹ : μεγα εχων
θυμον 2067 : εχων θυμον μεγα 2020 : cum ira ingenti Pr |.

13. ο δρακων οτι εβληθη] K* : οτι εβληθη ο δρακων NC | εβληθη]
"fell" arm¹. 2. 3. a eth but both = εβληθη | εδιωξεν] εδωκεν K* :
εδιωξεν NC : εδωκεν gig | αρσενα NC 025. 35. 61. 69. 2040 Or^a :
αρσεναν A : αρρενα 21 (- 35. 2040). 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^p
αρνα 046. 2015 : υιον s² : "child" arm¹ : "male" arm⁴ : "male
child" arm². 3. a : τον υιον (τον) αρρενα 506. 680 bo sa eth |.

14. εδοθησαν] εδοθη NC 205 s¹ arm | τη γυναικι] αυτη bo | αι
δυο πτερυγες] πτερυγες δυο 468* | αι δυο AC 025. 35*. 104. 181.
517*. 2015. 2019. 2036. 2038. 2040. 2067 (s²) : > arm¹. 2. 3 : αι >
K 046. 21 (- 35*. 2040). 2037 al^p Or^a s¹ arm⁴. a bo eth | πτερυγας]
+ (αι) μεγαλαι bo | του αετου] του > K arm bo : pr ως Pr bo | του
μεγαλου > arm¹ bo | πετηται] πεταται 046*. 1. 919. 2015. 2020.
2036 : πεσηται 386 : + η γυνη bo | εω την ερημον > 1. 181. 2037 |
εω > Tyc arm¹. 2. 3 | αυτη > bo eth | οπου τρεφεται ANC 025.
1. 35*. 201. 314. 386. 2015. 2019. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2040 al^p

ἡμισυ καιροῦ ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ ὄψεως. 15. καὶ ἔβαλεν ὁ ὄφεις ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ ὀπίσω τῆς γυναικὸς ὕδωρ ὡς ποταμόν, ἵνα αὐτὴν ποταμοφόρητον ποιήσῃ. 16. καὶ ἐβοήθησεν ἡ γῆ τῇ γυναικί, καὶ ἤνοιξεν ἡ γῆ τὸ στόμα αὐτῆς καὶ κατέπιεν τὸν ποταμόν ὃν ἔβαλεν ὁ δράκων ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ. 17. καὶ ὠργίσθη ὁ δράκων ἐπὶ τῇ γυναικί, καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ποιῆσαι πόλεμον μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν τοῦ σπέρματος αὐτῆς, τῶν τηρούντων τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἔχόντων τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ.

18. καὶ ἐστάθη ἐπὶ τὴν ἄμμον τῆς θαλάσσης.

Tyc Pr gig fl vg s² : pr ινα Or^a : οπου τρεφῆται 506. 517. 2017 : σκωσ τρεφῆται 046. 21 (- 35^{*}. 386. 2040). 250. 2067 al^{ms} s¹ | ἐκεῖ] > Tyc Pr fl vg bo eth : before αστυ gig | καιρον και καιρουνσ] καιρουνσ και καιρον ατμ¹ : καιρον και καιρον ατμ² : καιρον ατμ² | καιρον] > N^{*} : και καιρον N^c | και καιρουνσ] και > 456 s¹ | και ημισυ καιρου > C | ημισυ] N^c : ημισουν N^{*} |.

15. ἐβαλεν] ελαβεν A^{*} : υπερεβαλεν 104 | εκ του στοματος αυτου] tr. after της γυναικος 1 | οπισω τ. γυναικος after ποταμον bo sa | υδωρ] > 385. 429. 522 : "venom" arm² | ωσ ποταμον] εις ποταμον 18 : > ατμ^a | ινα . . . ποιηση > bo | αυτην ποταμοφορητον ποιηση] ποιηση αυτην ποταμοφορητον C | αυτην ANC 046. 21 (- 35. 205). 250. 2037 al^{ms} Or^a Pr gig vg s : ταυτην 025. 1. 35. 104. 205. 2038. 2067 al^p | ποταμοφορητον ποιηση] ποταμοφορητον ποιησει 104. 2019. 2038 : perderet Pr : faceret trahi a flumine vg : faceret ictu fluminis trahi ad se gig |.

16. καὶ ἐβοήθησεν . . . γυναικί > bo | καὶ¹] sed Pr | τῇ γυναικί . . . ἡ γῆ > 337 | ἡ γῆ² > 141. 250. 424. 452. 2018. 2019. 2021 Pr gig arm^{1.4} | τὸ στόμα] του στοματος 18 | καὶ κατέπιεν . . . στοματος αυτου > s² (odd.) | καὶ² > bo | τον ποταμον ον] το υδωρ ο A arm^{1.4} : τον ποταμον ο 456 : τον ποταμον υδατος bo | ἐβαλεν] ανεβαλεν 046 Or^a : ανελαβεν 61. 69 (69 after γυναικί ver. 17 repeats καὶ ηνοιξεν . . . ανελαβεν) : "poured out" arm^{1.2.2.4} | εκ του στομα τος αυτου] "upon the woman" arm⁴ : οπισω της γυναικος bo : > arm^a |.

17. καὶ ὠργίσθη . . . γυναικί > arm^{1.4} | ὠργισθη] οργισθη 046. 104. 2019. 2038 : iratus Pr | ο δρακων > Pr | ἐπὶ > C Pr | ποιησαι πολεμον] ~ N | μετα] pr και 2040 | των λοιπων] των επιλοιπων N : της γυναικος και arm¹ : > arm^{2.8} | του σπερματος] de semine Tyc Pr vg | αυτησ] της γυναικος bo | τας εντολας] την εντολην Pr arm¹ | Ιησου ANC 025. 046^{*}. 21. 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^p Or^a gig vg s arm^{2.4.4} bo : pr του 046^{**}. 1. 104. 110 : του θεου N^{*} : θεου 522 : Jesu Christi Pr vg^c arm^{1.2} eth |.

18. ver. 18 > Pr arm² | εσταθη ANC 61. 172. (205) al^p Or^a Tyc. gig vg^{a.4.7.9} s² arm^{1.8} eth : εσταθην 025. 046. 21 (- 205). 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^p vg^{a.8} s¹ arm^{4.4} bo |.

CHAPTER XIII.

1. Καὶ εἶδον ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης θηρίον ἀναβαῖνον,
ἔχον κέρατα δέκα καὶ κεφαλὰς ἑπτά, (α)
καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτοῦ ὀνόματα¹ βλασφημίας. ὄνομα
2. καὶ τὸ θηρίον δ' εἶδον ἦν ὅμοιον παρδάλει,
καὶ οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ ὡς ἄρκου,
καὶ τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ ὡς στόμα λέοντος.

καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ ὁ δράκων τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ
καὶ τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐξουσίαν μεγάλην.
3. καὶ μίαν ἐκ τῶν κεφαλῶν αὐτοῦ ὡς ἐσφαγμένην εἰς θάνατον,
καὶ ἡ πληγὴ τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ ἐθεραπεύθη.

καὶ ἐθαυμάσθη ὅλη ἡ γῆ † ὅπισω τοῦ θηρίου †,

(α) MSS add a gloss to prepare the way for xvii. 12: καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν κεράτων αὐτοῦ δέκα διαδήματα. See vol. ii. English transl., footnote *in loc.*

1. καὶ εἶδον ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης > 205 | ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης . . . ἀναβαῖνον] ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης after ἀναβαῖνον (Tyc) Pr s² arm eth | θηρίον ἀναβαῖνον] ~ Tyc : + μεγα arm¹ | ἔχον] ἔχων 1. 104. 110. 429. 522. 2016. 2017 | κέρατα δέκα καὶ κεφαλὰς ἑπτὰ] κέρατα δέκα καὶ > 1 : κέρατα δέκα . . . κεφαλὰς ἑπτὰ ~ vg arm^{1.2} * : κέρατα δέκα ~ 468 | τῶς κεφαλὰς] τὴν κεφαλὴν arm | αὐτοῦ] αὐτῶν (025) | ὀνόματα A 046. 21 (- 2040) al^{pm} Or^s vg s³ : ὀνομα NC 025. 1. 2015. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2067 Pr gig s¹ arm bo eth | βλασφημίας] γεγραμμενον bo |.

2. το θηρίον] bestiam Pr gig : bestia vg | ἦν ὅμοιον] ~ 172. 2015. 2018 Tyc Pr vg | ἦν > 1. 181. 209. 2038. 2067^{com} gig arm¹ * | αὐτοῦ¹ > Tyc | ὡς] similes gig | ἀρκου ANC 025. 046. 21 (- 35. 632. 2040). 1. 250. 2037*. 2038 al^{mu} Or^s : ἀρκτου 35. 61. 172*. 201**. 241. 385. 429**. 522. 632. 1957. 2037**. 2039. 2040. 2041. 2067 al^p | στομα² > 2020 s¹ arm^{1.2} * | λέοντος AC 025. 046. 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^{pl} Tyc Pr gig vg arm bo sa eth : λεοντῶν N 61. 69 Or^s s | αὐτῷ] αὐτον 866 | ο > N* | τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ καὶ > arm¹ | καὶ τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ > 2037 | καὶ ἐξουσίαν μεγάλην] > 385. 429. 522. 919. 1849. 1955. 2004. 2024 : καὶ > 104. 2038 : + ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ A** |.

3. καὶ¹ + εἶδον 2040. 2067 Tyc vg^{d. f. v} | μίαν] μία arm¹ * : unum caput Pr : πληγὴν (?) bo | ἐκ] > 046. 1. 205. 2019. 2037. 2038. 2067 : ἐπὶ bo | αὐτοῦ] ἑπτὰ Pr | ὡς ANC 025. 1. 35*. 205. 385. 2015. 2019. 2020. 2036. 2037. 2038 al^p Or^s : ὡσεὶ 046. 21 (- 35*. 205. 2020). 250. 2067 al^{mu} : ἦν arm¹ * : > arm^{2.3} |

4. καὶ προσεκύνησαν τῷ δράκοντι
ὅτι ἔδωκεν τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῷ θηρίῳ,

τῷ θηρίῳ

καὶ προσεκύνησάν τὸ θηρίον¹ λέγοντες
Τίς ὅμοιος τῷ θηρίῳ,
καὶ τίς δύναται πολεμῆσαι μετ' αὐτοῦ;

- 5^a. καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ στόμα λαλοῦν μεγάλα καὶ βλασφημίας, (a)

(a) On the restoration of 5^b to its original place before 7, see vol. ii., English transl., footnote *in loc.*

εσφαγμενην] εσφραγισμενην 386. 1957. 2037. 2067 : εσφαγμενη (?) arm¹ : σφαγισ bo : occisum fuerit Pr | αὐτου² > 046. 205 : του θανατου κ* (corr. first hand) | εθαυμασθη A 051. 1. 181. 2015. 2019. 2036. 2037. 2067 gig (s) : εθαυμαστωθη C : εθαυμασεν κ 025. 046. 21. 250 al^p Or^a bo : admiratae sunt Pr | ὅλη η γη] εν ὅλη τη γη 051. 1. 181. 2015. 2019. 2036. 2067 : in terra gig : gentes inhabitantes terram Pr : + καὶ ἠκολούθησεν eth | σπισω του θηριου] σπισθε του θηριου 2020 : post bestiam illam gig : ad bestiam Pr | σπισω του θηριου = הִתְרַחֵם הַחַיָּה, corrupt for הִתְרַחֵם הַחַיָּה. See vol. i. 337, 351 |.

4. τῷ δράκοντι . . . προσεκυνησαν² > 1. 385. arm^a bo | δρακοντι] θηριω arm¹ | οτι ἔδωκε . . . θηριω¹ > bo | οτι ἔδωκεν A^{NC} 025. 172. 181. 205. 209. 250. 424. 2015 (στε). 2018. 2019. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2040. 2067 Or^a Tyc Pr vg s arm⁴ : + ο δρακων arm¹ : τω δεδοκоти 046. 21 (- 205. 2040) al^{pm} : τω δοντι 61. 69 : qui dedit gig arm^a : | τὴν ἐξουσίαν] τὴν > Or^a : + αὐτου arm¹. 2. 4 : omnem potestatem suam Pr | τω θηριω¹ τω θηριον 920 : αὐτω arm¹ | λεγοντες . . . θηριω > s² | καὶ προσεκυνησαν το θηριον > 051. 181. 205. 2038. 2067 arm^a. 4 : | το θηριον A 2036. 2037 al^p : τω θηριω κC 025. 046. 21 (- 920). 250 al^{pm} Or^a : τω θηριον 920 | τω¹ ουδεις arm¹ | τω θηριω] + τουτω s¹. 2 bo eth : illae bestiae Pr | καὶ³ A^{NC} 025. 046. 1. 35. 60. 61. 69. 172. 181. 205. 241. 250. 432. 452*. 632**. 1957. 2015. 2018. 2019. 2020. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2040. 2041. 2067 Or^a Pr gig vg s bo eth : η Tyc arm : > 21 (- 35. 205. 632**. 2020. 2040). 104. 110. 314. 385. 2016 al^p | δυναται A^{NC} 025. 1. 35*. 172. 205. 250. 498. 920. 2015. 2018. 2019. 2020. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2040. 2067 : δυνατος 046. 21 (- 35*. 205. 920. 2020. 2040) al^{pm} Or^a |.

5^a. καὶ ἐδόθη . . . βλασφημιασ > 1. 2016. 2017. 2038 Pr | στομα > arm¹ | λαλουν] λαλουντος 205 : λαλειν arm¹. 2. 3. a bo eth : loquendi gig | βλασφημιασ κC 201. 386. 2020. 2040 al^p vg^(a). d s⁽²⁾ bo arm¹. 2 : βλασφημια 620. 866 vg^a. f. g. v : βλασφημα A 172. 181. 241. 250. 424. 632**. 2015. 2018. 2036. 2037. 2067 : βλασφημιαν 025. 046. 21 (- 386. 620. 632**. 866 (920). 2020. 2040) al^{mu} Or^a s¹ arm³. (4). a : blasphemare gig : + γενεσθαι arm⁴ |.

6. καὶ ἤνοιξεν τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ εἰς βλασφημίας πρὸς τὸν θεόν,
βλασφημῆσαι τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτοῦ,
καὶ τοὺς ἑν τῷ οὐρανῷ σκηνοῦντας. τοῦς

5^β. καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ἐξουσία ποιῆσαι μῆνας τεσσαράκοντα καὶ δύο,
7. καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ποιῆσαι πόλεμον μετὰ τῶν ἀγίων καὶ νικῆσαι
αὐτούς,
καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ἐξουσία ἐπὶ πᾶσαν φυλὴν καὶ λαὸν καὶ
γλῶσσαν καὶ ἔθνος.

8. καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν αὐτὸν πάντες οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς,
οὐδ' οὐ γέγραπται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἑν τῷ βιβλίῳ τῆς ζωῆς
τοῦ ἀρνίου τοῦ ἐσφαγμένου ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου. ὁ . . .
αὐτῶν

6. καὶ] deinde Tyc | το¹ > 175. 337. 617. 1849 | εἰς
βλασφημίας AC 1. 94. 172. 250. 424. 2018. 2019. 2040 vg : εἰς
βλασφημίας 025. 046. 21 (-2040). 2037. 2038. 2067 al^{pl} Or^s
Tyc gig s² : in blasphemia Pr arm^{1.2.4.a} : βλασφημειν s¹ arm^s bo
eth | βλασφημῆσαι | pr και bo eth : καὶ ἐβλασφημήσεν arm^{1.2.a} :
ἡ βλασφημία s¹ | αὐτοῦ² | N^o : αὐτον N^{*} | καὶ τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτοῦ
> C | καὶ τοὺς ἐν τ. οὐρ. σκηνοῦντας N^o 025. 046^{*}. 1. 205.
632^{**}. 2020. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^m vg bo arm¹ : τοὺς ἐν τ. οὐρ.
σκην. AC^{*} 046^{**}. 21 (-205. 632^{**}. 2020). 250 al^m Or^s Tyc s² :
τοὺς ἐν τ. οὐρ. σκηνοῦντας (> eth) Pr gig eth : τῶν ἐν τ. οὐρ. σκηνοῦντων
s¹ : τὴν ἐν τ. οὐρ. arm^{1.2} | σκηνοῦντας] σκηνοῦντες N : οἰκοντάς
386. 2019 : κατοικοντάς 149. 201 : σκηνὴν arm^s. a : ἐκλεκτοὺς
arm^s : > arm^{1.2} |.

5^β. καὶ ἐδόθη . . . ποιῆσαι > arm^{4.a} | ἐξουσία > N^{*} | ποιῆσαι
AC 025. 1. 94. 181. 632^{**}. 2015. 2019. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2040.
2067 Tyc Pr gig vg s eth : + ο θελεῖ N : pr πολέμον 046 21
(-632^{**}. 2040). 250 al^{pl} : + τα τεράτα α εβελησε eth : πολέμῳ
61. 69 Or^s bo sa : ποιῆσαι πολέμῳ (πολέμον arm^s) κατὰ τῶν
αγίων καὶ νικῆσαι αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐδόθη (+ αὐτῶν arm¹ : + ἐξουσία arm^s)
νικῆ (νικῆσαι arm^s) arm^{1.2} : > arm^{4.a} | μῆνας > arm^s | τεσσαράκοντα
AC : τεσσαράκοντα 025. 21 (-35). 250. 2037. 2067 al^{pl} Or^s |
τεσσ. καὶ δυο A 336. 620. 866. 2040 Tyc gig s : καὶ > AC 025. 21
(-35). 250. 2037. 2067 al^{pl} Or^s Pr vg : μβ 046. 35. 2015. 2019.
2036. 2038 al^p : (καὶ) δυο > arm^s |.

7. αὐτῷ] + ἐξουσία 386. 920. 2020 | ποιῆσαι . . . αὐτῷ > AC
025. 1^{*}. 61. 69. 181. 2038. 2067 arm^s sa | tr 7^a after 7^b s² : after 5^a
arm^{1.2.8} | arm^{1.2.8} | ποιῆσαι πολέμον N 046. 21. 2037 al^m Pr gig
s^{1.2} : ~ 1^{ms} 172. 250. 2018 al^p Or^s Tyc vg | μετὰ τῶν αγίων
> Tyc | νικῆσαι | vicit Pr | ἐξουσία] N^o : ἐξουσίαν N^{*} | πᾶσαν φυλὴν
πᾶσας τὰς φυλάς bo eth | καὶ λαὸν καὶ λαοὺς C arm⁴ : > 051.
1. 35. 1957. 2019. 2023. 2038. 2067 Tyc arm^{1.2} bo |.

8. προσκυνήσουσιν] προσεκύνησαν Pr vg^v arm^{2.8} eth | αὐτον
AC 046. 21 (-35. 205. 468. 2020. 2040). 250. 2037 al^{ma} Or^s :

9. Εἴ τις ἔχει οὗτε ἀκουσάτω.

10. εἴ τις εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν,

εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν ὑπάγει·

εἴ τις ἐν μαχαίρῃ ἀποκτανθῆναι,

<αὐτὸς> † αὐτὸν † ἐν μαχαίρῃ ἀποκτανθῆναι.

*Ὡδὲ ἐστὶν ἡ ὑπομονὴ καὶ ἡ πίστις τῶν ἀγίων.

αὐτῷ κ 025. 051. 1. 35. 104. 172. 205. 468. 1957. 2020. 2023. 2038. 2040. 2067 al^p : > Tyc | παντες . . . γησ] πασα η γη arm¹ | επι > 920. 2040 | τ. γησ] την γην 920 | ου ου C Pr : ουαι A : οι ου s¹ : ων ου κ^o (but κ^o om. ου) 025. 35. 175. 205. 250. 386. 617. 632^{**}. 919. 1934. 2020. 2037. 2038. 2040. 2067 al^p Or^a Tyc gig vg s² arm bo eth : ων ουτε 046. 21 (-35. 175. 205. 386. 617. 632^{**}. 919. 1934. 2020. 2040). 385 al^p : ω ουτε 110 | γεγραπται] γεγραμμενοι s¹ | το ονομα AC 046. 21 (-35^{*}. 2040). 250. 2038. 2067 al^p Or^a Tyc Pr s² bo : τα ονοματα κ 025. 1. 35^{*}. 2015. 2036. 2037. 2040 gig vg arm eth : > s¹ | αυτου AC : αυτων κ^o 2040 s² arm : > κ^o 025. 046. 21 (-2040). 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^p Or^a Tyc Pr gig vg s¹ | εν] επι 046 bo | τω βιβλιω τω > C : βιβλω κ^o : τω βιβλω κ^o : τη βιβλω 1 al^p | [ωσησ] + τω s¹ | [εσφαγμενου] εσφραγισμενου 1. 242. 336. 2020 Tyc | απο] προ s¹ : pr του Pr eth |.

9. ει τις εχει] οστις εχει arm² : ο εχων arm^{2,4} : οι εχοντες arm^{1,a} | ουσ] ωτα s Pr arm : + audiendi arm bo eth |.

10. εις αιχμαλωσιαν¹ ANC 025. 046. 35^{*}. 205. 2015. 2020. 2036. 2038. 2040 vg^{a,ε} s arm : + απαγει 250 Or^a gig vg^{d,ν} s : + επαγει 2018 : + υπαγει bo : αιχμαλωσιαν απαγει 424 : αιχμαλωσιαν 1. 61. 69. 241. 632^{**}. 2017. 2037 : εχει αιχμαλωσιαν 051. 21 (-35^{*}. 205. 632^{**}. 2020. 2040). 110. 201. 314. 385. 498. 522. 1955. 1957. 2016. 2041. 2067 al : αιχμαλωτιζει (τησει 2019). 104. 2019 : captivum duxerit Pr | εις αιχμαλωσιαν² A 218. 2018 Or^a gig vgs : > κC 025. 046. 21. 1. 61. 69. 104. 110. 201. 241. 314. 385. 498. 522. 1955. 1957. 2015. 2016. 2017. 2019. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2041. 2067 arm bo | υπαγει] συναγει 1. 2037 : vadet vg^o : et ipse capietur Pr | μαχαρη^{1,2} AC Or^a : μαχαира κ 025. 046. 21. 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^p | αποκτανθηται¹ A : On this Hebrew idiom see vol. i. 355 sq. : αποκτεινει κ 632^{**}. 2015. 2036 (gig s^{1,2}) : αποκταινει 051 : αποκτεινει 250. 2018. 2040 Or^a : αποκτεινει C 025. 046. 1. 35. 104. 172. 205. 506. 620. 866. 1957. 2019. 2020. 2023. 2037. 2041. 2067 al^p arm⁴ bo eth : occiderit Pr vg : > 21 (-35. 205. 620. 632^{**}. 866. 2020. 2040). 69. 82. 110. 314. 385. 429. 2016. 2017. 2038 al^p arm³ | αυτον] pr dei κC 025. 046 al^m Pr vg s¹ | εν μαχαρη² AC 025. 046 Or^a : εν μαχαира κ 35. 205. 620. 866. 2040 s arm⁴ bo : > 21 (-35. 205. 620. 866. 2040^c). 69. 82. 110. 241. 314. 385. 429. 2016. 2017 al^p | αποκτανθηται²] αποκτανθησεται gig s¹ sa eth : αποκτενουσιν αυτον

11. Καὶ εἶδον ἄλλο θηρίον ἀναβαῖνον ἐκ τῆς γῆς,
καὶ εἶχεν κέρατα δύο ὅμοια ἀρνίῳ,
καὶ † ἐλάλει † ὡς δράκων.

12. καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ πρώτου θηρίου πᾶσαν ποιῇ ἐνώπιον
αὐτοῦ,
καὶ ποιῇ τὴν γῆν καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ κατοικοῦντας ἵνα προσ-
κυνήσουσιν τὸ θηρίον τὸ πρῶτον,
οὐ ἑθεραπεύθῃ ἡ πληγὴ τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ.

13. καὶ ποιῇ σημεῖα μεγάλα, ἵνα καὶ πῦρ ποιῇ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ

bo sa | υπομονη . . . πιστις ~ s¹ | υπομονη] sapientia gig |
πιστις] θλιψις 498. 2020 | αγων] + μακαριος εστι bo : + μακαρισ-
μος και ου θαυμασει Σαταν eth |.

11. εἶδον] ἰδον 617 | θηριον > Tyc | αναβαινον] αναβαινον C :
αναβαινων 104 | δυο] tr after αρνιω 2020 : δεκα δυο 181 : > 21
(- 18. 35. 468. 620. 866. 2020. 2040). 42. 82. 110. 314. 385.
2016. 2017 al^p arm^s | ομοια] ονομα C : ομοιον bo : και ομοιον ην s¹ |
αρνιω] pr τω 620. 866 arm^s. 4. a : αρνιου Pr vg s³ | ἐλάλει] On the
corruption of the Hebrew source here, see vol. i. 358 sq. : λαλει
gig : λαλουν bo | δρακων] pr o arm |.

12. του πρωτου θηριου] του θηριου του πρωτου 69 | πασαν >
Pr arm⁴ | ποιει¹] εποιει 2020 Or⁴ Pr vg s³ arm bo : ποιησει 172.
250. 424. 2018 : ινα ποιησει s¹] : ποιειται 051. 35* | ενωπιον αυτου
και > Pr arm¹ | ποιει²] A^{NC} 025. i. 205. 620. 632*. 2015. 2019.
2036. 2037. 2038. 2040 al^{ma} Tyc gig : ποιησει 172. 250. 424.
2018 s¹ : εποιει 046. 20 (- 205. 620. 632*. 2040). 69. 104. 110.
314. 385. 2016. 2023. 2067 al Or⁴ s² : fecit vg arm bo : επι Pr
arm^s | την γην και] ενωπιον 025 | και^s > Pr | τους εν αυτη κατοι-
κουντας] tr εν αυτη after κατοικουντας C 61. 69 gig vg eth :
inhabitantes terram Pr : eos qui in ea sunt Tyc | ινα προσκυνη-
σουσιν AC 69. 104. 429*. 522. 2019. 2038 : και προσκυνη-
σουσιν s¹ : ινα προσκυνησωσιν 025. 046. 20. 250. 2037. 2067 al^p
Or⁴ : ut adorent Tyc gig arm : ut adorarent Pr : προσκυνει κ :
adorare vg | το θηριον το πρωτον] τω θηριω τω πρωτω 172. 314*.
452. 468. 2018. 2021. 2040 : bestiam priorem Tyc (Pr) | του
θανατου > A | αυτου^s > 025. 61. 69. 632* Pr vg |.

13. ποιει] ποιησει 172. 250. 2018 Tyc s¹ arm⁴ bo : εποιει
2016 : fecit Pr gig vg arm¹. 2. 3. a | σημεια μεγαλα] ~ 172. 250.
2018 | ινα και πυρ A^{NC} 025. i. 172. 250. 632*. 2018. 2020.
2038. 2040. 2067 al^p gig vg s² : ita ut ignem Pr : και > 205 Tyc
s¹ arm⁴ bo eth : ινα εν πλανη ποιη (ποιει 2015) πυρ 2015. 2036.
2037 : και πυρ ινα 046. 20 (- 205. 632*. 2020. 2040) al^{ma} Or⁴ :
πυρ ινα 61. 69 | ποιη (ποιει 2015 : ποιηση 250. 2018 Pr gig vg) εκ
του ουρανου καταβαινειν (καταβαινιν C : καταβηται 172. 250.

καταβαίνειν εἰς τὴν γῆν ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀνθρώπων. 14. καὶ πλανᾷ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς διὰ τὰ σημεῖα ἃ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ποιῆσαι ἐνώπιον τοῦ θηρίου, λέγων τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ποιῆσαι εἰκόνα τῷ θηρίῳ, ὅς ἔχει τὴν πληγὴν τῆς μαχαίρης καὶ ἔζησεν. 15. καὶ ἡ δόδοις ἡ αὐτῇ δούνην πνεῦμα τῇ εἰκόνι τοῦ θηρίου, ἵνα καὶ λαλήσῃ ἡ εἰκὼν τοῦ θηρίου, καὶ ποιήσῃ ἵνα ὅσοι ἔδωκεν μὴ προσκυνήσωσιν τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ θηρίου ἀποκτανθῶσιν.

2018 : discendentem Pr) AC 172. 250. 424. 2015. 2018. 2020. 2036. 2037. 2067 Tyc Pr vg arm^{1.2.3.4} : de celo faceret descendere gig : ποιη (ποιει 025. 2040) καταβαίνειν εκ του ουρανου κ 025. 1. 2038. 2040 al^p s arm⁴ bo eth : εκ του ουρανου καταβαινη (-νει 104. 314. 429. 522. 2019) 046. 20 (-205. 2020. 2040). 104. 314. 429. 522. 2019 al^{mu} Or^s : καταβαινη εκ του ουρανου 205 | εἰς τὴν γῆν AHC 025. 1. 205. 250. 2037. 2038 al^{mu} Or^s gig vg : ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν 046. 20 (-35. 205. 2040). 61. 82. 104. 110. 314. 385. 1957. 2016. 2067 s arm^{1.2.3.4} bo : ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς 69 : >35. 2040 Pr arm⁴ |.

14. πλανᾷ πλανήσει s bo : seduxit Pr : πλαναν arm¹ | τοὺς κατοικοῦντας AHC 025. 046. 205. 468^{**}. 620. 632^{**}. 920. 2020. 2040 Or^s Pr gig vg s arm bo eth : pr τοὺς ἐμουνσ 051. 20 (-205. 468^{**}. 620. 632^{**}. 920. (1849). 2020. 2040). 82. 110. 314. 385. 429. 2016. 2017. 2023 al | ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς] terram Pr vg : τῆς γῆς arm^{1.2} | διὰ τὰ σημεῖα . . . ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς² > 046^{*} s² | τὰ σημεῖα] το σημεῖον arm⁴ | λέγων] λεγον 046^{**}. 1. 61. 69. 201. 386. 620. 2040 : λεγοντος 046.^{ms} : et dicit Pr | ποιῆσαι] pr και κ | εἰκονα] εἰκοναν A 2038 | ος AC 025. 046. 61. 172. 218. 250. 424. 2015. 2018. 2019. 2036. 2038 Pr gig : ο κ 20. 1. 2037. 2067 al^p vg s¹ : ως Or^s | εχει AHC 025. 1. 250. 2020. 2038 al^{mu} Pr gig vg s¹ arm⁴ bo : εἰχε 046. 20 (-2020). 2037. 2067 al^{mu} Or^s s² | τὴν πληγὴν AC 025. 35. 205. 250. 620. 632^{**}. 2020. 2037. 2038. 2040. 2067 al^p Or^s : πληγησ κ : τὴν > 046. 20 (-35. 205. 620. 632^{**}. 2020. 2040). 42. 61. 69. 82. 110. 141. 201. 314. 385. 429. 452. 498. 506. 517. 522. 1955. 2016. 2017. 2021 bo | τῆς μαχαίρης (pr απο 61. 69 Pr) και ἐζησεν (ζησεται arm^{1.2.3}) AHC 025. 35. 61. 69. 250. 632^{**}. 2020. 2037. 2038. 2040. 2067 al^{mu} Pr gig vg s arm bo : και ἐζησεν απο (+τὴς πληγησ 336. 620. 1918) τῆς μαχαίρας 046. 20 (-35. 205. 632^{**}. 2020. 2040) al^{mu} Or^s : τῆς μαχ. κ. ἐζησεν απο τ. πληγ. τ. μαχ. 205 | μαχαίρης AHC Or^s : μαχαίρας 025. 046. 20 al^p |.

15. αὐτῇ AC 025*. (The feminine may be due to the gender of the Hebrew word נִיחַ; but the late emendation in κ 025^{**}. 046 must be adopted) : αὐτῷ κ 025^{**}. 046. 20. 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^p | δουναι > C arm³ | δουναι πνευμα AN 025. 1. (35). 205. 2037. 2038. 2040. 2067 al^{mu} Pr gig vg s : ~ 046. 20 (-35).

16. καὶ ποιεῖ πάντας, τοὺς μικροὺς καὶ τοὺς μεγάλους, καὶ τοὺς πλουσίους καὶ τοὺς πτωχοὺς, καὶ τοὺς ἐλευθέρους καὶ τοὺς δούλους, ἵνα δώσιν αὐτοῖς χάραγμα ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῶν τῆς δεξιᾶς ἢ ἐπὶ τῷ

205. 2040). 250 al^{mn} Or^a | ἵνα καὶ λαλήσῃ ἡ εἰκὼν τοῦ θηρίου > C 69. 336. 468*. 617. 620*. 2015. 2036 s¹. (2) arm⁴ bo (but not sa eth) | ἵνα καὶ] ~ Pr arm² * : καὶ > 104. 205. 2020. 2037. 2040 gig arm¹ : οὐκ arm³ | λαλήσῃ] λαλήσει 104. 522. 620**. 2040 : ἐλάλει arm³ | καὶ ποιήσῃ . . . θηρίου > C 2015 | καὶ ποιήσῃ . . . ἀποκτανθῶσιν] καὶ ἀποκτείνει ὅσοι εἰαν μὴ προσκυνήσουσιν τ. θηρίον καὶ τ. εἰκὼνα αὐτοῦ bo | ποιήσῃ (on this Hebraism (= ποιῆσαι) see vol. I. Introd. ; *Gram.* § 10. i. (b)) A 025. 046. 20 (- 468. 617. 620. 2004. 2040). 1. 2037. 2067 al^{pl} Or^a Pr gig vg : ποιήσει & 61. 69. 250. 468. 522. 617. 620. 2004. 2019. 2036. 2038. 2040 s : ἐποιεῖ arm³ eth | ἵνα A 025. 104. 506. 2019. 2037. 2040 Pr gig vg s arm : > & 046. 20 (- 2040). 61. 69. 172. 201. 250. 314. 385. 498. 522. 1955. 2015. 2016. 2018. 2036. 2038. 2067 al^p Or^a vg^a * | εἰαν] αν & 1. 205. 2037. 2038 al^{mn} : > 2016. 2040 | προσκυνήσωσιν A 025. 046. 20. 250. 2037. 2067 al^{pl} Or^a : προσκυνήσουσιν & 051. 69. 104*. 452. 2016. 2019. 2038 arm¹. 2. * : adoraverunt Tyc : adoraret Pr : adoraverit gig vg : adorabant arm³ | τὴν εἰκὼνα A 1. 2037. 2067 al^p : τὴν εἰκὼν & 025. 046. 20. 250. 2038 al^{pm} Or^a | τὴν εἰκὼνα τοῦ θηρίου] τὸ θηρίον καὶ τὴν εἰκὼνα αὐτοῦ Tyc bo | τοῦ θηρίου] + ἵνα 051. 1. 35. 632**. 1957. 2023 al^p : + neque acceperunt inscriptionem in fronte aut in manu sua Tyc | ἀποκτανθῶσιν] ἀποκτανθῆναι 61. 69 Or^a : ἀποκτείνει bo : occidatur vg^c. d. l. v. |

16. ποιεῖ] ποιήσει & vg s arm¹. 2. 2. * bo : fecit Pr | μικροὺς . . . μεγάλους] ~ Pr arm⁴ | τοὺς > & | καὶ > s¹ | πλουσίους . . . πτωχοὺς] ~ & 2036 | καὶ τοὺς πτωχοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐλευθέρους] > Pr : πτωχοὺς . . . ἐλευθέρους ~ arm^a | ἐλευθέρους . . . δούλους] ~ 620. 1918. 2019 eth | καὶ τοὺς ἐλευθέρους] > 205. 2038 : καὶ τοὺς δεσποτάς s¹ | ἵνα > bo | δώσιν (δωσι &) AHC 025. 046. 35. 42. 60. 61. 69. 172. 181. 250. 314. 432. 468. 1957. 2018. 2019. 2020. 2023. 2037. 2038. 2041 al Or^a : δώσει 1 bo : δώσῃ 051 arm : δώσωσιν 82. 104. 175. 205. 336. 429. 498. 522. 617. 620. 919. 920. 1849. 1955. 2004. 2015. 2017. 2036 al^{pl} : δώσουσιν 18. 91. 94. 141. 201. 209. 325**. 337. 385. 386. 456. 632. 1934. 2016. 2067 al : δόθῃ s : λαβῶσι 506. 2040 : habere Pr vg | αὐτοῖς] & αὐτῷ & : ἀλλήλοις gig : > 506. 2040 Pr vg | χάραγμα AHC 025. 1. 172. 205. 241. 250. 498. 522. 632**. 2015. 2018. 2019. 2020. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^p Tyc Pr gig vg s arm². 2. 4. * : χάραγματα 046. 20 (- 205. 632**. 2020. 2040) al^{pm} Or^a : τὸ χάραγμα αὐτοῦ 506. 2040 arm¹ | τῆς χειρὸς . . . τῆς δεξιᾶς] τῶν χειρῶν . . . τῶν δεξιῶν s | τῇ > 20 (- 35. 205. 2040). 42. 82. 110. 201. 314. 385. 429. 498. 517. 522. 1955. 2015. 2016. 2017 al | ἡ] καὶ 181. 2020.

μέτωπον αὐτῶν, 17. καὶ ἵνα μὴ τις δύνηται ἀγοράσαι ἢ πωλῆσαι εἰ μὴ ὁ ἔχων τὸ χάραγμα, τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θηρίου ἢ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ. 18. Ὡδε ἡ σοφία ἐστίν· ὁ ἔχων νοῦν ψηφισάτω τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦ θηρίου, ἀριθμὸς γὰρ ἀνθρώπου ἐστίν· καὶ ὁ ἀριθμὸς αὐτοῦ ἑξακόσιοι ἐξήκοντα ἕξ.

2038 arm^{2.2.4}. bo | το μετωπον ΑΚ 025. 20 (- 35. 205. 468^{**}. 920. 2020). 250 al^{mu} Or^s Tyc arm^s (bo) eth : pr αυτο 2020 : του μετωπου C : των μετωπων 046. 051. 1. 35. 205. 468^{**}. 920. 2015. 2037. 2038. 2067 Pr gig vg arm^{1.2.2.4} | αυτων² > 2015 Pr |.

17. καὶ¹ ΑΚ^s 025. 046. 20. 250. 2038. 2067 al^{pl} Or^s gig vg arm^{1.2.2.4} : > Ν^{*C} 314. 2015. 2017. 2036. 2037. 2041. Pr s arm⁴ bo : sic ergo facient Tyc | μη τις] μηδεις 172. 250. 2018 | δυνηται ΑΚC 18. 35. 110. 141. 172. 205. 241. 250. 385. 429. 432. 468. 632. 1849. 1955. 1957. 2004. 2018. 2019. 2020. 2023. 2040 al^{mu} Or^s Tyc Pr gig vg s² : δυναται 025. 046. 051. 20 (- 18. 35. 205. 468. 632. 1849. 2004. 2020. 2040). 1. 61. 69. 104. 201. 314. 2015. 2016. 2017. 2024. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^p arm^{1.2} : δυνησεται arm^{2.4.4} bo : > s¹ | αγορασαι . . . πωλησαι] ~ 172. 250. 2018 | η πωλησαι] > Tyc : καὶ πωλησαι arm^{2.4} : + επι 172. 250. 2018 s¹ | μητ C | ο εχων] ο > C : η εχων 1 : εχη arm^{1.2.4} : οι εχοντες Tyc | το ονομα του θηριου Α 025. 046. 20 (- 2020). 1. 61. 69. 104. 172. 201. 250. 314. 385. 498. 522. 1955. 1957. 2015. 2016. 2018. 2023. 2036. 2041. 2067 al Or^s vg^s : του ονοματος του θηριου C 2037. 2038 Pr vg^{a.4.4.7} s^{1.2} arm^s eth : του θηριου η (καὶ 2019) το ονομα αυτου Ν 2019. 2020 bo : pr η Tyc gig arm⁴ : + η τον αριθμον του θηριου 046 | η] καὶ Pr arm^{1.2.2.4} | τον αριθμον] του αριθμου eth |.

18. η σοφία] sapientiae Tyc | εστιν] χει Or^s : tr before η σοφια gig : + καὶ s¹ | νουν] pr τον 1. 172 : ους Ν^{*} 325^{*}. 620 : ουν 69 : νουσ 1918 : σοφιαν arm^{1.8} | τον αριθμον] το ονομα 61. 69. 2019 | ανθρωπου εστιν] ~ 205 | καὶ ο αριθμοσ αυτου > Ν s¹ | καὶ AC 025. 046. 1. 35. 60. 94. 205. 432. 632^{**}. 1957. 2015. 2020. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2040. 2041. 2067 al^{mu} Pr gig vg s² arm^{1.2.4.4} bo eth : > 20 (- 35. 205. 632^{**}. 2020. 2040). 61. 69. 104. 110. 172. 250. 314. 385. 498. 522. 2016. 2018 al^p Or^s Tyc | αυτου] + εστιν C 025. 1. 35. 60. 94. 205. 432. 1957. 2015. 2020. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2040. 2041. 2067 Tyc gig vg^(-o) s² arm^{1.2.4} bo | εξακοσιοι (-αι Ν : -a 025. 104. 336. 385. 620. 1934. 2037. 2038. 2040. 2067). εξηκοντα (+ καὶ 2037 s) εἰς ΑΚ 025. 104. 149. 336. 385. 620. 1934. 2037. 2038. 2040. 2067 Pr gig vg s bo : χεσ' 046. 20 (- 149. 620. 1934. 2040). 1. 69. 250. 314. 429. 498. 1957. 2017. 2018. 2019. 2023. 2036. 2041 al^{mu} : χεσ' 2015 : εξακοσια δεκα εἰς C : arm⁴ Iren. v. 30. 1 : DCXC Tyc |.

xiv. 12. Ὡδε ἡ ὑπομονὴ τῶν ἁγίων ἐστίν, οἱ τηροῦντες τὰς ἐντολάς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν πίστιν Ἰησοῦ. 13. καὶ ἤκουσα φωνῆς ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ λεγούσης Γράψον Μακάριοι οἱ νεκροὶ οἱ ἐν κυρίῳ ἀποθνήσκοντες ἀπ' ἄρτι. ναὶ, λέγει τὸ πνεῦμα, ἵνα ἀναπαύσονται ἐκ τῶν κόπων αὐτῶν, τὰ γὰρ ἔργα αὐτῶν ἀκολουθεῖ μετ' αὐτῶν.

xiv. 12-13. On the restoration of these verses to their original context, see vol. i. 368-369.

xiv. 12. ὦδε η υπομονη] ο δε υπομενων μετα bo : ηδε δε η υπομονη eth | ὦδε > 69 | η > 1934 | ἐστιν] + ὦδε i. 35. 69. 104. 205. 620. 1957. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2067 al : tr before η υπομονη Pr gig | οι τηρουντες] των τηρουντων K 2004**. 2019. 2020. 2040 | του θεου > i. 2067 | πιστιν] + του 35. 432. 1957. 2023. 2041 | Ἰησου] + Χριστου 582. 1948. 2014. 2015. 2034. 2036. 2037. 2042 arm¹.² bo : + χαρησονται 35* |.

13. φωνη . . . λεγουση] φωνην . . . λεγουσαν 386 | φωνη] + αλλησ μεγαλησ bo | εκ του ουρανου λεγουση] λεγουσησ (+ μοι 2020) εκ του ουρανου K 2020. 2037 | λεγουσησ] + μοι 051. i. 35. 205. 468. 632**. 1957. 2015. 2019. (2020). 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2041. 2067 Pr gig v^hd arm¹.².³.⁴ | γραψον > bo | οι νεκροι > eth | εν κυριω AK 046. 20. al^{pl} Pr gig vg arm bo : + ημων s¹ : χριστω C 025 : (τω) θεω s² | αποθνησκοντες] "should they rise" bo | απ αρτι joined with what precedes P 35. 205. (337). 468**. 498. (632**). 1957. 2004**. 2040. 2041 al s arm bo : joined with what follows 046. 20 (- 35. 175. 205. (337). 468**. (632**). 2004**. 2040) al^{ma} Pr gig vg : without punctuation ANC 051. 175 | ναι, λεγει ANC 025. 632**. 2004**. 2020. 2040 al Pr gig vg s arm¹.².³.⁴. : και λεγει 205. 2018. 2019. 2041 arm² : ~ 046. 20 (- 632**. 2004**. 2020. 2040). 69. 104. 110. 314. 2023 al^{ma} : ναι > K* 620 bo | πνευμα] + το αγιον 2004**. 2040 arm¹.².³ eth | αναπαυσονται ANC : αναπαυσονται 046. i. 620. 2038 al^p arm².³.⁴ : αναπαυονται 025. 20 (- 620). 250. 2037. 2067 al^{pm} : αναπαυονται 051 : αναπαυονται arm¹.². : requiescant Pr gig vg : + απ αρτι bo | εκ] απο 61. 69 | κοπων] εργων 61. 69 | των κοπων αυτων τα γαρ εργα αυτων ακολουθει] των κοπων των εργων αυτων <a> ακολουθησει bo | τα γαρ εργα . . . μετ αυτων > s¹ | τα γαρ ANC 025. 336. 506. 2004**. 2020. 2040 Pr gig vg s² arm⁴ : τα δε 046. 20 (- 2004**. 2020. 2040). 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^{pl} arm¹.².³.⁴ eth | αυτων] + και οδηγησει αυτους εις ζωην πηγην υδατων bo (vid) |.

CHAPTER XIV.

1. Καὶ εἶδον καὶ ἰδοὺ τὸ ἀρνίον ἐστὸς ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος Σιών,
καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἑκατὸν τεσσαράκοντα τέσσαρες χιλιάδες,
ἔχουσαι τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ γεγραμ-
μένον ἐπὶ τῶν μετώπων αὐτῶν.
2. καὶ ἤκουσα φωνὴν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ
ὡς φωνὴν ὑδάτων πολλῶν
καὶ ὡς φωνὴν βροντῆς μεγάλης.
καὶ ἡ φωνὴ ἣν ἤκουσα ὡς κιθαρωδῶν
κιθαριζόντων ἐν ταῖς κιθάραις αὐτῶν, 3. καὶ ᾄδουσιν ὡς ψῆδὴν
καινὴν
ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου καὶ ἐνώπιον τῶν τεσσάρων ζώων καὶ τῶν
πρεσβυτέρων·

1. καὶ εἶδον καὶ ἰδοὺ] et ecce vidi Pr : καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα eth |
καὶ¹ > gig | καὶ ἰδοὺ > gig Cyp bo (cf. eth) | τὸ ἀρνίον . . . Σιών]
supra montem Syon agnum stantem gig | τὸ ἀρνίον AHC 046.
20 (- 35. 205. 468**) s arm² * bo eth : τὸ > 025. 1. 35. 205. 250.
468**, 1957. 2015. 2018. 2019. 2023. 2037. 2038. 2041. 2067
al^p arm¹. 2⁴ | ἐστὸς AHC 025. 2036 : ἐστῶς 046. 1. 205. 250.
2020. 2037. 2038. 2040 al^p : ἐστηκος 20 (- 205. 2004. 2020.
2040). 2067 al^{mu} : ἐστηκῶς 104. 172. 2004 : stans Tyc : stantem
Pr gig Cyp : stabat vg | ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος Σιών] ἐπὶ ὄρος C | μετ' αὐτοῦ
AHC 025. 35. 205. 2020. 2037. 2038. 2040. 2067 al Tyc Pr gig
vg Cyp s¹ arm bo eth : + ἀριθμὸς 046. 20 (- 35. 205. 2020. 2040).
250 al^{mu} s² | ἑκατὸν τεσσαράκοντα τεσσαρεσ AHC : ἑκατὸν τεσσαρα-
κοντα τεσσαρεσ 025. 250. 386. (620). 1934. 2020. 2037. 2040.
2067 al^{pm} : ἑκατὸν τεσσαρακοντεσσαρεσ 149 : ρμδ' 046. 20 (- 149.
386. (620). 1934. 2020. 2040). 1. 2038 al^{pm} | ἔχουσαι] pr ai 69 :
ἐχοντες gig vg : habebant Pr Cyp | αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα > 025. 1 |
τὸ ὄνομα² > 104. 336. 522. 620 | αὐτοῦ² > 385 | γεγραμμένων] pr
το A s² : ἐγγεγραμμένον 385 : καιόμενον 1 |.

2. φωνὴν¹. 2³] φωνῆς 2067 | φωνὴν¹ > 920 | ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ
ὡς φωνὴν > 620* | φωνὴν ὑδάτων πολλῶν καὶ ὡς φωνὴν > bo
| φωνὴν² > Tyc | καὶ ὡς φωνὴν βροντῆς μεγάλῃς > 2015. 2036 |
ὡς²] aut Pr : > arm² * | φωνὴν² > Tyc Pr | βροντῆς μεγάλῃς] κ^c
: μεγάλῃς > N* : ~ Pr : βροντὴν μεγάλῃν Tyc bo | καὶ ἡ φωνὴ ἣν
ἤκουσα AHC 046. 20. 250 al^p Pr s² bo : καὶ > s¹ : καὶ φωνὴν (- ἡς
2067) ἤκουσα 025. 1. 1957. 2015. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2067 arm² :
et vocem quam audiui Tyc gig vg : καὶ ἤκουσα ὡς φωνὴν arm¹. * |
ὡς²] > 1. 1957. 2038. 2067 : + φωνὴν arm⁴ | κιθαρωδῶν κιθαριζόντων]
κιθαρωδῶν κιθαριζόντα s¹ : κιθαρωδουσ bo | ἐν ταῖς κιθάραις αὐτῶν]
αὐτῶν > C : ἐν τ. κ. αὐτοῦ s¹ : > Pr bo |.

3. καὶ ᾄδουσιν] καὶ (> bo) ᾄδοντες 743. 1075 s¹. 2 bo eth : et

- 3^b α. και ουδεις εδυνάτο μαθειν την ψδην,
 ει μη αι εκατον τεσσαράκοντα τέσσαρες χιλιάδες (α)
 4^c ουτοι οι ακολουθουντες τῷ ἀρνίῳ ὅπου ἂν ὑπάγει.
 4^d ουτοι ἡγοράσθησαν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπαρχὴ τῷ θεῷ (δ),

(α) Text adds following interpolation: 3^d. οι ἡγορασμένοι ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς
 4^{ab}. οὗτοι εἰσιν αἱ μετὰ γυναικῶν οὐκ ἐμολύνθησαν· παρθένοι γὰρ εἰσιν.

(δ) Text adds gloss: καὶ τῷ ἀρνίῳ.

cantabant Pr gig vg arm | ωσ ὡδην AC 1. 35*. 2015. 2019. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2040 al^p vg s¹ sa : ωσ > K 025. 046. 20 (- 35*. 2040). 250. 2067 al^{pm} Pr gig s² arm bo eth : εν ὡδῃ (καινη) bo | ὡδην καινην] ~ 1934 | καινην] + και ην K (ην above the line) : pr και arm³ | ενωπιον του θρονου] > 42. 498. 1918. 2020 : + του θεου gig arm^{1.3} | και² > 42. 498. 1918. 2020 | τεσσαρων > 205 | και των πρεσβυτερων > C arm^{1.3} | και³ + ενωπιον K gig s¹ arm^{2.4} | ουδεις] ουδε εισ 046. 20 (- 35. 205. 620. 1934. 2020. 2040). 110. 201. 385. 429. 1955. 2016. 2017 : ουκ arm⁴ | εδυνάτο ANC 20 (- 386. 617. 2040) al : ηδυνάτο 025. 046. 250. 386. 617. 2037. 2040. 2067 al^{pl} : ου δύναται 2038 (arm^{2.4}) : ηδυναμην arm⁴ | μαθειν] dicere Pr gig vg (ε^{ss} discere) : "to know" arm⁴ bo eth | ει μη] και s¹ | αι > K^c 104. 620. 1849. 1955. 2004. 2015. 2017* | εκατον τεσσαράκοντα τεσσαρες AK^c(C) : εκατον τεσσαράκοντα μιαν K* : τεσσαρες > C : εκατον τεσσαράκοντα τεσσαρες 025. 386. (620). 1934. 2040 | εκατον μὲν I : ρμδ 046. 20 (- 386. 620. 1934. 2040) al^{mu} | χιλιάδες > Pr | οι ηγορασμενοι απο της γης] quae emptae erant de terris Pr |

4. ουτοι . . . αν υπαγει] ουτοι εισιν οι ακολουθουντες . . . υπαγει οι μετα γυναικων . . . γαρ εισιν 205 | ουτοι εισιν > A (205) | ἐμολύνθησαν] ἐμολυναν τα ὀφθαλμοι αυτων bo | εισιν²] permanserunt Pr Cyp | ουτοι² AKC 025. 1. 2015. 2020. 2037. 2038. 2040 gig vg^a s¹ (arm^{1.2.3.4}) : + εισιν 046. 20 (- (205). 2020. 2040). 250. 2067 Or^s Tyc Pr vg^{d.f} Cyp s¹ arm⁴ bo | οι² > K | ακολουθουντες] ακολουθησαντες 920 s | οπου αν AKC 025. 1. 35. 172. 205. 250. 314. 1957. 2015. 2018. 2019. 2020. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2040. 2067 al^{mu} : αν > 1849 : οπου εαν 046. 20 (- 35. 205. 1849. 2020. 2040). 61. 69. 104. 110. 201. 241. 242. 385. 429. 1955. 2016. 2017. 2024 al^m Or^s | υπαγει AC 104. 172. 336. 620. 2015. 2019. 2038 s² : vadit Pr : υπαγει K 025. 046. 21 (- 620). 250. 2037. 2067 al^{pl} Or^s s¹ : ierit Tyc (gig vg) : "shall go" arm | ηγορασθησαν ANC 025. 1. 172. 250. 2015. 2018. 2019. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2040. 2067 al^p Pr gig vg s¹ (arm⁴) bo eth : pr υπο Ιησου 046. 051. 20 (- 2040). 69. 104. 110. 314. 385. 2016 al^{mu} Or^s s² | απο των ανθρωπων > C | ἀπαρχὴ AC 025. 046. 20 (- 620). 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^{pl} Or^s gig vg s arm⁴ bo : απ αρχη K 336. 620. 1918 : ab exordio Pr (placed after το αρνιω) : > eth | τω αρνιω] pr εν K* : του αρνιου arm |

είσιν

5. καὶ ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτῶν οὐχ εὐρέθη ψεύδος·
ἄμωμοι [γάρ ἐστιν].

6. Καὶ εἶδον ἄλλον ἄγγελον πετόμενον ἐν μεσουρανήματι,
καθημέρους ἔχοντα εὐαγγέλιον αἰώνιον εὐαγγελίσαι ἐπὶ τοὺς [κατοικοῦντας]¹
ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶν ἔθνος καὶ φυλὴν καὶ γλῶσσαν καὶ
λαόν, λέγων ἐν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ

7. Φοβήθητε τὸν θεὸν καὶ δότε αὐτῷ δόξαν,
ὅτι ἦλθεν ἡ ὥρα τῆς κρίσεως αὐτοῦ,
καὶ προσκυνήσατε τῷ ποιήσαντι τὸν οὐρανὸν
καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν καὶ πηγὰς ὑδάτων.

5. καὶ] σι s¹ : > Pr | ἐν τῷ στοματι αὐτῶν οὐχ εὐρέθη ANC 025.
1. 35. 205. 1957. 2015. 2019. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2040.
2041. 2067 al Or^s Tyc gig vg s : in quorum ore non est Pr :
οὐχ εὐρέθη ἐν τῷ στοματι αὐτῶν 046. 20 (-35. 205. 2040). 69.
82. 104. 110. 250. 314. 385. 429. 2016. 2017. 2018 al (bo) eth |
ἐν τῷ στοματι] ἐν τοῖς στομασι arm^a bo | ψευδος] δολος 1. 2037
al^p arm² | ἄμωμοι γὰρ εἰσιν κ 046. 20 (-35). 250. 2037. 2038.
2067 al^p Or^s vg^{ac}. a. d s arm^{(1. 2. 3). 4} bo sa eth : σι ἄμωμοι εἰσιν
051. 35 : γὰρ > AC 025. 181 Tyc gig vg^{l. 5. h. v} : et inventi sunt
sine reprehensione Pr | ἄμωμοι] ἄμωμοι 104 | εἰσιν] + οὗτοι
εἰσιν οἱ ἀκολουθούντες τῷ ἀρνίῳ 218. 242. 250. 617. 1934 : +
“before God” arm² |.

6. ἄλλον ἄγγελον AN^{c. o} 025. 35. 1957. 2023. 2036. 2037.
2040 al^{mu} Pr gig vg Cyp s arm bo eth : ~ 218. 250. 2018 : ἄλλον
> κ^{*} 046. 20 (-35. 2040). 2038. 2067 al^{pm} sa : ἄγγελον > Tyc |
πετόμενον AC 051. 20 (-617. 919). 69. 250. 385. 1957. 2016.
2018. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2067 al : πετώμενον 025. 046. 1. 617.
919 al : πεταμένον κ | ἐν > 35 | μεσουρανήματι] κ^o : μεσω ουρανηματι
κ^{*} : μεσουρανισματι 1 : ουρανῶ αἵματι s² | ἔχοντα] + ἐπ αὐτῷ s¹ |
εὐαγγελίσαι AC 025. 046. 20. 2038. 2067 al^p : εὐαγγελισασθαι
(κ) 60. 218. 250. 2015. 2018. 2019. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2041 :
πρ ἐρχομενον 2015. 2036. 2037 : εὐαγγελιζοντα bo | ἐπ¹ ANC 025.
218. 250. 2018 s¹ : > 046. 20. 498. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^p | τοὺς
κατοικοῦντας A 051. 35*. 61. 69. 2015. 2036. 2037 al^p s² Tyc :
τοὺς καθημενοὺς κC 025. 046. 20 (-35*. 2020). 250. 2067 al^{pm}
s¹ Pr gig vg : τοὺς καθημενοὺς (+ καὶ 2019) τοὺς κατοικοῦντας 1.
205. 2019. 2038 : τοῖς καθημενοῖς 498. 2020 : > Cyp arm^{1. 2. 3. a} |
ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς > arm^{1. 2. a} | καὶ ἐπὶ παν . . . λαόν > Tyc | ἐπ² >
1. 2019. 2036. 2037. 2038 | φυλὴν καὶ γλῶσσαν καὶ λαόν]
λαοὺς κ. φυλάς κ. γλῶσσαν s¹ : πασαν φυλ. κ. παντα λαον κ.
πασαν γλῶσσαν bo |.

7. λεγων] > κ : tr after μεγαλη 104. 620 : λεγοντα 051. 1.
35 Pr Cyp | ἐν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ] ἐν > A : magna voce vg : > Tyc |

8. Καὶ ἄλλος δεύτερος ἄγγελος ἠκολούθησεν λέγων

Ἐπεσεν ἐπὶ σεν Βαβυλῶν ἡ μεγάλη,

ἡ ἐκ τοῦ οἴνου [τοῦ θυμοῦ] τῆς πορνείας αὐτῆς πεπότικεν
πάντα τὰ ἔθνη.

9. Καὶ ἄλλος ἄγγελος τρίτος ἠκολούθησεν αὐτοῖς λέγων ἐν φωνῇ
μεγάλῃ

Εἰ τις προσκυνεῖ τὸ θηρίον καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ,

καὶ λαμβάνει τὸ χάραγμα ἐπὶ τῷ μετώπῳ αὐτοῦ ἢ ἐπὶ χάραγμα
τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ,

φοβηθῆτε] metuite potius Pr Cyp | τον θεον ANC 025. 1. 35. 205. 250. 1957. 2015. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2040. 2041. 2067 al^p Pr vg Cyp s arm¹. 2. 4. 6 bo : τον κυριον 046. 20 (-35. 205. 2040) al^{pm} Tyc gig arm³ | αυτω δοξαν ~ 2015. 2020 | αυτου > 1. 104 | τω ποιησαντι ANC 025. 1. 35. 205. 250. 1957. 2018. 2019. 2023. 2036. 2038. 2040. 2041. 2067 : pr αυτω 94. 104. 336. 620. 1918. 2020 : αυτον ποιησαντα 046* : αυτον τον ποιησαντα 046**. 20 (-35. 205. 468. 620. 2020. 2040). 2037 al^{mu} : αυτω τον ποιησαντα 468 : deum qui fecit gig arm³ | και θαλασσαν AC 025. 314. 2040 : και θαλασσας 1 : και την θαλασσαν K 046. 051. 21 (-2040). 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^{pm} bo : και > 2019 Pr vg^d f Cyp arm¹. 2 | πηγας υδατων] τας πηγας των υδατων 61. 69 : τα υδατα bo : omnia quae in eis sunt Cyp arm¹. 8^o |.

8. ἄλλος δεύτερος ἄγγελος A 046. 20 (-18. 35. 205. 2040). 1. 250. 2037 al^{mu} Pr arm¹. 2. 2. 4 bo : δευτερος > 69 Tyc vg eth : ἄγγελος > K* 2040 s¹ : ἄλλος ἄγγελος δευτερον C : ἄλλος ἄγγελος δευτερος K^o 025. 18. 35. 60. 94. 104. 141. 205. 209. 314. 432. 1957. 2015. 2023. 2036. (2038). 2041. 2067 s² arm⁴ : ἄλλος > 2019 gig | ἠκολούθησεν] ἦλθεν 205 : ἠκολουθεῖ s¹ : + αυτοις 468*. 620 : + αυτω Pr s arm¹. 2. 4 bo eth | λεγων . . . ἠκολούθησεν (ver. 9) > K* (suppl. K^o) 325. 456 | λεγων] + εν φωνη μεγαλη 205. 620** | επεσεν επεσεν A 025. 1. 35. 241. 432. 632**. 1957. 2015. 2019. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2040. 2067 al^p Tyc Pr gig vg s arm². 2 : "is fallen, is lost" arm⁴ : επεσεν K^o C 046. 20 (-35. 325. 456. 632**. 2040). 250. 2038 al^{mu} arm³ bo eth : επεσεν επεσεν επεσεν arm¹ | η εκ του AC 218. 250. 424. 506. 2018. 2020. 2039. 2040 Tyc vg s : η > K^o 025. 046. 20 (-325. 456. 2020. 2040) al^{mu} Pr gig arm⁴ bo : οτι εκ του 1. 2019. 2037. 2067 | του θυμου της πορνείας] της πορνείας του θυμου 920 | του θυμου > 1. 2037. 2041 | της πορνείας] της πορνείας K^o C 046 : > arm⁴ | αυτης] ταυτης 046. 82. 104. 175. 337. 385. 617. 620. 919. 920. 1849. 1934 al^p | πεποτικεν A 025. 046 min^{scs} omⁿ Tyc vg eth : πεπτικαν K^o 181 (-κεν). Pr arm⁴ bo sa : πεποιηκεν 919 : biberunt gig |.

9. και > 386 | ἄλλος ἄγγελος τρίτος AC 025. 046. 20 (-325. 456. 1849). 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^{pm} gig vg s arm³. 4 : ἄγγελος

10. καὶ αὐτὸς πίεται ἐκ τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ θυμοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ
τοῦ κεκρασμένου ἀκράτου ἐν τῷ ποτηρίῳ τῆς ὀργῆς αὐτοῦ,
καὶ βασανισθῆσεται ἐν πυρὶ καὶ θείῳ
ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀγγέλων καὶ ἐνώπιον τοῦ ἀρνίου.
11. Καὶ ὁ καπνὸς τοῦ βασανισμοῦ αὐτῶν εἰς αἰῶνας αἰώνων
ἀναβαίνει,
καὶ οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἀνάπανσιν ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός,
οἱ προσκυνοῦντες τὸ θηρίον καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ,
καὶ εἰ τις λαμβάνει τὸ χάραγμα τοῦ δνόματος αὐτοῦ. (a)

(a) Vers. 12-13 have been restored to their original context after xiii. 18.

αλλοσ τριτος 1849 : αλλοσ αγγελος ηκολουθησεν τριτος κ^ο : αλλοσ
τριτος αγγελος arm^{1.2.4} bo : tertius angelus Pr eth : τριτος > 1.
61. 69 : αγγελος 181 | αυτοισ] αυτω A Pr arm^{1.2.3} | εν φωνη
μεγαλη] εν > 617 : voce magna Pr gig vg : > bo | προσκυνει]
προσκυνησει 2020 arm³ bo : adoraverit vg : "hath worshipped"
arm^{3.4} | το θηριον] τω θηριω C 468. 2040 : το θυσιαστηριον A :
το ποτηριον 69 : tr το θηριον before προσκυνει 1 | την εικονα] τη
εικονι 104. 468. 620. 1918. 2040 | αυτου] αυτων C | και³ > C 69 |
λαμβάνει] ληψεται arm³ bo : "hath received" arm^{1.3.4} | το
χαραγμα 250. 432. 2015. 2018. 2019. 2036. 2040 arm^{1.2.3.4} s^{1.2} (v)
χαραγμα AN 025. 046 min^{pl}. το is here necessary. Its absence
is due either to a slip of the author or to a primitive corruption. |
χαραγμα] nomen Pr : + αυτου s^{1.2} arm^(1.2.3.4) | του μετωπου] τω
μετωπω κ^ο | η επι την χειρα αυτου > s¹ arm¹ | αυτου³ > 61. 69 |.

10. και¹ > bo eth | οινου] ποτηριου arm^{1.2.3.4} | του θεου] του κυριου
s¹ : αυτου 61. 69 : > arm¹ | ακρατου > Pr Cyp | εν τω ποτηριω] εκ
του ποτηριου A 104. 336. 620. 1918 | της οργης] την οργην A |
αυτου > Pr arm^{1.2.4} | βασανισθησεται] βασανισθησονται A 61. 69.
110. 2004^{**}. 2019. 2040 bo | των αγγελων A 506 bo : τ. αγγ. αυτου
eth : αγγελων αγιων κ^ο 025. 35. 61. 2004^{**}. 2020. 2040 gig vg
s sa : αγγελων και αγιων 2038 : αγιων αγγελων 69 (+ αγιων 2019) :
των αγιων αγγελων 046. 20 (- 35. 2004^{**}. 2020. 2040). 250. 2037.
2067 al^{pl} Pr Cyp arm^(1.2.3.4) : "God" arm⁴ | αρνιου] θρονου s² |.

11. του βασανισμου] tormentorum vg arm^{3.4} : de tormentis Pr
Cyp : > arm^{1.2.4} | αυτων] αυτου 104. 205. 336. 452. 1918. 2021.
2023 arm^{2.4} | εἰς αιωνας . . . αναβαινει > 620 | εἰς αιωνας
(+ των κ^ο) αιωνων AN 046. 20 (- 205. 468^{*}. 920. 1934. 2004^{**}).
250. 2038 al^{pl} Pr gig vg Cyp s arm : εἰς αιωνα αιωνος C 205.
2015. 2036 : εἰς αιωνα αιωνων 025. 051. 1. 61. 69. 104. 468^{*}.
920. 1849. 1934. 2037. 2067 : εἰς αιωνων 2004^{**} : "for ever"
bo | αναβαινει] ascendet gig vg^{a. d. e. v} Cyp arm bo : tr before εἰς
αιωνας των αιωνων Pr arm⁴ bo sa (eth) | εχουσιν] habebunt Pr Cyp |
αναπαυσιν] tr after νυκτος 35^{*}. 2020 | το θηριον και την εικονα]

14. Καὶ εἶδον, καὶ ἰδοὺ νεφέλη λευκή,
καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν νεφέλην † καθήμενον ὅμοιον † υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου,
ἔχων ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ στέφανον χρυσοῦν
καὶ ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ δρέπανον ὀξύ. (a)

(a) Text adds here a doublet of xiv. 18–20 from another hand. See vol. ii. 3, 18 (*ad fin.*), 21 sq. : 15. Καὶ ἄλλος ἄγγελος ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ, κρᾶζων ἐν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ τῷ καθήμενῳ ἐπὶ τῆς νεφέλης

Πέμψον τὸ δρέπανόν σου καὶ θέρισον,
ὅτι ἦλθεν ἡ ὥρα θερίσαι,
ὅτι ἐξηράνθη ὁ θερισμὸς τῆς γῆς.

16. καὶ ἔβαλεν ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῆς νεφέλης τὸ δρέπανον αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν,

τω θηριω καὶ τῇ εικονι 468. 2019. 2040 : τῇ εικονι 104 | τοῦ > 1. 205. 2037* |.

14. καὶ εἶδον > N s¹ eth | καὶ ἰδοὺ > bo eth | νεφέλη λευκή] nubem albam Tyc Pr : nubem candidam vg bo | ἐπὶ τὴν νεφέλην καθήμενον] supersedentem Tyc | τὴν νεφέλην] τῇ νεφέλει 2004** | καθήμενον ὅμοιον] καθήμενος ὁμοιος 1. 104. 205. 620. 632. 1957. 2023. 2037. 2067 al | ὅμοιον > Tyc eth | υἱὸν AN 046. 42. 61. 69. 82. 110. 201. 218. 325. 337. 386. 429. 452. 456. 517. 522. 919. 920. 2016. 2017. 2021. 2024. 2036 Tyc : υἱὸν 2015 : υἱος 1 : υἱου 025. 506 : υἱω C 051. 20 (-325. 337. 386. 456. 919. 920). 104. 250. 314. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^{mu} Pr gig vg s¹ : τω υἱω s² | ἀνθρώπου] pr του s² : ἀνθρώπω 620. 2020 | ἔχων A 025. 046. 20 (-325. 456. 468. 2004**. 2020. 2040). 1. 314. 2037. 2038. 2067 Tyc : pr ο 2041 : ἔχον N^cC : ἔχοντα N* 42. 325. 385. 452**. 456. 468. 506. 517. 2004**. 2015. 2036. 2040 Pr vg : ἔχοντι 2020 gig | ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν A 18. 110. 141. 201. 385. 386. 429. 522. 632. 919. 1849. 1955. 2015. 2020. 2036 : ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ N^cC 025. 046. 20 (-18. 386. 632. 919. 1849. 2020). 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^{mu} : in capite Tyc gig vg : super caput Pr | ἐν τῇ χειρὶ] ἐπὶ τὴν χεῖρα s¹ | αὐτοῦ²] + habens Tyc : + "he had" arm^{1.2.3.a} | ὀξύ] λευκὸν s¹ |.

16. ἄλλος ἄγγελος] ~ 2016. 2020 | ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ] tr. after κρᾶζων A : > Pr | ναοῦ] + αὐτοῦ N : οὐρανὸν 051. 1. 35. 104. 181. 205. 336. 632**. 2015. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^p arm^{2.4.a} | ἐν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ] + λεγὼν bo eth : (arm^{1.2.a}) : ἐν μεγάλῃ τῇ φωνῇ 1 : > Pr | πέμψον . . . τῆς γῆς > s⁽²⁾ | καὶ θερίσον > arm² | ἦλθεν] + σου 051. 1. 35*. 181. 2019. 2037. 2038 : + σοι 104*. 620 al^p | θερίσαι AC 025. 046. 20 (-18. 468**. 632. 919. 1849. 2004**. 2020. 2040). 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^{mu} : pr του 18. 385. 468**. 632. 919. 1849. 1955. 1957. 2004**. 2023. 2040. 2041 al^p : του θερισμοῦ N 2020 : "of (the) reaping of the earth" bo | ὅτι ἐξηράνθη . . . γῆς > s^{1.(2)} bo | ἐξηράνθη] "is arrived" arm^{1.2.3.a} |.

16. ver. 16 > arm^a | ὁ καθήμενος . . . νεφέλῃς > s² | ἐπὶ τῇ νεφ. . . αὐτοῦ > 1 | τῇς νεφέλῃς AN 241. 336*. 498. 2019.

18. Καὶ ἄλλος ἄγγελος ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου (α), καὶ ἐφώνησεν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ τῷ ἔχοντι τὸ δρέπανον τὸ ἐξὺ λέγων

Πέμψον σου τὸ δρέπανον τὸ ἐξὺ
καὶ τρύγησον τοὺς βότρυας τῆς ἀμπέλου τῆς γῆς,
ὅτι ἤκμασαν αἱ σταφυλαὶ αὐτῆς.

19. καὶ ἔβαλεν (δ) τὸ δρέπανον αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν γῆν,
καὶ ἐτρύγησεν τὴν ἀμπέλον τῆς γῆς,
καὶ ἔβαλεν εἰς τὴν ληνὸν τοῦ θυμοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν μέγαν.

καὶ ἐθερίσθη ἡ γῆ. 17. Καὶ ἄλλος ἄγγελος ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ ἐν τῇ οὐρανῷ, ἔχων καὶ αὐτὸς δρέπανον ἐξὺ.

(α) Text adds a gloss : ὁ ἔχων ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ τοῦ πυρός.

(δ) ὁ ἄγγελος is here added by the interpolator of 15-17.

2020. 2037. 2038. 2067 : τὴν νεφέλην C 025. 35. 175. 205. 250. 468. 617. 620. 1934. 2004^{**}. 2040 al^{pm} : τὴν νεφέλην 046. 20 (- 35. 175. 205. 468. 617. 620. 1934. 2004^{**}. 2020. 2040). 42. 61. 69. 104. 110. 201. 1955 | καὶ ἐθερίσθη ἡ γῆ] καὶ ἐθερίσεν τὴν γῆν vg^f. v : demessus est terram fl : > bo |.

17. ver. 17 > 69. 2039 | ἐξῆλθεν] ἦλθεν 046 | ναοῦ . . . οὐρανῷ] οὐρανοῦ bo | τοῦ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ] τοῦ > 104. 141. 620. 1849 : τῷ > C : pr τοῦ θεοῦ arm⁴ : αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ 205 | καὶ αὐτοσ > bo sa | δρέπανον οὖν] ρομφαίαν οὖν bo (also in ver. 18) |.

18. ἐξῆλθεν] > A 2038 Pr : tr after θυσιαστηρίου 35 | ἐκ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου] > Pr : de ara dei fl | ο ἔχων AC s gig vg (arm) eth : ο > N 025. 046. 20 al^{omn} fl bo | ἐφώνησεν] + ἐν 20 (- 35. 205. 325. 337. 456. 468. 2004^{**}. 2020. 2040). 69. 104. 110. 250. 314 al^p | ἐφώνησεν] ἐκραξεν s | φωνῇ AN 046. 337. 920. 2004^{**}. 2016. 2020. 2040 fl gig vg s¹ arm^{1.2.3.4} eth : κραυγῇ C 025. 20 (- 337. 920. 2004^{**}. 2020. 2040). 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^p s² bo : “tongue” arm⁴ | λεγῶν] N^c : λεγῶ N^{*} : > s¹ | πέμψον . . . οὖν καὶ] > arm^{1.2.3.4} : “come thou” arm⁸ | πέμψον] + συ s¹ | σου το δρέπανον] + σου 385 : το δρέπανον σου N | βότρυας] βοτάνας 201. 386 : βότρυς 2015. 2036. 2038 | τῆς ἀμπέλου] vine-arum fl : > i arm¹ | οτι ἤκμασαν . . . αὐτῆς > bo | ἤκμασαν (ηχ- A : ηγ- 620) αἱ σταφυλαὶ ANC 025. 1. 35. 104. 205. 468^{**}. 620. 632^{**}. 2004^{**}. 2015. 2020. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2040. 2067 al gig vg (fl) s^{(1).2} : ἤκμασεν ἡ σταφυλὴ 046. 20 (- 35. 205. 468^{**}. 620. 632^{**}. 2004^{**}. 2020. 2040). 250 al^{mu} arm^{1.2.4.5} | αὐτῆς ANC 025. 1. 35. 205. 468^{**}. 632^{**}. 2004^{**}. 2015. 2020. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2040 al^{mu} gig vg fl s¹ arm^{1.2.4} eth : ἐν αὐτῇ arm^a : τῆς γῆς 046. 20 (- 35. 205. 468^{**}. 632^{**}. 2004^{**}. 2020. 2040). 104. 250 al^{mu} s² |.

19. ἔβαλεν ANC 025. 046. 35. 205. 620. 632^{**}. 2004^{**}. 2020. 2040 : misit gig vg fl : ἐξεβαλεν 20 (- 35. 205. 620. 632^{**}. 2004^{**}. 2020. 2040). 82. 104. 110. 172. 250. 385 al^p | εἰς τὴν γῆν AC

20. καὶ ἐπατήθη ἡ ληνὸς ἐξωθεν τῆς πόλεως,
καὶ ἐξῆλθεν αἷμα ἐκ τῆς ληνοῦ ἄχρι τῶν χαλινῶν τῶν ἱππῶν
ἀπὸ σταδίων χιλίων ἐξακοσίων.

025. 046. 20 (-2020). 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al¹ gig vg fl s²
bo : ἐπὶ τῇσ γῆσ κ 498. 2020 s¹ arm^{1.2.3.4.5} | εἰς τὴν ληνον . . .
τον μεγαν Α(C) 025. 046. 20 (-205. 386. 620. 632^{**}. 2004^{**}.
2040). 61. 69. 110. 141. 242. 314. 385. 452. 2016. 2017. 2021.
2022. 2023^{*}. 2024. 2039. 2041 al² s² : τον μεγαν > 181. 424 :
εἰς τον ληνον . . . τον μεγαν 1. 201. 386. 498. 522. 1957. 2038
al : εἰς τὴν ληνον . . . τὴν μεγαλην κ 104. 205. 250. 620.
632^{**}. 2004^{**}. 2015. 2018. 2036. 2037. 2040. 2067 s¹ : in
torculari (-ar fl) . . . magnum Tyc Pr fl : in lacum . . .
magnum (-am gig) gig vg | ληνον] αλωναν C : + του ουνου 2020 |
του θυμου] τον θυμον 386 : > 337. 620. 2004^{**} arm^{1.2.3.4.5} |.

20. ἐπατήθη] ἐπατησεν (-αν eth) arm^{1.2} bo eth : ἐπιθη 1 | η
ληνοσ] ο ληνος 205. 336. 498. 522. 1957. 2004^{**}. 2019. 2020 :
τὴν ληνον bo : in torculari Pr fl arm^{1.2.3} | ἐξωθεν AC 025. 046.
20 (-35. 205. 2020). 250 al^{pm} : ἐξω κ 1. 35. 205. 2015. 2020.
2036. 2037. 2038. 2067 : extra Tyc Pr vg fl : a foris extra gig
| τῆσ] του 452. 522 | ἀπο σταδίων] ἐπὶ σταδίων s¹ : per stadiis Tyc
vg : per stadios Pr (fl) | χιλίων ἐξακοσίων Ακ²C 025. 35. 386.
(620). 632. 1934. 2004^{**}. 2040 Pr fl gig vg bo sa : χιλίων
διακοσίων κ^{*} 506. 680 : αχ' 20 (-35. 386. 620. 632. 1934.
2004^{**}. 2040). 61. 69. 110. 314. 498. 2015 al : χιλ. ἐξακ. ἐξ.
2037 : αχς' 2036 : δεκα και ἐξ eth : mille quingentis gig |.

CHAPTER XV.

2. (α) Καὶ εἶδον ὡς θάλασσαν ὑαλίνην μεμιγμένην πυρὶ καὶ τοὺς
νικῶντας ἐκ τοῦ θηρίου καὶ ἐκ τῆς εἰκόνης αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ
τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ ἐστῶτας ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν ὑαλίνην, ἔχοντας

(α) xv. 1. is an interpolation: Καὶ εἶδον ἄλλο σημεῖον ἐν τῷ ὄρασι μέγα
καὶ θαυμαστόν, ἀγγέλους ἑπτὰ ἔχοντας πηγάς ἑπτὰ τὰς ἐσχάτας, οἱ ἐν αὐταῖς
ἐτελέσθη ὁ θυμὸς τοῦ θεοῦ. The subject of xv. 1. is not touched upon till xv.
5, where the phrase καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα εἶδον shows that a new section and a new
subject begin. See vol. i. 106 and footnote; vol. ii. 30.

1. θαυμαστον] θαυμασιον 61. 69 | ἀγγέλους] angelos stantes
fl | πηλασ ἑπτα] ~ 920. 2015. 2016. 2020. 2036. 2037. 2067 :
ἑπτα > 2019 | ἐν αὐταισ] ἐν ταυταις 35. 205. 2015. 2036. 2037.
2038 : in his Tyc |.

2. υαλινη] vitreum perlucidum Tyc | και τους νικ . . . ἐστῶτας
ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν] et super mare stantes uidi eos qui . . . uictoriam
ferent fl : et superstantes uidi eos qui . . . uictoriam ferent Pr |

κιθάρας τοῦ θεοῦ, 3. καὶ ᾄδουσιν (α) τὴν ψᾶν τοῦ ἀρνίου λέγοντες

αἰώων

Μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστὰ τὰ ἔργα σου,
κύριε, ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ·
δίκαιαι καὶ ἀληθιναὶ αἱ ὁδοὶ σου,
ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν ἔθνων.

4. τίς οὐ μὴ φοβηθῇ, κύριε,
καὶ δοξάσει τὸ ὄνομά σου,
ὅτι μόνος ὁσῖος;

ὅτι πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἤξουσιν
καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν ἐνώπιόν σου,
ὅτι τὰ δικαιώματά σου ἐφανερώθησαν.

(α) Text adds a gloss: τὴν ψᾶν Μωσέως τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ καί.

νικωντας] νικουντας C | εκ του θηρ. και εκ της εικονος αυτου AC 025. 18. 35. 205. 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al s arm^{1.2} : εκ τ. θ. και της εκ. αυτου K 104. 336. 620. 1918. 2020 Pr fl : εκ της εκ. και εκ (> 522) του θηρ. αυτου (> 2040) 046. 20 (- 18. 35. 205. 620. 632^{**}. 2020). 61. 69. 522 al : εκ του θηρ. αυτου 632^{**} : bestiam et imaginem illius gig vg bo sa eth : bestiae Tyc | και εκ του αριθμου ANC 025. 046. 20 (- 35. 205. 468. 620) al s arm^{1.2} (4) : et numerum gig vg bo : και εκ του χαραγματος αυτου και (> 2018. 2019. 2036) εκ του αριθμου 051. 1. 35. 205. 250. 468. 2018. 2019. 2036. 2037. 2067 | και εκ τ. αριθ. . . . αυτου > 620 Tyc Pr fl | εστωτας > Tyc arm¹ | τ. ναλινην > fl Pr eth | κιθαρας ANC 025. 35. 632^{**}. 920. 2037. 2038. 2040. 2067 al^{pl} bo sa : τας κιθαρας 046. 20 (- 35. 632^{**}. 920. 2040). 82. 104. 110. 172. 201. 250. 385. 498. 2018. 2022 al arm^{2.4} : | του θεου] pr κυριου K : > fl |.

3. και αδ. . . . του θεου > C | και¹ > bo | αδουσιν] αδοντας K 743. 1075. 2067 Tyc Pr fl vg s^{1.2} bo | την¹ > 920 | Μωσσεωσ AK 046. 1 al^{pl} : Μωσσεωσ 025 al^m | του δουλου AK 025. 1. 35. 205. 250. 632^{**}. 1957. 2015. 2020. 2037. 2038. 2041. 2067 al : δουλου 046. 20 (- 35. 205. 632^{**}. 2020). al^{pl} | μεγαλα και θαυμαστα τα εργα σου] magna et mirabilia operati sunt Tyc | ο θεος ο > 620 | | δικαιαι . . . αι οδοι σου] δικαια και αληθινα τα εργα σου s¹ arm^{1.4} | ο βασιλευσ] βασιλευσ K^o 429. 632 : βασιλεν K^{*} 18. 94. 241. 385. 522. 919. 1849. 2004. 2039 : pr tu es fl | των εθνων AK^o 025. 046. 051. 20 (- 2040). 1. 69. 104. 110. 250. 314. 2037. 2038. 2067 al gig Cyp arm⁴ bo : omnium gentium Pr fl arm¹ eth : των αιωνων K^{*} C 94. 2040 Tyc vg s : "of aeons and king of all Gentiles" arm^{2.4} |.

4. τω] pr και 2019 arm⁶ | ου μη] σε ου K 2040 | φοβηθη AK 025. 046. 1. 61. 69. 181. 205. 241. 632^{**}. 2019. 2022. 2040.

5. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα εἶδον, καὶ ἡνοίγη ὁ ναὸς † τῆς σκηνῆς τοῦ μαρτυρίου † (α) ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, 6. καὶ ἐξῆλθαν † οἱ ἑπτὰ ἄγγελοι † (β) [οἱ ἔχοντες τὰς ἑπτὰ πληγὰς] ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ, ἐνδεδυμένοι † λίθον † (c) καθαρὸν λαμπρὸν καὶ περιεζωσμένοι περὶ τὰ στήθη ζώνας χρυσαῖς.

(a) For the probable origin of this corrupt phrase, see vol. ii. 37 sq.

(b) Here the hand that inserted xv. 1 changed ἄγγελοι ἑπτὰ into οἱ ἑπτὰ ἄγγ.

(c) See vol. ii. 38.

2036. 2037. 2038. 2067 Pr fl gig arm bo : + σε 051. 20 (- 205. 632^{**}. 2040). 104. 110. 250. 314. 385 al^{pl} vg s eth | κυριε > 61. 69 Pr gig arm eth | δοξασει AC 025. 046. 18. 175. 325. 456. 617. 632. 920. 1934 al : τις ου δοξασει 2040 : δοξαση & 1. 35. 104. 110. 250. 337. 385. 386. 468. 919. 1849. 2004. 2020. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^{pl} : δοξασοι 205. 620 | μονου] pr o 35 : pr σν ει 468 s¹ : tu solus Pr gig arm | οσιοσ ANC 025. 1. 205. 2015. 2036. 2037. 2038 al s¹ : pius Pr. vg^{a. c. e} : ει οσιοσ 632^{**}. 2020 : οσιοσ ει 2019 al : pius es vg^{a. d. f. v} : αγιοσ 046. 20 (- 205. 632^{**}. 2020. 2040). 104. 110. 250. 314 al^{pl} : αγιοσ ει 2040. 2067 al : sanctus es gig arm⁴ : sanctus et pius es (es et dignus arm^{1. 2. a}) fl arm^{1. 2. a} : οσιοσ ει και δικαιοσ s² | παντα τα εθη ANC 025. 1. 35. 205. 386. 2020. 2037. 2038. 2067 al Pr fl gig vg s arm bo : παντα 2040 : παντες 046. 20 (- 35. 205. 386. 2020. 2040). 69. 104. 250. 314. 385. 2022 al^{pl} | ενωπιον σου] + κυριε A 205. 2040 arm^a : το ονομα σου bo | τα δικ. σου εφανερωθησαν] δικ. ενωπιον σου εφαν. & : (δικαιοσ) ει s¹ | εφανερωθησαν] magnificata sunt vg^{c. e}.

5. καὶ¹ > Pr fl | μετὰ ταῦτα] μετ' αὐτα C | καὶ² + ιδου Tyc Pr vg arm⁴ : ιδου bo | ηνοιγη > arm⁴ | ο ναος] + του θεου 620 : > Tyc | της σκηνης] + της αγιας gig : η σκηνη Tyc | εν τω ουρ.] pr o s² arm^a eth |.

6. ἐξῆλθον A^{**} & 025. 046 al omn¹ : ἐξῆλθαν C : ἐξῆλθεν A^{* 1} | οι ἑπτα ἄγγελοι | αγγελοι οι ἑπτα 325. 456. 468 | οι ἔχοντες AC 20. 250. 2037 al s (arm) bo : οι > & 025. 046. 1. 242. 2036. 2038. 2067 al : habentes gig fl vg : cum (vii plagis) Pr | εκ του ναου ANC 025. 1. 35. 104. 205. 241. 385. 620. 632^{**}. 2015. 2019. 2022. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2040. 2067 al gig fl vg s : tr before α² 201. 386 s¹ (bo) : εκ του ουρανου 60. 1957. 2023. 2041 : > 046. 20 (- 35. 205. 386. 620. 632^{**}. 2040). 250 al Pr arm^{1. 2} | ενδεδυμενοι ANC 025. 1. 35^{*}. 2040 al Tyc Pr gig fl vg s¹ arm⁴ bo : pr οι ησαν 046. 20 (- 35^{*}. 2040). 250 al^{pl} (s²) arm^{1. a} | λιθον καθαρον AC 242. 2020^{ms}. 2039 : lapide mundo vg⁽⁴⁾ : λινον καθαρον 025. 051. 20 (- 2020^{ms}). 104. 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^{pl} s arm : λινον καθαρον 046. 61. 69. 94. 498. 2019 : lintheamine mundo vg^d : lintheamen mundum gig : lino mundo Tyc : linea munda Pr : lintheamina candida fl : καθαρους λινους & : "with garments of linen" bo | λαμπρον] λαμπρους & (bo) : και λαμ-

7. καὶ ἐν ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων ζῶων ἔδωκεν τοῖς ἑπτὰ ἀγγέλοις ἑπτὰ φιάλας χρυσᾶς γεμούσας τοῦ θυμοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. 8. καὶ ἐγεμίσθη ὁ ναὸς καπνοῦ ἐκ τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐδύνατο εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὸν ναὸν ἄχρι τελεσθῶσιν αἱ ἑπτὰ πληγαὶ τῶν ἑπτὰ ἀγγέλων.

προν 2017** Tyc gig s¹ arm^{1.2} : et candida Pr (arm⁴) : candido vg : >386 fl | καὶ² > 1. 205 bo | περι] > 1. 181. 2016. 2037. 2067 : ἐπι 2015. 2036 Tyc s¹ bo sa eth |.

7. εν > K^{*} 1. 104. 181. 336. 620. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2039. 2067 arm^{*} : unus gig fl vg | εκ > 205 | ἑπτα² > K | χρυσας > Pr s¹ arm^{2.2} : γεμουσας > 325. 456 | τουσ αιωνας των αιωνων] τον αιωνα του αιωνος 367. 468 : + αμην K 181. 205. 209. 2015 s¹ bo |.

8. ο ναος] ο > 1934 : + του θεου gig arm⁴ | καπνου KAC 025. 1. 35. 205. 620. 632**. 2020. 2037. 2038. 2040. 2067 al : pr του 386 : fumo Pr fl gig vg arm : pr εκ του 046. 20 (- 35. 205. 386. 620. 632**. 2020. 2040). 250 al s bo | εκ¹ > 468* s¹ arm^{2.2} : a bo | εκ² > Pr arm^{2.2} : εδυν. AC 20 (- 2040) al^{pl} : ηδυν. K 1. 250. 2037. 2040. 2067 al^{mu} | εισελθειν] tr after ναον K : ελθειν 620 | αχρι] αχρισ ου C | αι ἑπτα πληγαί] septem (> bo) plagae illae Pr bo : septae illae plagae fl | ἑπτα² > 025. 051. 1. 35. 60. 94. 181. 1957. 2015. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2041. 2067 gig |.

CHAPTER XVI.

1. Καὶ ἤκουσα μεγάλης φωνῆς ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ λεγούσης τοῖς ἑπτὰ ἀγγέλοις Ὑπάγετε καὶ ἐκχέετε τὰς ἑπτὰ φιάλας τοῦ θυμοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς

1. μεγαλησ φωνησ AC 046. 42. 61. 69. 110. 175. 325. 337. 386. 456. 468. 920. 1934. 2016. 2022. 2040 al bo sa : ~N 025. 1. 18. 35. 205. 250. 617. 620. 632. 919. 1849. 2004. 2020. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^{pl} Pr gig vg | φωνησ] + εκ τ. ουρανου eth | εκ του ναου ANC 025. 1. 35. 205. 250. 632**. 2020. 2040. 2067 al s arm^{*} : tr after λεγουσης 2037. 2038 : εκ του ουρανου 42. 367. 468 arm⁴ bo sa eth : >046. 20 (- 35. 205. 468. 632*. 2020. 2040) al^{pl} arm² | καὶ² > 1. 104. 181. 205. 337. 620. 2015. 2019. 2023. 2036. 2037 al gig arm¹ bo | εκχεετε ANC 025. 1. 181 : εκχεατε 046. 051. 20. 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^{pl} : εκκεχετε (εξ- 61) 61 69 | ἑπτα² > 025. 1. 35. 1957. 2015. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2041 fl bo eth | φιαλασ] + quas accepistis Pr | εις την γην] επι την γην s¹ : κατω bo : εις τ. πασαν γην eth : > fl arm⁴ l.

τὴν γῆν. 2. Καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ἐξέχεεν τὴν φιάλην αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν γῆν· καὶ ἐγένετο ἔλκος κακὸν καὶ πονηρὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. (α)
3. Καὶ ὁ δεύτερος ἐξέχεεν τὴν φιάλην αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν· καὶ ἐγένετο αἷμα ὡς νεκροῦ, καὶ πᾶσα ψυχὴ ζωῆς ἀπέθανεν, τὰ ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ. 4. Καὶ ὁ τρίτος ἐξέχεεν τὴν φιάλην αὐτοῦ εἰς τοὺς ποταμοὺς καὶ τὰς πηγὰς τῶν ὑδάτων καὶ ἐγένοντο αἷμα. (β)

(α) Text adds the gloss: τοὺς ἔχοντας τὸ χάραγμα τοῦ θηρίου καὶ τοὺς προσκυνῶντας τῇ εἰκόνι αὐτοῦ. See vol. ii. 43.

(β) Text adds an interpolation 5^a: καὶ ἤκουσα τοῦ ἀγγέλου τῶν ὑδάτων λέγοντος, in order to introduce 5^b-7. These clauses 5^b-7 originally followed after xix. 4, to which context they are restored in this edition. See vol. ii. 122 sq., 116 sq.

2. καὶ ἀπῆλθ. . . εἰς τὴν γῆν > κ* | πρωτος] + ἀγγελος 172. 181. 218. 250. 2015. 2018. 2019. 2036. 2037 arm^{1.2.a} bo eth | εἰς] ἐπὶ I. 35. 205. 1957. 2015. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2041. 2067 s¹ | τὴν γῆν] τῆς γῆς 2038 | ἐλκος κακον καὶ πονηρον] ἐλκον (-κος κ^c) πονηρον καὶ κακον κ* : κακον > A 1849 : κακον καὶ > 2067 bo eth : vulnus pessimum magnum Pr : ulcus saevum et malum fl : vulnus magnum (saevum vg) et pessimum gig vg | ἐπὶ] εἰς I. 35. 205. 1957. 2015. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2041. 2067 al : in gig vg bo | το χάραγμα] tr after θηριου 620 : + nominis Pr | καὶ^b > fl | τοις³ > 104. 385. 620. 1918. 2015. 2036. 2037 | προσκυν.] tr after εικονα I. 2037 | τῇ εικόνι] τὴν εικονα κ I. 35. 2036. 2037. 2067 : > arm² |

3. καὶ ο δευτ. ἐξέχεεν > κ* | δευτερος Aκ^c 025. 94. 2040 Pr fl gig vg arm⁴ eth : + ἀγγελος 046. 20 (-2040). 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^{pl} s arm^{1.2.a} bo | ἐγενετο] + ἡ θαλασσα fl gig s¹ eth | αἷμα ὡς νεκρου] ὡς αἷμα νεκρου 104. 181. 205. 620. 1918. 2038 : velut mortuis sanguis fl | ὡς νεκρου > Pr | ὡς] ὡς κ : > I. 209. 468** | ψυχῇ] ψυχῆς A | ζωῆς AC 2040 eth : ζωα κ 025. 046. 051. I. 35. 104. 205. 620. 1957. 2015. 2020. 2037. 2038. 2041. 2067 Tyc gig vg s^{1.2} arm^a bo sa : quae erant viventes fl : > 20 (-35. 205. 620. 2020. 2040). 69. 110. 250. 314 al Pr arm^{1.2} | τα AC 2038 s² : των 2040 : > κ 025. 046. 20 (-2040). 250. 2037. 2067 al Tyc Pr fl gig vg s¹ bo | ἀπέθανεν] tr after θαλασση 1948. 2014. 2015. 2034. 2042 arm^{1.2.a} | ἐν τῇ θαλ.] ἐπὶ τῆς θαλασσης κ |

4. τριτος] + ἀγγελος 051. I. 35. 172. 205. 250. 1957. 2018. 2019. 2020. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2041. 2067 s arm^{1.2.a} bo | εἰς] ἐπὶ κ 051. 94. 2016 Pr vg bo sa | τας ANC 025. 35. 60. 1957. 2022. 2023. 2036. 2038. 2040. 2041 Pr fl gig arm bo : pr eis 046. 20 (-35. 2040). I. 250. 2037. 2067 al s : pr ἐπὶ 94. 2016 vg | ἐγενοντο A 2019. 2040 Pr fl gig s arm² bo sa eth : ἐγενετο κC 025. 046. 20 (-2040). I. 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^{pl} vg arm^{1.2.a} |.

8. Καὶ ὁ τέταρτος ἐξέχεεν τὴν φιάλην αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν ἥλιον· καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ καυματίσαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐν πυρὶ· 9. καὶ ἔκαυματίσθησαν οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ μέγα, καὶ ἐβλασφήμησαν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἔχοντος τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ τὰς πληγὰς ταύτας, καὶ οὐ μετενόησαν δοῦναι αὐτῷ δόξαν.

10. Καὶ ὁ πέμπτος ἐξέχεεν τὴν φιάλην αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον τοῦ θηρίου· καὶ ἐγένετο ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ ἐσκοτωμένη (α) . . . καὶ ἔμασῶντο τὰς γλώσσας αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ πόνου. 11. καὶ ἐβλασφήμησαν τὸν θεὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐκ τῶν πόνων αὐτῶν καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἰλκῶν αὐτῶν, καὶ οὐ μετενόησαν ἐκ τῶν ἔργων αὐτῶν. 12. Καὶ ὁ ἕκτος ἐξέχεεν

(a) Several clauses lost here : see vol. ii. 45 sq.

8^a. του αγγελου] angelos Pr | των υδατων] pr του επι 2040 : tr after λεγοντος 205 : quartum gig |.

8. τεταρτος AC 025. 046. 175. 325. 337. 468. 617. 620. 632*. 920. 1849. 1934. 2004. 2040 al gig vg^(d) s² arm^{2,4} : + αγγελος κ 051. 1. 18. 35. 205. 250. 314. 386. 456. 632*. 919. 1957. 2015. 2018. 2019. 2020. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2041. 2067 al^m Tyc Pr vg^d s¹ arm^{1,2,4} = bo sa eth | επι] in gig vg | καυματισαι τουσ ανθρ. εν (> κ 2038) πυρι AK 025. 35. 205. 2020. 2038. 2040 gig s⁽¹⁾ 2 : aestu afficere hom. et igni vg : καυμ. εν πυρι τ. ανθρ. 046. 20 (- 35. 205. 2020. 2040). 250 al^{pl} : ignem et aestum inicere hominibus Pr | εν πυρι] καυματι μεγαλω bo |.

9. καυμα μεγα] καυματι μεγαλω 94. 2015. 2036. 2037 : > bo | ἐβλασφημησαν AKC 025. 1. 205. 2019. 2020. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2040. 2067 al Tyc Pr gig vg s¹ arm^{1,2,4} = bo : + οι ανθρωποι 046. 20 (- 205. 2020. 2040). 250 al^{pl} s² arm³ | το ονομα] ενωπιον A : κατα του ονοματος 2040 : εισ το ονομα 2015 : > arm^a | την AK 025. 35. 60. 181. 205. 432. 1957. 2019. 2023. 2038. 2041. 2067 : > C 046. 20 (- 35. 205). 1. 250. 2037 al^{pl} arm bo | ου] ουχι C |.

10. πεμπτος AKC 025. 046. 20 (- 35. 205) gig vg^(d) s² arm^{2,4} sa eth al : + αγγελος 051. 35. 172. 205. 250. 1957. 2018. 2019. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2041. 2067 al Tyc Pr vg^d s¹ arm^{1,2,4} = bo : αγγελος 1 | τον θρονον] του θρονου 2020 | ἐσκοτωμενη AK^cC 025. 20 (- 456) : ἐσκοτισμενη κ^a 0 046. 456. 385. 2015. 2037. 2067 | εμασωντο AKC 025 al^{mu} : εμασσ. 046 al^{mu} | εκ] απο κ 051. 35 Tyc bo sa | του πονου] doloribus suis Tyc |.

11. ver. 11 > Pr | τον θεον τ. ουρ.] το ονομα του θεου (+ του ουρ. s¹) 1957 s¹ | και εκ των ελκων αυτ.] > κ 172. 2022. 2031 arm⁴ : και εκ. τ. εργαων αυτων bo | εκ² > 025. 205. 2020. 2038. 2067 | ελκων] ελκουσων 2020 | μετενοησεν] tr after αυτων³ 468 | εκ των. εργ. αυτων > κ gig arm^{1,2} |.

12. εκτος] + αγγελος 051. 35. 172. 205. 250. 620. 632*. 1957. 2015. 2018. 2019. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2041. 2067 Tyc Pr

τὴν φιάλην αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν μέγαν τὸν Ἐὐφράτην¹. Ἐὐφράτην καὶ ἐξηράνθη τὸ ὕδωρ αὐτοῦ, ἵνα ἐτοιμασθῇ ἡ ὁδὸς τῶν βασιλέων τῶν ἀπὸ Ἄνατολῆς¹ ἡλίου. 13. καὶ εἶδον ἐκ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ ἀνατολῶν δράκοντος καὶ ἐκ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ θηρίου καὶ ἐκ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ ψευδοπροφήτου πνεύματα τρία ἀκάθαρτα. (α). 14. † δὲ ἐκπορεύεται † (β) ἐπὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς τῆς οἰκουμένης ὅλης, συναγαγεῖν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον τῆς ἡμέρας τῆς μεγάλης¹ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ παντοκράτορος. (c) μεγάλης ἡμέρας

(α) Text adds gloss: ὡς βάτραχοι. 14. εἰς τὸν γὰρ πνεύματα δαιμονίων ποιοῦντα σημεῖα.

(β) K 051 change δὲ ἐκπορεύεται into ἐκπορεύεσθαι. Corrupt for ἐκπορεύεμεν—the change being made by the interpolator of the preceding words. See vol. ii. 48. Pr (see below), recognising the need of this participle, inserts it after τρία, and some Gk. MSS insert ἐκπορεύεοντα after βάτραχοι.

(c) MSS insert here as xvi. 15 a verse which originally stood after iii. 3^a and where it is restored in this edition.

gig vg^d s¹ arm¹. 2 4. a bo | αὐτου placed after φιάλην ANC 046 al^{ma} : tr before τ. φιάλ. 20 (- 18. 35. 205. 632. 919. 920. 1849. 2004. 2040). 42. 61. 69. 104. 201. 314. 452. 498. 517. 2017 : > 920 | ἐπὶ in gig vg : per Tyc | τ. ποτ. τ. μεγ.] τον μεγαν ποταμον 051 | τον^a AC 1. 69. 172. 250. 2015. 2018. 2036. 2037. 2040. 2067 bo sa : > K 025. 046. 20 (- 2040). 42. 82. 104. 201. 314. 385. 429. 432. 498. 522. 1955. 1957. 2016. 2017. 2019. 2022. 2023. 2038. 2041 al^{pl} | ευφρ.] εφρ. 046 | ἐξηρανθη] siccavit gig vg | αὐτου^a > 1. 181. 205. 2019. 2038 bo | των βασιλεων] venienti regi Pr : regi venienti gig : regis arm : > Tyc | των^a > s¹ | ανατολων A 051. 1. 35. 314. 468. 1957. 2015. 2020. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2041 s¹ bo : ανατολησ K 046. 20 (- 35. 205. 468. 2020). 250. 2038. 2067 al s² |.

13. εἶδον] εδοθη K | εκ του στομ. τ. δ. . . τ. θηρ. κ. > K* | εκ τ. στομ. τ. δρακ. κ. > C 325. 337. 517. 1918 | εκ του στομ. τ. θηρ. και > 2019 arm¹ | τρια ακαθαρ. ANC 1. 35. 104. 205. 620. 1957. 2015. 2019. 2020. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2040. 2041. 2067 al^{ma} Tyc vg s¹ arm¹. 2 4. a : ~ 046. 20 (- 35. 205. 620. 2020. 2040). 250 al^{pl} arm² : ακαθ. > 920 : τρια > gig : tres exeuntes immundos Pr | ως βατραχοι] ως (ωσει K*) βατραχουσ K* 94. 498. 2019. 2020. 2023 : ωσει βατραχοι K^o 2067 : + εκπορευθεντα 241. 2015. 2036. 2037 : > 1* |.

14. δαιμονιων] + ακαθαρτων 2040 : δαιμονων 051. 1. 35. 205. 2015. 2019. 2020. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2067 al | α (+ και 2015) εκπορευεται A 20 (- 205. 620. 2040). 69. 110. 250. 314. 385. 429. 498. 1957. 2015. 2016. 2017. 2018. 2023. 2039 al^{pl} Tyc : α εκπορευονται 046. 104. 336. 620. 1918. 2019 : εκπορευεσθαι K* 051. 1*. 2022. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2040 : α εκπορευεσθαι 1** : εκπορευονται K^o : εκπορευεται 205 : et exeunt (procedunt gig vg) Pr gig vg arm⁴ eth : > bo | ἐπὶ εἰς και | τ. γησ και (> 2037) τ. οικ. 1**. 2037 : τ. γησ bo | ολησ > 1* s¹ arm² bo | τον > 051. 1.

16. καὶ συνήγαγεν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν τόπον τὸν καλούμενον Ἑβραῖστί
Ἄρ Μαγεδών.

17. Καὶ ὁ ἰβδομος ἐξέχεεν τὴν φιάλην αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν ἄερα καὶ
ἐξῆλθεν φωνὴ μεγάλη ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου λέγουσα Γέγονεν·

18. καὶ ἐγένοντο ἀστραπαὶ καὶ φωναὶ καὶ βρονταί, καὶ σεισμός
ἐγένετο μέγας, οἷος οὐκ ἐγένετο ἀφ' οὗ ἄνθρωπος ἐγένετο¹ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς
ἀνθρώποι ἐγένοντο

205. 2019. 2022. 2038. 2067 al | τῆς ἡμ. τ. μεγ. κ 61. 69. 2020 :
ad diem magnum vg : diei magni Tyc gig : τῆς μεγ. ἡμ. Α 2040
bo : τῆς ἡμ. ἐκείνης τ. μεγ. 046. 051. 20 (- 205. 2020. 2040).
1. 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al Pr s : τῆς ἡμ. ἐκείνης 205 | τοῦ θεοῦ]
domini Tyc arm¹ |.

18. συνήγαγεν] συνηγαγον κ s² : συναξει vg⁴. s s¹ arm^{1.8} | αὐτοὺς
> s¹ | τον¹ > κ 61. 69 arm bo | τοπων] ποταμον Α | τον² > 61. 69
bo | τον καλ. εβρα. > Tyc | αρ μαγεδων Ακ 051. 1. 35. 104. 172.
205. 241. 250. 468. 620. 632. 1957. 2018. 2019. 2020. 2023.
2036. 2037. 2038. 2040. 2067 s² arm^{4.α} : hermagedon vg :
ermagedo gig : ermagedon Tyc : armageddon Pr : ermakedon
bo : μαγεδων 20 (- 35. 205. 468. 620. 632. 2020. 2040) al s¹
arm³ : μαγεδδων 046 : μακεδδων 61. 69 |.

17. καὶ ο εββ.] καὶ οτε κ* (καὶ ο ζ κ*) : + ἀγγελος κ*^ο 051. 1.
35. 172. 205. 250. 468. 1957. 2015. 2018. 2019. 2023. 2036.
2037. 2038. 2041. 2067 al Pr gig vg⁴ s¹ arm^{1.2.4.α} bo | ἐπὶ τ.
αερα] εἰς τ. αερα 051. 1. 35. 61. 69. 205. 1957. 2015. 2016.
2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2041. 2067 al s¹ : in aere (-a gig : -em
vg) Pr gig vg | μεγάλη > Α 1. 181. 205. 209. 2038 | εκ Ακ 1.
94. 181. 205. 209. 617. 2019. 2020. 2037. 2038. 2040. 2067 :
απο 046. 20 (- 205. 617. 2020. 2040). 250 al^{pl} | ναου Ακ 60.
61. 69. 2040 Pr vg s arm² bo sa : + του ουρανου 046. 20 (- 468.
2040). 250. 2067 al^{pl} : ουρανου 1. 94. 181. 241. 2015. 2019.
2036. 2037. 2038 gig arm^{2.4.α} : (+ ουρ. του 468) ναου καὶ 468
eth | απο του θρονου] του θεου κ : καὶ (> 201) απο τ. θρον. του
θεου 201. 386 : > 051* gig |.

18. καὶ] + ευθεωσ 386 | ἀστράπ. κ. φων. κ. βροντ. Α 42. 82.
141. 2015. 2019. 2036. 2040 al Pr gig vg arm² bo sa eth : βροντ.
κ. ἀστρ. κ. φων. κ. βροντ. κ*. ἀστρ. κ. φων. 046 : βροντ. κ. ἀστρ. κ.
φων. κ* 920 : ἀστρ. κ. βροντ. 205. 181. 2038. 2067 Tyc s¹ arm⁴ :
φων. κ. β. καὶ ἀστρ. 1. 2037 al : ἀστρ. κ. βροντ. κ. φων. 051. 20
(- 205. 920. 2040). 61. 69. 104. 110. 141. 172. 201. 250. 314.
385. 432. 1918. 1955. 1957. 2016. 2018. 2022. 2023 al s² |
ἐγενετο¹ Ακ 1. 35. 61. 69. 205. 1957. 2015. 2019. 2023. 2036.
2037. 2038. 2040. 2041 al Tyc gig vg s arm^{(2.3).4} (α) bo : > 046.
20 (- 35. 205. 2040). 250. 2067 al^{pl} Pr sa | οἷος οὐκ ἐγεν. . . .
οὕτω μέγας] et signa magna Pr | οἷος οὐκ ἐγενετο] οἷος οὐκ
ἐγενοντο κ* : οἷος οὐ γέγονεν 920 | ἀφ' οὗ] ex qua die gig |
ἀνθρώπος ἐγενετο Α bo : ~ 2020 arm^{2.α} : ἀνθρώποι ἐγενοντο κ 046.

τηλικούτος σεισμός οὕτω μέγας. 19. καὶ (α) αἱ πόλεις τῶν ἐθνῶν ἔπεισαν· καὶ Βαβυλὼν ἡ μεγάλη ἐμνήσθη ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ δοῦναι αὐτῇ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ θυμοῦ τῆς ὀργῆς αὐτοῦ· 20. καὶ πᾶσα νῆσος ἔφυγεν, καὶ ὄρη οὐχ εὐρέθησαν. 21. καὶ χάλαζα μεγάλη ὥς ταλαντιαία καταβαίνει ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους· καὶ ἐβλασφήμησαν οἱ ἄνθρωποι τὸν θεὸν ἐκ τῆς πληγῆς τῆς χαλάζης, ὅτι μεγάλη ἐστὶν ἡ πληγὴ αὐτῆς σφόδρα.

(α) MSS insert before καὶ the words : καὶ ἐγένετο ἡ πόλις ἡ μεγάλη εἰς τρία μέρη. See vol. ii. 52.

35. 61. 69. 181. 2019. 2036. 2038. 2040 : οἱ ἄνθρωποι (οὐρανοὶ 506) ἐγενοντο (> 1957 : γεγονασιν 337 : ἐγενοντο οἱ ἄνθρ. 205) 051. 20 (-35. 2020. 2040). I. 104. 110. 250. 2037. 2067 al^{pl} Tyc gig vg s arm²⁻⁴ sa | ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς > 69. 104 | τηλικούτος σεισμός οὕτω μέγας] > bo : tr after ἐγενετο² arm² | οὕτως I. 498. 2015. 2018. 2020. 2037. 2033. 2040 al |.

19. αἱ πόλεις] ἡ πόλις κ* s² | αἱ > 2015. 2036. 2038 | ἐπείσαν Aκ^o 046. 051. 35. 104. 110. 337. 452. 468. 498. 620. 2015. 2020. 2023. 2038. 2041** : ἐπείσον 20 (-35. 337. 468. 620. 919. 2020). I. 69. 250. 314. 2037. 2067 al^{pl} : ἐπείσεν κ* s² | δοῦναι] pr του κ 632**. 2015. 2036. 2037 | τὸ ποτ.] ἐκ Pr | το > κ 2040 | του² > κ bo | τ. θυμ.] tr before τ. οἴνου 468 eth : tr after ὀργῆς Pr : + καὶ s¹ : > Tyc | τ. ὀργ. > 61. 69 gig arm⁴ | αὐτου] > κ bo : του θεου 2019 eth |.

20. καὶ¹ > I | πᾶσα νῆσος ἐφυγεν] omnes insulae fugierunt Pr arm bo eth | ὀρη] pr omnes Pr : + καὶ 2015. 2036. 2037 | εὐρέθησαν] + τότε οἱ ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν φευξοῦνται ἐπὶ δυσμᾶς καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ δυσμῶν εἰς ἀνατολὰς ἐστὶν γὰρ θλίψις μεγάλη οἷα οὐ γέγονεν ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου οὐδ οὐ μὴ γένηται 468.

21. μεγάλη] βίαια 920 | ὥς ταλαντ.] tr after καταβαίνει 920 | ὥς > 2022 Pr | καταβαίνει] κατέβη s¹ arm bo | τον θεον > 386 | ἐκ] ἐπὶ 205 | πληγῆς . . . χαλάζης] ~ 920 | ἐστὶν] ἐγενετο Pr vg | ἡ πλ. αὐτ. > vg | αὐτῆς] > 046 arm². 2. a : tr before ἡ πληγὴ 205 : αὐτῇ 18. 69. 104. 175. 250. 325. 386. 456. 617. 620. 920. 2015. 2016. 2020. 2037 al : αὐτου 181. 385 : a grandine Pr |.

CHAPTER XVII.

1. Καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς ἐκ τῶν ἑπτὰ ἀγγέλων τῶν ἔχοντων τὰς ἑπτὰ φιάλας, καὶ ἐλάλησεν μετ' ἐμοῦ λέγων Δεῦρο, δείξω σοι

τὸ κρίμα τῆς πόρνῃς τῆς μεγάλης
τῆς καθήμενης ἐπὶ ὕδατων πολλῶν,

2. μεθ' ἧς ἐπόρνευσαν οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς,
καὶ ἐμεθύσθησαν οἱ κατοικοῦντες τὴν γῆν ἐκ τοῦ οἴνου
τῆς πορνείας αὐτῆς.

3. Καὶ ἀπήνεγκέν με εἰς ἔρημον ἐν πνεύματι. καὶ εἶδον γυναῖκα
καθήμενὴν ἐπὶ θηρίου κόκκινον γέμοντα ὀνόματα βλασφημίας, ἔχων¹
ἐχον

1. ἦλθεν] ἐξηλθεν A | εἰς] τισ 104 arm². 4 | ἐκ > κ 2015.
2040 | ἀγγέλ . . . φιάλας > Tyc | τ. ἐχοντων] qui habebat gig |
ἐλαλήσεν] dixit Tyc | μετ' ἐμ. λεγ. > Tyc | λεγων] + μοι 1. 205.
2015. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2067 | τ. μεγ. > s¹ | ὑδατ. πολλ. ΑΚ
025. 1. 172. 181. 205. 218. 250. 2015. 2018. 2019. 2036. 2037.
2038. 2040. 2067 bo : των υδατ. των πολλ. 046. 20 (- 205.
2040) al^{pl} arm |.

2. μεθ' ἧς] + "sinned and" bo | ἐπόρνευσαν] ἐποιήσεν πορνειαν
κ bo sa | καὶ . . . αὐτῆς > Tyc Pr | ἐμεθύσθησαν] ἐμεθύσαν 205 |
οἱ κατ. τ. γ.] tr after αὐτῆς 1 | ἐκ] ἀπο 920 | οἴνου] οἴκου κ* ?
| πορνείας] πορνῆς 205 |.

3. ἀπήνεγκεν] ἀνηνεγκεν 920 : duxit Pr : tulit Tyc gig | με]
μοι 386 | ἐρημον] + τοπον 2040 | ἐν ΑΚ 025. 046. 35. 175. 205.
325^{**}. 468. 617. 620. 632^{**}. 1934. 2020. 2040 Tyc Pr gig Cyp
vg bo (arm) : > 18. 82. 93. 141. 201. 218. 325*. 337. 385. 386.
429. 456. 498. 506. 522. 632*. 919. 920. 1849. 1955. 2004.
2024*. 2039 al | εἶδον] ἰδα A | ἐπὶ] + το 920 | θηριον ΑΚ 35. 175.
205. 617. 620. 632^{**}. 1934. 2020. 2040 : + το 18. 325. 337.
386. 456. 468. 632*. 919. 920. 1849. 2004 | κοκκ.] κοκκ. 046 |
γεμ. . . (ver. 4) καὶ⁸ > 468* | γεμοντα ΑΚ* 025 (s³) : γεμον κ^o
046. 051. 20 (- 468*). 1. 61. 69^{ms}. 110. 172. 201. 241. 250. 314.
385. 498. 522. 1955. 1957. 2015. 2016. 2018. 2019. 2022. 2023.
2024. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2039. 2041. 2067 (s¹) : γεμων 104. 429.
2017 | ονοματα ΑΚ 025. 046. 20 (- 35. 175. 205. 617. 1934).
61. 69. 104. 110. 201. 241. 385. 429. 498. 522. 1955. 1957.
2017. 2022. 2024. 2039 : ονοματων 1. 35. 61^{ms}. 172. 175. 205.
250. 314. 617. 1934. 2015. 2016. 2018. 2019. 2023. 2036.
2037. 2038. 2041. 2067 | ἐχων Α 104. 201. 429. 919. 2017 :
ἐχοντα κ 025 : ἐχον 046. 051. 20 (- 468*. 919). 1. 250. 2037.
2038. 2067 al^{pl} | κεφ. ἐπτ. καὶ > 1 | δεκα] καὶ ἡ γυνὴ . . . τῆς
γῆς (ver. 18) 025. 2020. (On this addition see Tischendorf,
crit. note *in loc.*) |.

κεφαλὰς ἑπτὰ καὶ κέρατα δέκα. 4. καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἦν περιβεβλημένη πορφυροῦν καὶ κόκκινον, καὶ κεχρυσωμένη ᾠχρυσίῳ¹ καὶ λιθῷ τιμίῳ χρυσοῦ καὶ μαργαρίταις, ἔχουσα ποτήριον χρυσοῦ ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτῆς ᾠγέμον¹ γέμων βδελυγμάτων καὶ τὰ ἀκάθαρτα τῆς πορνείας αὐτῆς. 5. καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ μέτωπον αὐτῆς ὄνομα γεγραμμένον, μυστήριον,

BABYLON H ΜΕΓΑΛΗ,
H ΜΗΤΗΡ ΤΩΝ ὁ ΠΟΡΝΩΝ †(a)
ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΒΔΕΛΥΓΜΑΤΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΓΗΣ.

6. καὶ εἶδα τὴν γυναῖκα μεθύουσαν ἐκ τοῦ αἵματος τῶν ἀγίων καὶ ἐκ τοῦ αἵματος τῶν μαρτύρων Ἰησοῦ.

(a) Tyc Pr vg arm^a=πορνῶν, which the parallelism in the next line requires. See vol. ii. 65.

4. ην] η ι | πορφυρουν] πορφυραν 051. 1. 35. 175. 181. 205. 250. 314. 617. 1934. 1957. 2015. 2019. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2041. 2067 al^p : πορφυρᾶ s¹ | καὶ² > 1957 | καὶ³ ΑΚ 1. 104. 250. 424. (620). 2018. 2019. 2020. 2022. 2037 al Tyc Pr gig vg s² arm^a. 4. a bo : > 025. 046. 20 (-620. 2020). 2038. 2067 al^{mu} s¹ arm² | κεχρυσωμενη] περικεχρυσωμενη 250. 424. 2018 : κεχρυσωμενα s¹ : "gildings embroidered" arm² | χρυσιω Α 046. 20 (-35. 205. 2020. 2040). 250. 2067 al^{mu} : χρυσω Ν 025. 1. 35. 205. 1957. 2015. 2019. 2020. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2040. 2041 | λιθ. τιμ. . . . μαργ.] ~ arm^a. a | λιθ. τιμ.] λιθουσ τιμιουσ s¹ : λιθουσ τιμιουσ s² arm | μαργ.] μαργαριτας s¹ : "pearl" arm | εχουσα . . . τ. πορν. αυτησ > 025 | εχουσα] pr και Tyc s¹ : et habebat Pr | ποτ. χρυσ.] ~ 1. 205. 1957. 2015. 2019. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2041. 2067 al : tr χρυσ. after αυτησ¹ 920 | εν] επι s¹ | γεμον ΑΚ^o 046. 20. 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^p : γεμων Ν^o 104. 201. 429. 2017 : pr και s¹ arm^a. 4. a | βδελ. . . . τα ακαθ.] ~ s¹ | βδελ.] βδελυγματος s¹ arm⁴ (bo) : abominatione vg^o. (nem^o) | καὶ³ > bo | τα ακαθ.] τ. ακαθαρματα 2039 : immunditia vg^o. a. f. g. h. v : -tiae Pr vg^o. (s¹) : -tiarum Tyc vg^d (bo) | τ. πορν. > gig | αυτησ² Α 1. 35. 104. 172. 205. 241. 250. 468*. 632*. 1957. 2015. 2016*. 2018. 2019. 2020. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2040. 2041. 2067 al Tyc vg s¹ arm² eth : τησ γησ 046. 20 (-35. 205. 468*. 632*. 2020. 2040) al^{mu} gig arm² : totius terrae Pr Cyp : αυτησ και τησ γησ Ν s² : αυτησ μετα τησ γησ ολησ bo : > arm^a. a |.

5. ονομα] ονοματα 18. 919. 2004 : > s¹ arm² eth | μυστηριον] sacramenti Pr : εν μυστηριω arm^a. a | τ. πορν. κ. > gig | πορνων] fornicationum Tyc Pr vg (arm²) | τ. γησ] totius terrae Pr |.

6. ειδα (ιδα Α) ΑΚ : ειδον (ιδον) 025. 046. 051 min^p | εκ¹ Α 1. 35. 104. 172. 205. 241. 429. 468*. 632*. 2015. 2016. 2017*. 2019. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2040. 2067 al^{mu} Pr gig vg s : > Ν 025. 046. 20 (-35. 205. 468*. 632*. 2020. 2040). 69. 82. 110. 250. 314. 385 al^{mu} | τ. αιμ.] τω αιματι Ν^o 2020 :

Καὶ ἰθαύμασα ἰδὼν αὐτὴν θαῦμα μέγα. 7. καὶ εἶπέν μοι ὁ ἄγγελος Διὰ τί ἰθαύμασας; Ἐγὼ ἐρῶ σοι τὸ μυστήριον τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ τοῦ θηρίου τοῦ βαστάζοντος αὐτήν, τοῦ ἔχοντος τὰς ἑπτὰ κεφαλὰς καὶ τὰ δέκα κέρατα. 8. τὸ θῆριον ὃ εἶδες ἦν καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν, καὶ μέλλει ἀναβαίνειν ἐκ τῆς ἀβύσσου, καὶ εἰς ἀπώλειαν ὑπάγει· καὶ θαυμασθήσονται οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ὧν οὐ γέγραπται τὸ ὄνομα ἐπὶ τὸ βιβλίον τῆς ζωῆς ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου, βλέπόντων τὸ θῆριον ὃ τι ἦν καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν καὶ πάρεσται.

sanguine Tyc arm | καὶ² Ακ 025. 35. 205. 468. 632^{**}. 2020. 2040 al^{ma} Tyc Pr gig vg s arm bo : > 046. 20 (-35. 205. 468. 632^{**}. 2020. 2040). 82. 110. 250. 385 al | εκ τ. αιμ.² εκ > 314. 2016. 2041 al : sanguine Tyc arm | μαρτ.] μαρτυριων Α : pr αγιων 325. 468. 620 | Ἰησου] pr του 2040 : + Christi Pr : > 1. 2019. 2067 arm^a | ἰδ. αυτ. θαυμ. μεγ. > bo | tr ιδων αυτ. after μεγα κ 2020 s¹ | αυτην > 61. 69 |.

7. ερω σοι Α 046. 20 (-35. 205). 250 al^{ma} gig s eth : ~ κ 025. 1. 35. 61. 69. 1957. 2019. 2022. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2041. 2067 al^p vg : tibi ostendam Pr bo | το > arm | τ. γυν.] huius mulieris Pr | του³] και 2020 : pr και 1. 2036. 2037 | τας > 205 arm^{2 4} | επτ. κεφ.] ~ Pr vg | δεκ. κερ.] ~ Pr vg |.

8. το θηριον] pr και Tyc arm^a eth | ο ειδες > Tyc | ην] η Α : pr ο arm | και²] sed Pr : > s¹ bo | απωλειαν] + irae Tyc | υπαγει Α 181. 468^{*}. 2037 : vadit Pr s¹ (eth) : υπαγειν κ 025. 046. 20 (-468^{*}). 250. 2037. 2038 al^p s² arm (bo) : ibit Tyc gig vg | θαυμασθησονται Α 025 s : θαυμασονται κ 046. 20. 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 min^{oma} : mirabantur vg^{a 2} arm^a | οι κατοικ.] pr παντες Pr arm^{2 4} a bo | επι της γης Ακ 025. 1. 35. 175. 205. 250. 617. 1934. 2037. 2038. 2040. 2067 al^p gig s arm^{2 4} a bo : την γην 046. 20 (-35. 175. 205. 617. 1934. 2040) al^{pm} Pr vg : της γης arm² | ου γεγραπτ.] ουκ εγεγραπται Α | το ονομα Α 046. 20 (-35. 175. 205. 468. 617. 1934). 69. 110. 385 al^{ma} s² arm^{2 4} bo : τα ονοματα κ 025. 1. 35. 175. 205. 250. 468. 617. 1934. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^p Pr gig vg s¹ arm² a eth : + αυτων arm^a | επι²] εν 2036. 2040 Pr gig vg s¹ arm | το βιβλιον Ακ 025. 051. 1. 35. 175. 205. 250. 314. 617. 1934. 1957. 2016. 2019. 2023. 2037. 2038 al : του βιβλιου 046. 20 (-35. 175. 205. 337. 617. 1934. 2040). 69. 82. 104 al^{ma} : τω βιβλω 337. 2040 Pr gig vg s¹ : βιβλω 2036 (arm) | λεποντων] λεποντες 1. 35. 1957. 2019. 2022. 2023. 2041 Pr gig vg | τ. θηρ. (στι) ην Ακ 025. 1. 35. 205. 2020. 2037. 2038. 2040. 2067 al^p Pr gig s arm bo : στι ην τ. θηρ. 046. 20 (-35. 205. 2020. 2040). 250 al | ο τι so apparently Pr vg^{a 2} v arm² : στι 046 min^{oma} gig vg^{a 2} c. f. g. h bo arm^{2 4} a : Ακ 025. s would support either reading | εστιν] εσται 386. 920 | και⁶] + παλιν κ^{*} | παρεσται Ακ^{*} 025. 046. 051. 20 (-632^{**}). 69. 104. 250. 314. 2067 al^{pm} Pr arm⁴ : παρεστιν κ^o 1. 181.

9. Ὡδε ὁ νοῦς ὁ ἔχων σοφίαν· αἱ ἑπτὰ κεφαλαὶ ἑπτὰ (α) 10. βασιλεῖς (β) εἰσίν· οἱ πάντε ἐπεσαν, ὁ εἰς ἔστιν, ὁ ἄλλος οὐπω ἦλθεν, καὶ ὅταν ἔλθῃ ὀλίγον αὐτὸν δεῖ μέναι. 11. καὶ τὸ θηρίον, ὃ ἦν καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν, καὶ αὐτὸς ὀγδοὺς ἔστιν, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἑπτὰ ἔστιν, καὶ εἰς ἀπώλειαν ὑπάγει. 12. καὶ τὰ δέκα κέρατα ἃ εἶδες δέκα βασιλεῖς εἰσίν, οἵτινες βασιλείαν οὐπω ἔλαβον, ἀλλὰ ἐξουσίαν ὡς βασιλεῖς μίαν ὥραν λαμβάνουσιν μετὰ τοῦ θηρίου. 13. οὗτοι μίαν

(α) Here follows a gloss giving a second explanation : *ὅρη εἰσίν, ὅπου ἡ γυνὴ κάθηται ἐπ' αὐτῶν.* καὶ.

(β) The same gloss adds *ἑπτὰ*.

241. 336. 632^{2*}. 2019. 2036. 2037. 2038 gig s arm^a : *ἐπεσαν* bo : >vg |.

9. ὦδε ο νοῦς ο εχ. σοφ.] joined with what precedes 046. 18. 69. 201. 337. 385. 386. 456. 498. 522. 919. 920. 1849. 1955 al : "he who hath heart with (and eth) wisdom let him understand" bo eth² | ὦδε | pr et Pr : > 046 | ο εχων | τω εχοντι s | αι | και 2040 : > 051 | επτα | > 61. 69 : tr after εἰσιν 1 | επ | επανω 61. 69 | οπου . . . επ αυτων | ubi . . . supra illos gig s : super quos Pr vg bo eth |.

10. και¹ > 620 | βασ. επτ. εἰσιν A 025. 1. 35. 205. 241. 632^{2*}. 1957. 2019. 2020. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2040. 2041. 2067 al Pr gig vg s (arm^{2.4.5}) : επτ. βασ. εἰσιν N bo sa eth : βασ. εἰσιν επτ. 046. 20 (-35. 205. 632^{2*}. 2020. 2040). 250 al^{mu} (arm²) | επεσαν | επεσον 20 (-35. 337. 468. 920). 42. 69. 82. 104. 250. 2067 al | ο¹ | pr και 1 s¹ arm bo : + δε 2041 Pr eth² | εστιν | pr ουκ bo : superest Pr | ο² | pr και vg arm bo eth | αυτ. δει μειναι A 025. 1. 35. 69. 2037. 2038. 2040. 2067 al : αυτ. μινε ζει (δει N^o) N² : δει αυτ. μειναι 046. 20 (-35. 2040). 250 al^{mu} (Pr) gig (vg) |.

11. και² > 468². 2040 | και³ > N | αυτοσ A 025. 1. 35. 175. 205. 250. 617. 632. 1934. 2037. 2038. 2067 al Pr gig vg (s¹) bo : αυτοσ N 046. 20 (-35. 175. 205. 617. 632. 1934) al (s²) | ογδοοσ | pr ο N 452. 2017. 2021 : octavo loco Pr | κ. εκ. τ. επτ. εστιν | cum sit ex vii Pr | υπαγει | vadet vg : ibit Pr (arm^{2.2.5}) |.

12. οἵτινες | hii Pr | βασιλειαν > bo | οντω | ουκ A : ουτω N² | αλλα AN 69. 2040 : αλλ 025. 046 min¹ : > bo arm⁴ | ωσ βασιλεισ | regni Pr | μιαν ωραν | una hora Pr gig vg | λαμβ. . . . θηριον | "having followed the wild beast" bo | λαμβανουσιν | pr ου 620 : accipient gig vg^{c.4.v} : tr after θηριον 920 | μετα του θηριου | post bestiam vg |.

13. οἱτοι | omnes Pr | γνωμην εχουσιν AN 025. 1. 35. 205. 2037. 2038. 2040 al^p Tyc (Pr) gig vg (arm) : ~ 046. 20 (-35. 205. 2040). 250 al^{mu} sa | εχουσιν | habebunt Pr | την > 61. 69. 2038 arm^{2.2.5} : εξουσιαν A 046. 20 (-35. 205. 386. 468. 920). 250 al^{mu} arm^{2.2.5} : pr την N 025. 1. 35. 172. 201. 205. 385. 386. 468. 498. 920. 1957. 2018. 2019. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2041. 2067 al |

γνώμην ἔχουσιν, καὶ τὴν δύναμιν καὶ ἐξουσίαν αὐτῶν τῷ θηρίῳ
 διδῶσιν (α). 17. ὁ γὰρ θεὸς ἔδωκεν εἰς τὰς καρδίας αὐτῶν ποιῆσαι
 τὴν γνώμην αὐτοῦ, (β) καὶ δοῦναι τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτῶν τῷ θηρίῳ,
 ἄχρι τελεσθήσονται οἱ λόγοι τοῦ θεοῦ.

16. καὶ τὰ δέκα κέρατα αἱ εἶδες καὶ τὸ θηρίον,
 οὗτοι μισησοῦσιν τὴν πόρνην,
 καὶ ἡρμωμένην ποιήσουσιν αὐτὴν καὶ γυμνῇ,
 καὶ τὰς σάρκας αὐτῆς φάγονται,
 καὶ αὐτὴν κατακαύσουσιν ἐν πυρὶ.

εὐρ

14. οὗτοι μετὰ τοῦ ἄρνιου πολεμήσουσιν,
 καὶ τὸ ἄρνιον νικήσει αὐτούς,
 ὅτι κύριος κυρίων ἐστὶν καὶ βασιλεὺς βασιλέων,
 καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ κλητοὶ καὶ ἐκλεκτοὶ καὶ πιστοί. (γ)

(α) Text of xvii. 14-17 dislocated and glossed. On the restoration of the original order, see vol. ii. 61, 71 sq.

(β) A doublet here follows καὶ ποιῆσαι μίαν γνώμην : see crit. notes below, and cf. xvii. 13.

(γ) What was originally a marginal gloss on xvii. 1 text adds here : 15. καὶ εἶπέν μοι Τὰ ὕδατα αἱ εἶδες, ὃ ἡ πόρνη κάθηται, λαοὶ καὶ ἔχθλοι εἰσὶν καὶ ἔθνη καὶ γλῶσσαι.

αὐτῶν] εαυτῶν 1 (s) : > arm². 2. a | τῷ θηρ.] diabolō Tyc | διδοασιν] δωσουσιν 94. 2036. 2037 Tyc bo : διαδωσουσι 218 : tradent Pr vg |.

17. θεοσ] κυριοσ 61. 69 | ἔδωκεν > Tyc | αὐτῶν¹] αὐτοῦ N* | τ. γν. αὐτ. κ. ποιῆσαι > 94. 620. 1918 arm². 3. a eth | αὐτοῦ] αὐτῶν N^c | κ. ποιῆσαι μίαν γνώμην] > A 2036. 2037 Tyc gig vg : et esse illos in (+ uno arm². 2. a bo sa eth) consensu (+ et metu Pr) Pr arm². 2. a bo sa eth | καὶ ποιῆσαι > N^c | μίαν γνώμην N 025. 1. 35. 2019. 2022. 2037. (2040). 2067 al : ~ 046. 20 (- 35. 2040). 250 al^{ms} : μίαν > 172. 2018 : + αὐτῶν 2040 s¹ | καὶ > gig vg bo | δοῦναι] dabunt Tyc : ut dent gig vg | τῇ³ > bo sa | αὐτῶν²] αὐτῷ A : αὐτοῦ 046. 61. 69 : > 2036 Pr arm². 2. a bo sa | τελεσθήσονται AN 025. 051. 1. 35. 181. 205. 209. 432. 1957. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2041. 2067 : τελεσθῶσιν 046. 20 (- 35. 205). 69. 104. 110. 250. 385. 2016 al^{pl} |.

16. α εἶδες] tr after θηρίον 205 eth | κ. τὸ θήριον] τῷ θηρίῳ s¹ arm² : τοῦ θηρίου arm³. a : + ο εἶδες (Pr) : > Tyc arm⁴ | μισησοῦσιν] odio habent Tyc | ποιήσουσιν (ποιουσιν Tyc) αὐτὴν κ. γυμνῇ AN 025. 1. 205. 632*. 2020. 2036. 2037. 2040 al Tyc gig vg s² arm² sa : ποιήσουσιν αὐτὴν καὶ (> bo) γυμνῇ ποιήσουσιν (-σωσιν 617) αὐτὴν 046^{ms}. 20 (- 205. 632*. 919*. 920. 2020. 2040). 250 al bo eth : καὶ γυμνῇ ποιήσουσιν αὐτὴν 424. Pr s¹ arm⁴ : κ. γυμνῇ > 046*. 1. 82. 141. 218. 498. 919*. 920. 2016. 2019 | αὐτ. φαγ.] ~ 632 | φαγῶνται 18. 632 : edunt Tyc | κατακαύσουσιν] καυσουσιν 1. 181. 205. 2019. 2020 | εν A 20 (- 920). 2037. 2038. 2067 al^{pl} bo sa : > N 025. 046. 172. 250. 920. 2018 Pr gig vg |.

14. πολεμήσουσιν] πολεμουσιν Tyc arm². 2. a | οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ]

18. καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἣν εἶδες ἔστιν ἡ πόλις ἡ μεγάλη ἡ ἔχουσα βασιλείαν ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλείων τῆς γῆς.

quicumque cum eo erunt Pr | κλητ. . . . εκλ. . . . πιστ.] εκλ. . . . πιστ. . . . κλητ. Pr | κλητοι και >gig | και⁴] >vg^{a.c.1 h.v.} : σι 1. 2037 | εκλεκτοι και > 110. 2020 | εκλ. . . . πιστ.] ~ 172. 2018. 2036. 2037 : οι εκλεκτοι . . . οι πιστοι bo | και⁴ > 205. 2067 |.

16. ειπεν A Tyc Pr vg s arm⁴ bo sa : λεγει & 025. 046 min^{oma} gig arm^{2.a} : > eth | μοι] + angelus Tyc | τα υδατα] ταυτα &* : ταυτα τα υδατα &^c | ειδεσ] ειδας 104 : vides Tyc : + και η γυνη 175. 617. 1934 | ου] super quas Pr Cyp s¹ | η > &^c | πορνη] mulier Tyc bo | λαοι] pr και & | και οχλοι > vg | οχλοι . . . γλωσσαι] ~ 920 | οχλ. εισιν κ. εθνη κ. γλωσσ.] turbae (+ et gentes Cyp) ethnicorum et linguae sunt (sunt et linguae Cyp) Pr Cyp : "multitudes of nations" bo |.

18. εστιν > Pr s¹ | η μεγ.] του θεου 920 | η⁴ > & 18. 201. 386. 2039. 2040 | τ. βασιλειων] τ. βασιλειων & arm^{2.a} : &^a bo eth : > arm⁴ : + των 336. 620. 1918 | της γης Aκ 025. 18. 35. 175. 205. 468. 617. 632^{*.} 1934. 2020. 2040 Tyc gig vg s arm bo eth : terrarum Pr : pr επι (046). 325. (336). 337. 386. 456. (620). 632^{*.} 919. 920. 1849. (1918). 2004 al^{mb} |.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1. Μετὰ ταῦτα εἶδον ἄλλον ἄγγελον καταβαίνοντα ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ἔχοντα ἐξουσίαν μεγάλην, καὶ ἡ γῆ ἐφωτίσθη ἐκ τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ.

2. καὶ ἔκραξεν ἐν ἰσχυρᾷ φωνῇ λέγων

Ἔπεισεν, ἔπεισεν Βαβυλῶν ἡ μεγάλη,
καὶ ἐγένετο κατοικητήριον δαιμονίων,
καὶ φυλακὴ παντὸς πνεύματος ἁκαθάρτου καὶ μεμι- ἀκαθάρτου
σημένου,
καὶ φυλακὴ παντὸς ὀρνέου ἁκαθάρτου καὶ μεμιση-
μένου (a).

(a) Text of these last two lines is uncertain. Possibly we should read θηρίου πνεύματος (cf. Jer. l. 39), cf. A 250. 424 Pr gig s² below : or else, with 250. 424 Pr gig s², read an additional line : καὶ φυλακὴ πάντος θηρίου ἁκαθάρτου.

1. μετὰ ταυτα] pr και 051. 1. 35. 104. 205. 250. 468. 2020. 2037. 2038 al gig vg eth : et Pr | αλλ. αγγ] ~ 35. 175. 242. 250. 617. 920. 1934. (1957). 2016. 2017. 2023 | αλλον] ετερον 1957 : > 1. 61. 69 arm⁴ | εχοντα] pr και 205 eth | μεγ. >gig arm² | εκ²] απο 386 : + του προσωπου αυτου και bo eth |.

2. εκραξεν] εκεκραξεν A | εν A 025. 35. 432. 452. 1957.

πέτωκαν

3. ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ οἴνου [τοῦ θυμοῦ] τῆς πορνείας αὐτῆς ῥεπότικεν¹
πάντα τὰ ἔθνη,
καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς μετ' αὐτῆς ἐπόρνευσαν,
καὶ οἱ ἔμποροι τῆς γῆς ἐκ τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ στρήνου αὐτῆς
ἐπλούτησαν.

2019. 2023. 2036. 2038. 2040. 2041 Tyc vg (bo) : > N 046. 20
(-35. 2040). I. 141. 181. 241. 250. 336. 385. 429. 522. 1918.
1955. 2037. 2067 Pr gig | ισχυρα φωνη (+ μεγαλη I. 181. 2067 :
+ και μεγαλη 205. 2019) A⁸ 025. 046. 20 (-18. 620. 632. 919.
1849. 2004). I. 181. 250. 432. 452. 1957. 2019. 2023. 2036.
2037. 2038. 2041. 2067 vg s² (arm⁴ eth) : ισχυραν φωνην 18. 141.
241. 336. 385. 429. 522. 620. 632. 919. 1849. 1918. 1955. 2004 :
φωνη μεγαλη (+ και ισχυρα Pr) Pr gig s¹ arm² * (bo) : fortitudine
Tyc | λεγων > 025 bo | επεσεν² A I. 35. 104. 172. 205. 468^{**}.
632^{**}. 1957. 2019. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2040. 2041. 2067 Tyc Pr
gig vg s arm² * : > N 046. 20 (-35. 205. 468^{**}. 632^{**}. 2040).
250. 2038 al^m arm² * bo sa eth : + επεσεν 025 | Βαβ.] pr η 046.
61. 69. 2067 : + η πολισ bo sa eth | κατοικ.] habitatio et refugium
Pr | δαιμονιων A⁸ 046. 2040 Tyc Pr gig vg : δαιμονων 025. 20
(-2040). 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al | φυλακη¹.² > Pr | παντοσ¹
. . . μεμισημενου²] omnis immunditiae et iniquitatis Tyc |
παντοσ¹. . . φυλακη² > 18. 205 | πνευματος] + δαιμονιων 620
ακαθ.¹. . . ορνου > 025. I. 61. 69. 104. 181. 242. 617. 919^{*}.
1934. 2016. 2019. 2020. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2067 s¹ arm² | κ.
μεμισημενου¹ A 336. 620 gig arm⁴ : > N 025. 046 min^{fere} o^{ma}
(Pr) vg s² bo sa eth : + et omnis bestiae immundae Pr | φυλ.
παντ.² > 456. 632^{**} | ορνου] θηριου A | ακαθ.² > 920 | κ. μεμι-
σημενου²] κ. μεμασμενου 18 : > 61. 69. vg (-vg^c) : pr και φυλακη
παντοσ θηριον ακαθαρτον 250. 424 : + et carcer omnis bestiae
immundae et odibilis gig s² |.

3. τ. οιν. τ. θυμ. N 046. 20 (-35. 205). 250 al^p Tyc s² : τ.
θυμ. τ. οιν. 025. 051. I. 35. 172. 205. 241. 432. 1957. 2018.
2019. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2041. 2067 gig arm².⁴ (a) eth : τ.
οιν. > AC vg : τ. θυμ. > Pr s¹ | τ. θυμ. τ. πορν.] τ. πορν. τ. θυμ.
C | τ. πορν. > 218 s² | πεπ. παντ. τ. εθ. > Pr | πεποτικεν 94.
432. 2019. 2036 (s¹) : πεποκεν (πεπω- 35. 2037). 025. I.
35. 2023. 2037. 2038. 2041 : πεπωκασι (πεπο- 242. 498.
617. 2020). 051. 110. 175. (241). 250. 337. 468^{**}. 522. 617.
632. (1918). 1934. 1957. 2016. 2017. 2020. 2024. 2039. 2067
al^p Tyc gig vg s² arm².².² : πεπτωκαν AC : πεπωκασιν) N
046. 20 (-35. 175. 337. 468^{**}. 617. 632. 2020). 61. 69. 104
al^p arm⁴ bo eth | μετ αυτ. επορν.] οι μετ αυτ. πορνευσαντες 256.
336. (620). 628 Tyc arm².².² : μετ αυτησ > Pr | τ. γησ²] αυτησ
I. 920 | τ. δυν. > bo | στρηνουσ] στρηνου C 149. 201. 241.
2037. 2067 |.

4. Καὶ ἤκουσα ἄλλην φωνὴν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ λέγουσαν
Ἐξέλθατε ἐξ αὐτῆς ὁ λαὸς μου,
ἵνα μὴ συνκοινωνήσῃτε ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις αὐτῆς,
καὶ ἐκ τῶν πληγῶν αὐτῆς ἵνα μὴ λάβῃτε·

ὁ λαὸς μου
ἐξ αὐτῆς

5. ὅτι ἐκολλήθησαν αὐτῆς αἱ ἁμαρτίαι ἄχρι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ,
καὶ ἐμνημόνευσεν ὁ θεὸς τὰ ἀδικήματα αὐτῆς.

6. ἀπόδοτε αὐτῇ ὡς καὶ αὐτὴ ἀπέδωκεν,
καὶ διπλώσατε διπλᾶ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῆς·
ἐν τῷ ποτηρίῳ ᾧ ἐκέρασεν κεράσατε αὐτῇ διπλοῦν·

4. ἄλλην φωνὴν] ἄλλῃσ φωνῆσ C 2067 : ~ 2020 : ἀλλ. > arm². 4. = bo | λεγουσαν] -σησ 2067 | ἐξέλθατε AM 2036. 2038 : ἐξελθετε 025. 051. 1. 35. 205. 1957. 2017. 2023. 2037. 2040. 2041. 2067 Tyc gig vg s arm bo : ἐξελθε C 046. 20 (- 35. 205. 2040). 250 al¹ Pr | ἐξ αὐτῆσ] tr after μου NC 025. 2020. (2067) eth : > 1. 110. 181. 2038 | ἐξ] απ 2067 | ο > 205. 2038. 2067 | ἵνα > 386 | συνκοιν. ANC : συγκοιν. 025. 046 min^{omn} | καὶ² > s¹ | κ. εκ τ. πλ. αὐτ. > 025. 051. 35*. 2038 | τ. πληγῶν] τησ πληγῆσ gig s¹ | λαβῇτε] λαθῇτε 386 : βλαβῇτε 051. 2036. 2037 (Tyc Pr) |
5. αὐτῆσ¹] αὐτῇ s¹ (bo) : αὐτῶν arm² : > 920 | ἀχρι] εὐσ 025 : μεχρι 2037 | ἐμνημον.] + αὐτῆσ 18. 35. 82. 110. 172. 337. 385. 456. 632. 919. 920. 1849. 1955. 2004. 2018. 2022. 2023 al^p : + αὐτοισ 386 eth [θεοσ] dominus vg : dominus deus Pr | αὐτῆσ²] αὐτῶν Tyc arm² |

6. ἀποδοτε . . . αὐτῆσ] et (> Cyp) ideo reddidit ei duplicia (dupla Cyp) Pr Cyp | ἀποδοτε] ἀποδιδῶσιν arm² 2. = | καὶ¹ > vg (- vg*) | ἀπέδωκεν] + ὑμιν 051. 1. 35. 175. 205. 468. 617. 632**. 1934. 1957. 2016. 2037. 2038. 2041 gig vg⁷ arm⁽²⁾. 4 : + ἡμιν 2067 arm². = | καὶ² > N eth | διπλώσατε (διπλασατε 18. 2004) ANC 046. 20 (- 35. 175. 205. 617. 620. 632**. 1934. 2020). 61. 69. 82. 93. 110. 385. 2022. 2024. 2039 al^{mn} Tyc gig vg : + αὐτῇ 025. 051. 1. 35. 104. 175. 250. 617. 620. 632**. 1934. 1957. 2016. 2037. 2038. 2067 al s arm⁴ bo : + αὐτῇν 205 : + αὐτᾶ 2020 | διπλᾶ A 025. 046. 051. 1. 35. 104. 175. 205. 250. 617. 620. 632**. 1934. 2016. 2020. 2037. 2038. 2040. 2067 : pr τα NC 18. 61. 69. 110. 325. 337. 385. 386. 456. 468. (632*). 919. 920. 1849. 2004. 2022 | (τα) διπλᾶ ANC 025. 35. 175. 617. 620. 632**. 1934. 2020. 2040 Tyc Pr gig vg s arm bo eth : + ὡσ καὶ αὐτῇ (αὐτοὶ 69) καὶ (> 61. 69) 046. 20 (- 35. 175. 617. 620. 632**. 1934. 2020. 2040). 61. 69. 82. 110 al^{mn} | τα > 149 | εν τῷ ποτηρίῳ] in calicem gig | ποτηρίῳ AC 025. 1. 35. 175. 250. 325. 617. 1934. 2037. 2038. 2040. 2067 Tyc Pr (gig) vg s arm eth : > 620 : + αὐτῆσ N 046. 20 (- 35. 175. 325. 617. 1934. 2040). 69. 104. 110. 385 bo | ω] ὡσ 172. 2020 bo | ἐκέρασεν] + ὑμιν

7. ὅσα ἐδόξασεν αὐτὴν καὶ ἑστηγάσεν,
τοσοῦτον δότε αὐτῇ βασανισμὸν καὶ πένθος.

ὅτι ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῆς λέγει ὅτι
Κάθημαι βασίλισσα
καὶ χήρα οὐκ εἰμί,
καὶ πένθος οὐ μὴ ἴδω·

8. διὰ τοῦτο ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ ἔξουσιν αἱ πληγαὶ αὐτῆς,
† θάνατος καὶ πένθος καὶ λιμός,†(α)
καὶ ἐν πυρὶ κατακαυθήσεται,
ὅτι ἰσχυρὸς ὁ θεὸς ὁ κρίνας αὐτήν.

9. Καὶ ἡ κλαύσουσι καὶ κήνουνται ἐπ' αὐτῇ οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς,
καὶ μετ' αὐτῆς πορνεύσαντες καὶ στηρνίσαντες, ὅταν βλέπωσιν τὸν αὐτήν.

(α) On this line see vol. ii. 100.

632** | κερασάτε] remixtum est Cyp Pr : " shall be mingled "
arm² | αὐτῇ² αὐτὴν 046. 620 |.

7. 025] pr καὶ Pr arm² 3. * | αὐτὴν AN^{*}C 025. 046. 20
(- 35** . 175. 205. 632** . 1934. 2020. 2040) al : εαυτὴν N^c 1.
35** . 69. 110. 175. 205. 250. 632** . 2020. 2037. 2038. 2040.
2067 al^{pl} | τοσοῦτ. δότε] κερασάτε 1 | δότε] δωτε 025 : datur Pr
Cyp (arm²) | δότε αὐτ. > s¹ | αὐτὴ > gig | κ. πενθ.] > 051. 1. 35.
60. 181. 432. 1957. 2023. 2041. 2067 : + populo suo Tyc | οτι¹]
καὶ 1 : διοτι 2036. 2037 : + καὶ 205 : > 051. 2038 | λέγει] +
Babylonia Tyc | οτι²] + εγω 172. 250. 2018 : > 1. 620. 2067 |
καθημαι ANC 025. 35. 175. 617. 620. 632** . 1934. 2020. 2040
gig vg s arm² 4. * : καθιω 046. 61. 69 arm² bo : καθωσ 18. 82.
110. 325. 337. 385. 429. 456. 522. (632*) . 919. 920. 1849. 1955.
2004. 2022. 2024. 2039 al^p : + καθωσ 468 : + ωσ 205 : εἰμι
καθωσ 201. 386 : sum Pr Cyp | βασίλισσα] βασιλευνυσα C | οὐκ
εἰμι] non possum esse (esse non possum Cyp) Pr Cyp |.

8. ἡμερᾷ] ὥρᾳ 61. 69 Pr eth | αὐτῆς] pr επ s¹ (arm² 3. *) |
θανάτωσ] θανάτου 046 arm² | καὶ¹ AN 025. 35. 205. 620. 920.
2040 Tyc Pr gig vg s⁽¹⁾ 2 arm² 4. * bo : > 046. 20 (- 35. 205.
620. 920. 2040). 82. 110. 172. 201. 250. 314. 385. 429*. 498.
522. 1955. 2018 al arm² | καὶ² > 18 | ἐν πυρὶ] tr after κατακαυθ.
(arm²) bo eth | κατακαυθήσεται] κατακαυθήσονται Tyc : καυθήσεται
337 | ὁ θεοσ A 2040 vg eth : ὁ θεοσ ὁ κυριοσ N^{*} : κυριοσ ὁ θεοσ
N^c C 025. 046. 20 (- 175. 617. 920. 1934. 2020. 2040). 250.
2037. 2067 al Tyc Cyp gig s² arm² 4. * bo : κυριοσ 141. 175. 242.
314. 617. 1934. 2016. 2020. 2041 Pr s¹ arm² : κυρ. ὁ θεοσ ὁ
παντοκρατωρ 2036 : κυριοσ ὁ παντοκρατωρ 2037 | κρινας] κρινων N^c
1. 175. 250. 314. 617. 1934. 2016. 2036. 2037 : (qui) iudicabit
Tyc vg |.

9. κλαύσονται AN 1. 18. 205. 2019. 2004. 2038. 2067 al^p :

καπνὸν τῆς πυρώσεως αὐτῆς, 10. ἀπὸ μακρόθεν ἐστηκότες διὰ τὸν φόβον τοῦ βασανισμοῦ αὐτῆς, λέγοντες

Οὐαί, οὐαί ἡ πόλις ἡ μεγάλη,
Βαβυλὼν ἡ πόλις ἡ ἰσχυρά,
ὅτι μῆ ὥρα ἦλθεν ἡ κρίσις σου.

11^a. καὶ οἱ ἔμποροι τῆς γῆς κλαίουσιν καὶ πενθοῦσιν ἐπ' αὐτήν,

23^a. [ὅτι οἱ ἔμποροι † σου † ἦσαν οἱ μεγιστάνες τῆς γῆς] (a)

11^b. ὅτι τὸν γόμον αὐτῶν οὐδεὶς ἀγοράζει οὐκέτι,

(a) This line is provisionally restored here: see vol. ii. 102, 112. But it is best to take it as a gloss on 11^a.

κλαουσουσιν C 025. 046. 20 (-18. 205. 2004). 250. 2037 al^b | κλαουσονται (-σουσιν)] + αὐτήν 025. 1. 35. 205. 2036. 2037. 2067 s¹: + ταυτήν 2019. 2038 | καὶ κοψ. >920 | καί³ >bo | ἐπ αὐτῇ >61. 69 Pr | αὐτῇ A 1. 205. 498. 2019. 2020. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2040: αὐτὴν NC 025. 046. 20 (-205. 2020. 2040). 250 al: αὐτῆς 2067: αὐτῶν 620 | οἱ¹ >18 | κ. στρην.] >N^a 456: + καὶ στεναξουσιν N^a. c | βλεψουσιν] ἰδῶσιν N: βλεπουσιν 051. 522. 2017. 2038 | πυρώσεως] πτωσεως N^a |.

10. ἀπο] pr καὶ Pr arm² | ἐστηκοτες] ἐστῶτες 2040: ἐστηκοντες 2036. 2037: ἐστησονται arm². a bo | τ. φοβ. >1849 | τοῦ βασανισμοῦ] τὸν βασανισμόν 1849 (arm⁴): tormentorum gig: >arm³. a | λεγοντες] καὶ λεξουσιν s¹ arm². s. a: >arm⁴ | οὐαί³ + οὐαί 172. 250. 2018 s¹: >141. 2019. 2038 | ἡ¹ >1934 | ἡ μεγ. >Pr | βαβυλὼν] pr ἡ 172. 250. 2018. 2023 | ἰσχυρά] οἰχυρά 2036. 2037 | μίαν ὥρα] μίαν ὥραν A 2040: pr ἐν 1. 2020. 2037. 2067 | ἦλθεν >A | σου] eius gig |.

11^a. τῆς γῆς] σου 456: + σου N: terrarum Pr | κλαίουσιν κ. πενθοῦσιν ANC 025. 1. 35. 205. 1957. 2023. 2037. 2038. 2040. 2067 (Pr) gig: κλαουσουσι (-σονται 2036) κ. πενθησουσι (-θουσιν 314) 046. 20 (-35. 205. 2040). 250. (314). (336). (1918). (2036) vg s¹. (2) arm³. 4 = (bo): κλ. καὶ >s²: καὶ πενθ. >336. 620. 1918. 2036: καί³ >bo: flent plangentes Pr | ἐπ αὐτ.] tr after κλαίουσιν 2020 | ἐπ] ἐν A 1. 2036: ἐφ 051. 181. 2019. 2037. 2038. 2067: pr ἐφ εαυτοῦ 468: >Pr | αὐτὴν NC 025. 94. 336^{**}. 620. 1918. 2017 gig vg (Pr): αὐτῇ A 20 (-620). 104. 250. 314. 1957. 2022. 2023 al^{ms}: αὐτῆς 61. 172. 2018: αὐτοῦ 046: αὐτοῦ 051. 181. 2038: αὐτοῖς 1. 2019. 2036. 2037. 2067 |.

23^a. ὅτι ANC 025. 046. 1. 35. 175. 250. 617. 620. 1934. 2037. 2038. 2040. 2067 Tyc Pr gig vg s arm². 4 eth: >19 (-35. 175. 617. 620. 632. 1934. 2040). 82. 201. 385. 429. 498. 522. 1955 bo | οἱ¹ >A 2040 | σου >325. 2019. 2036 | ἦσαν >386 |.

11^b. αὐτῶν] αὐτῆς 172. 2016. 2020 | οὐκετι (καὶ οὐκετι 620. 1918: οὐκ ἐστίν 456: iam Pr: > arm bo eth) joined with what

λίθου

12. γόμον χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ λίθου τιμίον καὶ μαργαριτῶν,
καὶ βυσσίνου καὶ πορφύρας καὶ σιρικοῦ καὶ κοκκινού,
καὶ πᾶν ξύλον θύινον καὶ πᾶν σκεῦος ἐλεφάντινον καὶ πᾶν
σκεῦος ἐκ ξύλου τιμιωτάτου,
καὶ χαλκοῦ καὶ σιδήρου καὶ μαρμάρου,

13. καὶ κιννάμωμον καὶ ἄμωμον καὶ θυμιάματα,
καὶ μύρον καὶ λίβανον καὶ οἶνον,

precedes 025. 1957. 2023. 2036. 2037 Pr gig vg s¹ : joined with what follows AC 046. 19 al^{pl} s² : without punctuation κ |.

12. χρυσοῦ] χρυσουν C 025. 620. 1918 : χρυσιον 94. 2019 | ἀργυρου] ἀργυρουν C 025 : ἀργυριον 94. 181. 201. 386 | λιθ. τιμ.] λιθουσι τιμιουσι C 025 (bo) : λιθων τιμιων Pr s arm² | μαργαριτων κ 172. 2018. 2040 Pr gig s arm² s² : μαργαριτας (-ταις A) AC 025 bo : μαργαριτου 046. 20. 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^{pl} vg | βυσσ. . . . κοκκινου] sirici et purporae et coccineae vestis Pr | βυσσινου AC 025. 046. 20 (-35. 205) al^{pl} gig : βυσσινων κ : βυσσου 051. 1. 35. 205. 1957. 2019. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2041 vg | κ. πορφ.] > A | πορφυρας κC 025. 104. 205. 620. 632**. 2018. 2037**. 2040 : πορφυρου 046. 051. 20 (-205. 620. 632**. 2040). 1. 69. 110. 314. 385. 2037*. 2067 | κ. σιρικ.] > 1. 920 | σιρικου ANC 025. 046. 051. 104. 620. 1849. 2017 al : σιρικου 20 (-386. 620. 1849) al^{pl} : σιρικου 172. 386. 2016. 2018. 2019 | παν ξυλον . . . τιμιωτατου] omne lignum incensi et omne vas ligneum et omne vas eburneum preciosum gig | κ. παν ξυλ. θυν.] et omnis ligni citrei Pr : tr after τιμ. bo | ξυλον] σκευος A : ξυλινον 025 | ελεφ. κ. π. σκευος > arm² | κ. παν σκ. εκ ξυλ. > gig | παν σκευος > Pr | εκ > C 94 | ξυλου κC 025. 046. 20 (-2040) al^{fero omni} Pr s (arm) (bo) : λιθου A 2040 vg eth | τιμιωτατου] τιμιον s¹ | χαλκου . . . σιδηρου . . . μαρμαρου] χαλκου . . . σιδηρου . . . μαρμαρον s¹ bo | χαλκου] καλκου C* | κ. σιδ. > arm² | κ. μαρμ. > κ 1 |.

13. κινναμ- ANC 025. 046**. 19 (-35**. 205. 620. 919. 1934. 2020). 104. 250. 2038 al^p (Pr) vg : κινναμ- 046*. 1. 35**. 69. 172. 205. 314. 620. 1934. 2020. 2022. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2067 al^{mu} gig bo | κινναμωμον (κινναμωμον) AC 025. 1. 250. 2037. 2038. 2040. 2067 al^{mu} vg gig s arm (bo) : κινναμωμον (κινναμωμον) κ 046. 19 (-35. 2040) al^{mu} : cinnamum Pr | κ. αμωμον AN*C 025. 35*. 93. 172. 181. 218. 250. 314. 2016. 2018. 2019. gig vg s² : > κC 046. 20 (-35*). 1. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^{pl} Pr s¹ arm bo | θυμιαματα] θυμιαμα 1. 2037. 2040. 2067 Pr gig arm² bo : -ματοσ 046. 61. 69 : -ματων 201. 386. 620 vg | κ. μυρον > C | μυρον] μυρων 386 (arm²) : μυρον vg s² : σμυρναν 2036. 2037 | λιβανον] λιβανον vg | οινον . . . ελαιον] ~ 175. 218. 242. 250. 314. 617. 1934. 2016. 2017 | κ. οινον ANC 025. 35. (175). 205.

καὶ ἔλαιον καὶ σεμίδαλιν καὶ σίτον,
καὶ κτήνη καὶ πρόβατα (α) καὶ ψυχὰς ἀνθρώπων. (δ)

15. οἱ ἔμποροι τούτων, οἱ πλουτήσαντες ἀπ' αὐτῆς, ἀπὸ μακρόθεν
στῆσονται διὰ τὸν φόβον τοῦ βασανισμοῦ αὐτῆς κλαίοντες καὶ
πενθόντες, 16. λέγοντες

Οὐαί, οὐαί ἡ πόλις ἡ μεγάλη,
ἡ περιβεβλημένη βύσσινον καὶ πορφυροῦν καὶ κόκκινον,
καὶ κεχρυσωμένη χρυσίῳ καὶ λίθῳ τιμίῳ καὶ μαργαρίτῃ,
ὅτι μιᾷ ὥρᾳ ἥρημώθη ὁ τοσοῦτος πλοῦτος.

(α) Here follows an interpolation : καὶ ἵππων καὶ ρεδῶν καὶ σωμαίων. See
vol. ii. 102.

(δ) Verse 14 is restored after 21 : see vol. ii. 105. 108.

(617). 632^{**}. (1934). 2020. 2040 al Pr gig s arm bo sa eth : > 046.
20 (-35. 175. 632^{**}. 205. 617. 1934. 2020. 2040) al^{ma} : κ. οινου
vg | ελαιον] ελαιου vg | κ. σεμ. > Pr | σεμιδ. . . . ψυχας]
σεμιδαλειωσ . . . σιτου . . . κτηνων . . . προβατων . . . ψυχων vg |
κ. σιτ. κ. κτ. > s¹ | και⁹ > bo | σιτον] σιτου 620 bo | κτηνη κ.
προβατα ANC 025. 35. 205. 2037. 2038. 2040. 2067 al Pr gig
(vg) s² arm² 4. a bo sa : ~ 046. 20 (-35. 205. 2040). 250 al^{ma}
arm² : κ. προβ. > 42. 1957 | ιππων] ιππους 2040 s arm² : equi Pr |
ρεδων ANC 025. 046. 1. 18. 205. 632. 919. 1849. 2004. 2037.
2038. 2067 al^{ma} : ραιδων 051. 20 (-18. 205. 632. 919. 1849.
2004). 82. 104. 250. 314. 2016 al^{ma} : ρεδιων 61. 69. 2022 : ρεδασ
Pr s arm² 4. a | ρεδων και > arm² bo | σωμ. και > 337. 386 arm² |
σωματων] σωματα s : σωμα bo : ψυχων 61. 69 : mancipia (-orum
vg) Pr vg : porcorum Tyc : mulorum et camelorum sa | κ. ψυχ.
ανθρ.] et diversi generis animalia Pr : κ. ψυχην ανθρωπου bo eth :
> Tyc |.

15. τούτων] αυτησ Pr : σου bo | αυτησ¹] σου bo | στησονται]
stant Tyc | δ. τ. φοβ. τ. β. αυτ. > Tyc | κλαιοντες (κlausουσιν
s² arm² bo eth) ANC 025. 1. 18. 35. 175. 250. 617. 632^{**}. 1849.
1934. 2004. 2037. 2038. 2040 Tyc Pr gig vg s¹ arm² 4. a (bo)
sa : pr και 046. 325. 337. 386. 456. 468. 620. 632. 919. 920 al s²
arm² eth | και > bo | πενθουντες] πενθησουσιν s² arm² bo eth |.

16. λεγοντες (λεγουσιν 046. 522 : ερουσιν arm² 4. a eth) ANC
(046). 175. 325. 337. 386. 456. (522). 617 al^{ma} Tyc gig s² (arm² 4. a)
bo sa (eth) : pr και 025. 051. 19 (-175. 325. 337. 456. 617. 620).
250. 2037. 2067 Pr vgs¹ arm² (eth) | ουαι¹] + σοι bo | ουαι² ANC 025.
35. 175. 250. 617. 1934. 2020. 2037. 2038. 2040 al Tyc Pr gig vgs
arm (bo) sa eth : + ουαι 172. 2018 : + σοι bo : > 046. 19 (-35. 175.
617. 1934. 2020. 2040) al^{ma} | η πολ. η μεγ.] η μεγαλη πολισ 2020
bo | η μεγ. η περιβεβλ. > κ² | η³ > A | η περιβεβλ.] quae vastata
est gig | βυσσ. . . . κεχρυσωμενη > 325 | βυσσ. . . . κοκκ.] ~ A |
βυσσ. . . . πορφ.] ~ Pr | βυσσινον (βυστινον 025. βυσσινον 1)

17. καὶ πᾶς κυβερνήτης καὶ πᾶς ὁ ἐπὶ τόπον πλέων, καὶ ναῦται καὶ ὅσοι τὴν θάλασσαν ἐργάζονται, ἀπὸ μακρόθεν ἔστησαν 18. καὶ ἔκραξαν βλέποντες τὸν καπνὸν τῆς πυρώσεως αὐτῆς, λέγοντες Τίς ὁμοία τῇ πόλει τῇ μεγάλῃ; 19. καὶ ἔβαλον ἁγίον ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν, καὶ ἔκραξαν κλαίοντες καὶ πενθοῦντες, λέγοντες
Οὐαί, οὐαί ἡ πόλις ἡ μεγάλη,

ANC 1. 35. 175. 250. 617. 620. 2037. 2038 al Tyc (Pr) gig vg^{a. c. f. g. h}: βυσσον 046. 18. 337. 386. 456. 468. 632. 919. 920. 1849. 2004. 2067 al vg^{d. v} | πορφυρουں ANC 046. 19 (-325. 386). 2037. 2038 al^{pl}: πορφυραν 025. 94. 141. 172. 201. 241. 250. 2018. 2019. 2067 | και² > 025. 175. 242. 617. 1934 | κοκκινον] κοκκινα s¹ | και² > 051. 1. 2036. 2038 arm⁴: η eth | χρυσω.] κεχρυσωμενον N: κεχρυσωμενα s¹ (bo): > arm⁴ | χρυσω AC 025. 046. 19 (-35). 250 al^{pl}: χρυσω N 051. 1. 35. 61. 69. 1957. 2019. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2067 al: αuro Pr gig vg: pr εν NC 1. 35. 1957. 2019. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2067 | λιθ. τιμ.] λιθοισ τιμοισ s^{(1). 2} arm^{2. 2. a} | τιμω > 046 sa | μαργαριτη ANC 025. 2040 Pr arm⁴ bo (sa): μαργαριταισ (-τασ s) 046. 19 (-2040). 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^{fero omh} Tyc gig vg s arm^{2. 2. a} | μα] in hac gig | ηρημωθη] ερημωθη 051. 1. 2036. 2038 | ο > 025. 2040 |.

17. ο > 025. 1. 314. 1957. 2016. 2017. 2036. 2037. 2038 al | επι τοπον πλεων] pr επι των πλοιων s¹: επι των πλοιων (+ ο ι) ομιλοσ ι. 2037: πλεων επι των πλοιων 2016: super mare navigans Pr (bo sa): (qui) manibus navigat Tyc | τοπον (pr τον N 046. 468: pr illum gig) ANC 046. 19 (-35. 175. 617. 1934) al^{mu} gig vg s² arm: των πλοιων 025. 35. 181. 250. 314. 617. 1934. 1957. 2017. 2019. 2023. 2036. 2038. 2067 | πλεων] navigabat (-avit vg^c) gig vg^c | κ. ναυτ. . . . εργαζονται > bo | σοσι τ. θαλ. εργαζονται] quotquot mare operatur Tyc | τ. θαλ.] εν τη θαλασση Pr gig vg^r arm²: maria (mari vg^{d. f}) vg^{a. c. d. f. g} | εργαζονται] morantur Pr | εστησαν] stabunt Pr arm |.

18. και εκραξαν > 2020 Pr | και > 2067 arm⁴ | εκραξαν AC 025. 172. 2018. 2038. 2040 Tyc gig vg s²: εκραζον N 046. 051. 19 (-325. 468*. 920. 2040). 1. 250. 2037. 2067: εκλαιον 920: εκλαιυσαν αυτην s¹: εκραυγαζον 42. 325. 468*. 517: κραξουσιν arm | βλεποντες] ορωντες ι | καπνον NC 025. 046. 19 al^{fero omh} Pr Tyc gig s arm bo sa: τοπον A 60 vg | τω > C | πολει] + ταυτη C gig vg arm bo |.

19. εβαλον (-αν C) NC 046. 19 (-325. 617. 2040) al^{fero omh} vg s (bo): εβαλλον 025. 051. 325. 385. 617 gig: επεβαλον (επεβαλλον 2040) A 2040: mittentes Pr | χουν > 620 | τ. κεφ.] τησ κεφαλησ N 2026 bo | αυτων] εαυτων C | και² > arm^{2. 4} bo | εκραξαν (+ φωνη μεγαλη arm⁴) AC 2018 vg s arm⁴: εκραζον N 025. 046. 19. 250. 2037. 2067 al^{pl} gig: clamabunt Pr: πενθουντες arm^{2. a}: > arm² | κλαιοντες κ. πενθουντες] > A ι: pr και 325.

ἐν ᾗ ἐπλούτησαν πάντες οἱ ἔχοντες τὰ πλοῖα ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ,
† ἐκ τῆς τιμιότητος αὐτῆς ὅτι μᾶ ὥρα ἡρημώθη.† (α)

21. Καὶ ἦρεν εἰς ἄγγελος ἰσχυρὸς λίθον ὡς μύλινον μέγαν, καὶ
ἔβαλεν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν λέγων

Οὕτως ὁρμήματι βληθήσεται
Βαβυλὼν ἡ μεγάλη πόλις,
καὶ οὐ μὴ εὐρεθῇ ἐτι.

14. καὶ ἡ ὀπώρα σου τῆς ἐπιθυμίας τῆς ψυχῆς (δ)
ἀπῆλθεν ἀπὸ σοῦ,
καὶ πάντα τὰ λιπαρὰ καὶ τὰ λαμπρὰ
ἀπώλετο ἀπὸ σοῦ. (ε)

(α) Text corrupt. We should read: *ὅτι μᾶ ὥρα ἡρημώθη ἡ τιμιότης αὐτῆς*: cf. vers. 10, 16, and see vol. ii. 106 sq. Ver. 20 is restored to its original context after 23^a. See vol. ii. 92 sq.

(δ) On the restoration of the order of the text, see vol. ii. 92, 105, 108.

(ε) Here follows a gloss: *καὶ οὐκέτι οὐ μὴ αὐτὰ εὐρήσουσιν*. On a possible explanation of it in connexion with the loss of 22^b which I have restored, see vol. ii. 92, 109, and footnote *in loc.* of English transl.

468* arm³ : ~ 325. 468* : tr after λεγοντες 325. 468*. 517 | λεγοντες (+ voce magna Pr) ANC 1. 172. 2018. 2040 Pr vg⁶.
(arm².³.*) bo : pr καὶ 025. 046. 19 (- 325. 468. 2040). 250.
2038. 2067 al^{pl} gig vg^a.^c.^v s arm⁴ : > 468*⁶ vg^d | ουαι² AC 025.
046. 19 (- 337. 468*. 2040) Tyc Pr gig vg s arm sa eth : + ουαι
172. 250. 2019 : > K 141. 337. 432. 452. 468*. 506. 2019. 2021.
2040 bo | η πολ. η μεγ.] η μεγαλη πολισ 1849 | τα > I. 35. 172.
175. 617. 1934. 2018. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2067 al | εν τ. θαλ. . .
αυτης] de mari et de pretiis eius gig | εκ τ. τιμ. αυτ. > Tyc |
ηρημωθη] ερημωθη 1. 2036. 2038 |.

21. και¹] pr και εκραξεν φωνην bo | κ. ηρεν] tr after ισχυροσ
bo | εισ αγγελος ισχυροσ λιθ.] εισ α . . . λιθ. A. The letters
between α and λ are not visible, but the space is only enough for
five or six. | εισ] + εξ αυτων 337 | αγγ. ισχ.] εκ των αγγελων των
ισχυρων s¹ | ισχυροσ] ισχυρον (tr after λιθον K*) K* 141. 149 :
> (A) Tyc s² | λιθον ωσ] > bo : λιθον > 2019 : ωσ > arm² | ωσ]
ωσει 2036. 2037 : ad magnitudinem Pr | μυλινον (μυλικον C)
AC : molarem vg (bo) : μυλον 025. 046. 19. 205. 2037. 2038.
(2067) : molam (-ae Pr) Tyc Pr gig s⁽¹⁾.² arm : λιθον K (2019) |
μεγαν] μεγα 2019. 2020 : tr before ωσ 2067 | ουτως] pr σι K
620 : hoc Pr vg arm² | βαβυλων] pr illa Tyc | μεγαλη πολισ]
μεγαλοπολις 2067 | πολισ > Pr | ετι] + εν αυτη K 046. 61. 69 |.

14. η σπωρα] pomorum (-a vg) Pr vg : hora gig (arm⁴) : >
arm².³.*) | η > C | σου¹ placed after σπωρα ANC 025. 2040 (Pr)
vg^a.^c.^f.^g.^h.^v : tr after ψυχης 046. 19. 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 gig
vg^d s² arm : in both places 172. 2018 s¹ : > bo | της επιθυμιας]

22^{a-d}. καὶ φωνὴ κιθαρῶδων καὶ † μουσικῶν †
 < οὐ μὴ ἀκουσθῇ ἐν σοὶ ἔτι > (a)
 καὶ < φωνὴ > (a) αὐλῶν καὶ σαλπιστῶν
 οὐ μὴ ἀκουσθῇ ἐν σοὶ ἔτι.

23^{a, d}. καὶ φωνὴ νυμφίου καὶ νύμφης
 οὐ μὴ ἀκουσθῇ ἐν σοὶ ἔτι.

22^{a-h}. καὶ πᾶς τεχνίτης πάσης τέχνης
 οὐ μὴ εὐρεθῇ ἐν σοὶ ἔτι.

καὶ φωνὴ μύλου
 οὐ μὴ ἀκουσθῇ ἐν σοὶ ἔτι.

(a) Necessarily restored, yet found in eth : see below.

ἡ ἐπιθυμία Pr s¹ | ἀπηλθεν] discendent vg^d arm² | τα¹ > 61. 69 |
 λιπαρά] ριπαρά N^{*} : + σου 2040 | τα² A 025. 046. 19 al^{fere om} :
 > NC 2036. 2067 | ἀπωλετο AC 025. 046. 19 (- 35. 620). 250
 al¹ arm^{2, 4} eth : ἀπωλοντο N 35. 104. 110. 172. 336. 432. 620.
 1918. 1957. 2018. 2023. 2041 gig vg bo sa : perient Pr : ἀπωχετο
 2067 : ἀπηλθεν 051. 1. 2036. 2037 s¹ arm^{2, 4} | ουκετι + αυτα
 βλεψεις και s¹ | ου μη αυτα AN 2018. 2020. 2040 : αυτα ου μη C
 025. 046. 19 (- 35. 175. 617. 1934. 2020. 2040) al gig vg : tr αυτα
 after evr. 1. 35. 175. 250. 617. 1934. 2037. 2038 (arm) | ευρη-
 σουσιν ANC 025. 18. 172. 250. 424. 2018. 2019. 2039 vg s
 (arm²) bo : ευρησ (-εις 104. 620). 046. 19 (- 18. 35). 2037. 2067 :
 ευρησεις (-ησ 051). 051. 1. 35. 432. 1957. 2023. 2038. 2041 Pr
 gig arm^{2, 4} : + ουτε ψυχας ανθρωπων του λοιπου εμπορευση 241.
 314. 2016 | κ. ουκετι . . . ευρησουσιν] joined with ver. 15 by 172.
 2018. 2019 s bo eth |.

22^{a-d}. καὶ φωνὴ . . . σαλπιστῶν] καὶ ου μὴ ἀκουσθῇ ἐν αὐτῇ
 φωνῇ μουσικῶν καὶ κιθάρᾳ καὶ αὐλῶν καὶ φωνῇ σαλπιγγος ου
 μὴ ἀκουσθῇ ἐν αὐτῇ eth. Here observe that the Ethiopic has
 already restored the missing words in 22^{b, c} | καὶ¹ > N 1 Tyc :
 ουδε bo eth | κιθαρῶδων] κιθαρας s¹ arm² bo eth | μουσικ. . . .
 σαλπ.] ~ s¹ | αὐλῶν] αὐλιστῶν 620 : sinfonicorum Pr | αὐλ. καὶ
 > bo | σαλπιστῶν AC 025. 046. 19 al^{fere om} gig : σαλπιγγων
 (-ος s¹ arm²) N 172. 2018 s arm^{2, 4} : σαλπιγξ vg bo : fistularum
 Tyc : tibicinum Pr : + καὶ 2020 | σοι] αὐτῇ gig vg^{a, f} eth |.

22^{c, d}. φωνὴ] φωνῇ N^{*} bo | νυμφος] pr φωνῇ C 920 s¹ eth |.

22^{a-h}. κ. πᾶς τεχν. . . . ἐτι] > 61. 69 s¹ arm : tr. after ἐν σοὶ
 ἐτι² 104. 620 | πᾶς τεχνίτης > 1918 | πασης τεχνης C 025. 046.
 19. 250. 2038. 2067 Pr gig vg s² : > AN bo : + ἐπινοια 1918 |
 σοι¹] αὐτῇ vg^{c, v} eth | κ. φωνῇ μύλου . . . ἐτι² AC 025. 046. 19
 (- 18. 919. 920. 1849. 2004. 2020). 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 Pr
 gig vg arm² bo : > N 18. 141. 172. 385. 522. 919. 920. 1849.
 1955. 2004. 2020 s arm^{2, 4} : eth | μύλου] μύθου C | ἀκουσθῇ]

23^a. b. καὶ φῶς λύχνου
οὐ μὴ φάνη ἐν σοὶ ἔτι.

20. Εὐφραίνου ἐπ' αὐτῇ, οὐρανέ,
καὶ οἱ ἄγιοι καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ προφῆται,
ὅτι ἔκρινεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ κρίμα ὑμῶν ἐξ αὐτῆς.

23^f. ὅτι ἐν τῇ φαρμακίᾳ † σου † (α) ἐπλανήθησαν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη,

24. καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ αἷμα προφητῶν καὶ ἁγίων εὐρέθη
καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐσφαγμένων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

(α) Read αὐτῆς.

εὐρεθῇ 046 : φανη 91. 175. 250. 314. 617. 1934. 2016 | σοι] αὐτη
vg^c. f. v. †

23^a. b. καὶ φῶς . . . ἐτι NC 025. 046. 19 al^fero omz Pr gig vg
s arm². 4. a bo : > A 506 arm² | καὶ > 046 | λυχνου] + καὶ φωνη
μυλου arm². a | φανη] ακουσθη 620 | εν > C Pr gig vg s¹ | ἐτι
> s² |.

20. ευφραινου] exultate Pr s arm². a : ευφραινετω (-ετωσαν
arm²) arm² eth | επ αυτη ουρανε] ~ Tyc bo | επ] εν A 522 | αυτη
ANC 046. 19 (-18. 35. 617. 2004). 250. 522 gig : αυτην 025.
051. 1. 18. 35. 617. 2004. 2018. 2019. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2067
al Tyc Pr vg | καὶ οἱ² AN 025. 046. 19 (-35). 250. 2037. 2067
al^{pl} Tyc Pr vg^a. f. g. h. v s arm² bo : > C 051. 1. 35. 2038 al^p gig
vg^c. d arm². 4. a (eth) | αποστολοι . . . προφηται] ~ eth |.

23^f. φαρμακια ANC 025. 104. 172. 2019. 2038. 2067 :
φαρμακεια 046. 19 al^{pl} : (ταισ) φαρμακiais Tyc gig vg s¹ bo :
maleficiis Pr | σου] αυτης arm² : αυτων eth | επλανηθησαν] επλαν-
ησας 172 s¹ eth |.

24. εν αυτη] > Tyc : in te Pr eth | αιμα ANC 025. 1. 2020.
2036. 2037 al^p : αιματα 046. 051. 19 (-2020). 250. 2038. 2067
al^{pl} | ευρεθη] ευρεθησαν 69. 104. 620. 1918 | κ. παντ. > s¹ | και²
> Tyc | εσφαγμενων] εσφραγισμενων 2020 (arm². 2. a) : pr a te
Tyc : + αγιων 468 |.

CHAPTER XIX.

1. Μετὰ ταῦτα ἤκουσα ὡς φωνὴν μεγάλην ὄχλου πολλοῦ ἐν τῇ
οὐρανῷ λεγόντων

Ἀλληλουιά·

ἡ σωτηρία καὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ δύναμις τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν,

1. μετ ταυτα . . . (ver. 6^a) καὶ ηκουσα ως > 632* | μετα
ANC 025. 046. 19 (-35. 468. 2020). 250 al^{pl} Pr gig vg s² bo :
pr καὶ 051. 1. 35. 468. 1957. 2019. 2020. 2023. 2036. 2037.
2038. 2041. 2067 s¹ arm eth | ως ANC 025. 046. 19 (-620.

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2. *ὅτι ἀληθινὰ καὶ δίκαιαι αἱ κρίσεις αὐτοῦ·*

*ὅτι ἔκρινεν τὴν πόρνην τὴν μεγάλην,
ἣτις ἐφθείρεν τὴν γῆν ἐν τῇ πορνείᾳ αὐτῆς,
καὶ ἐξεδίκασεν τὸ αἷμα τῶν δούλων αὐτοῦ ἐκ χειρὸς αὐτῆς.*

3. καὶ δεύτερον *εἶρηκαν*
Ἀλληλουιά·

καὶ ὁ καπνὸς αὐτῆς ἀναβαίνει εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

4. Καὶ *ἔπασαν οἱ εἴκοσι τέσσαρες πρεσβύτεροι καὶ τὰ τέσσαρα*
ζῶα, καὶ προσεκύνησαν τῷ θεῷ τῷ καθήμενῳ ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ λέγοντες
Ἀμήν, Ἀλληλουιά·

632^{**}. 2020). 250. 2037^{**} al vg bo : tr after *μεγαλὴν* 2019 eth :
> i. 104. 181. 241. 336. 620. 632^{**}. 2020. 2038. 2067 Tyc Pr
gig s arm | *μεγαλὸν* 337. 632^{**} : tr after πολλοὺν 1957.
2023. 2041 al : > i. 141. 2036. 2038. 2067 Pr arm⁴ | οὐλοῦ
πολλοῦ] οὐλοῦ πολλῶν Pr vg² s¹ : tubarum multarum vg² c^v
arm² : aquarum multarum vg^d | πολλοῦ] > arm². a : + clamantium
voce magna Pr | *λεγοντων*] dicentis gig : *λεγουσαν* 110 : + το i.
2037 | σωτ. . . δοξα] ~ eth | *σωτηρια*] laus vg² s¹ v | *ἡ δοξα* (+ καὶ
ἡ τιμὴ 632^{**} arm². a bo sa) κ. η δυν. A^{nc}C 025. 35. (632^{**}). 2019.
2020. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2040 Tyc vg s¹ arm². a bo sa eth : η
δυν. κ. η δοξα (+ κ. η τιμὴ s²) 046. 19 (- 35. 632^{**}. 2020. 2040).
250 al^{pl} gig s² arm² : κ. η δυν. > N^{*} Pr arm⁴ | τ. θεοῦ ἡμῶν >
2067 | *τοῦ θεοῦ* A^{nc}C 025. 046. 19 (- 632^{**}). 250. 2038 al^{pl} gig
bo sa : τω θεῷ 241. 632^{**}. 2019 Tyc Pr vg s arm : κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ
i. 2037 | *ἡμῶν*] + est vg |.

2. *ἀληθινὰ*] *ἐκρινεν ἀληθῆ* 468 | *οἱ*²] qui vg : + sic Pr |
πόρνην] πολὺν 69. 94. 209. 241. 632^{**}. 2023 | *ἦτις* . . . *πορνεία*
αὐτῆς > bo | *ἦτις* . . . *γῆν* > 2026. 2031. 2037 arm². a | *ἐφθείρεν*
N^cC 025. i. 172. 632^{**}. 2019. 2036. 2037. 2040 al : *διεφθείρεν*
046. 19 (- 632^{**}. 2040). 250. 2067 al : *ἐκρινεν* A | *πορνεία* C
025. 046. 19 al^{pl} : *πορνεία* Aⁿ | *καὶ*] + κ̅θ̅ 2040 | *αὐτοῦ*²] *αὐτῆς* N^{*} |
ἐκ χειρὸς A^{nc}C 025. 046. 19 (- 35^{*}. 620. 632^{**}. 920). 250 al :
ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς i. 35^{*}. 620. 632^{**}. 920. 2018. 2019. 2036. 2037.
2038. 2067 al : *de manu* Tyc gig s² sa eth : *ἐκ (τῶν) χειρῶν* Pr vg
s¹ arm². a : *χειρὸς* > arm² bo |.

3. καὶ¹ > s¹ | *εἶρηκαν* AⁿC 025. i. 35. 172. 2018. 2036. 2037.
2038 : *εἰρηκασιν* 61. 69. 201. 250. 386. 2040 2067 al : *εἶπαν* (-ον
2020) C 2020 : *dixerunt* (= *εἶρηκαν* or *εἶπον*) Tyc Pr gig vg s
arm^(2. 3). 4 sa eth : *εἰρηκεν* 046. 19 (- 35. 386. 2020. 2040) al bo |
o > 386 | *αὐτῆς*] *αὐτῶν* Tyc : *de illa* Pr : > i. 241. 632^{**}.
2067 | *ἀναβαίνει*] *ἀνέβαινεν* 172. 2018. 2020 s² : *ἀνέβη* 2036.
2037 s¹ arm : *ἀναβήσεται* bo |.

4. *ἔπασαν* A^{nc}C 025. 046^{*}. i. 325. 337. 498 620. 2023. 2036.

xvi. 5^b. Δίκαιος εἰ, ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν, (a)
 "Ὁσῖος ὅτι ταῦτα ἔκρινας"

6. ὅτι αἷμα ἀγίων καὶ προφητῶν ἐξέχεαν,
 καὶ αἷμα αὐτοῖς ἑδῶκας¹ πῦν.
 ἀξιοὶ εἰσιν.

ἑδῶκας

7. Καὶ ἤκουσα τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου λέγοντος
 Ναί, κύριε, ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ,
 ἀληθινὰ καὶ δίκαια αἱ κρίσεις σου.

(a) On the restoration of xvi. 5^b-7 to their original context, see vol. ii. 116, 120-124.

2038. 2041 : επεσυν 046**¹. 10 (-325. 337. 620). 250. 2037.
 2067 : tr after πρεσβ. 620 | οι (>69) εικοσι τεσσ. πρεσβ. A 046.
 18. 61. 69. 201. 337. 386. 920. 1957. 2004. 2019. 2036. 2037.
 2039. 2067 Pr gig (s¹) arm : οι πρεσβ. οι εικοσι τεσσ. NC 025. 10
 (-18. 337. 386. 620. 920. 2004). 1. 250. 2038 al^{pl} vg s² | εκ.
 τεσσ.] κδ 046. 1. 35. 337. 468. 919. 920. 1849. 2004. 2038. 2040
 al | τεσσερα AHC : τεσσαρα (8 35. 456. 2040 al^{mn}) 025. 046. min^{pl} |
 ζωα > N* | τω (>919) θρονω ANC 046. 10 (-35. 386. 468. 620.
 632**¹. 920. 2020). 250 al^{pl} : των θρονων 025 : του (>2037) θρονου
 1. 35. 386. 468. 498. 620. 632**¹. 920. 1957. 2019. 2020. 2023.
 2036. (2037). 2038. 2041. 2067 al | αμην αλληλ.] ~ 35 : > arm⁴ |
 αμην > 337 | αλληλ. > Pr |.

xvi. 5^b. δίκαιος] + domine vg^d eth | ει > 104 arm¹. 2. 2. a | ο²
 AHC 025. 20 (-337. 617. 632*. 919. 920. 1849. 1934) al : οσ
 046. 61. 69. 82. 110. 141. 337. 385. 429. 452. 522. 617. 919.
 920. 1849. 1934 al^{pl} : > arm². a | ην] "is" arm². 2. a | οσῖος AC
 046. 175. 250. 325. 337. 456. 468. 617. 620. 919. 1849. 1934.
 2004. 2020 al^{mn} arm² : ο οσῖος N 025. 051. 35. 94. 181. 201.
 205. 314. 386. 517. 632. 920. 1957. 2015. 2016. 2018. 2023.
 2036. 2038. 2041. 2067 al (arm⁴) : sanctus vg : και οσῖος 2040 S :
 et sanctus gig arm¹. 2. a sa eth : και ο οσῖος 1. 18. 424. 2019.
 2037 : et qui es pius Pr : > bo |.

6. αιμα¹] αιματα N 620. 1918. 2019 | αγίων . . . προ-
 φητων] ~ 206. 2017 s¹ arm² | αγίων] μαρτυρων bo | και²] ideoque
 Pr arm¹. 2. a : > bo | αιμα αυτοις εδωκας (εδωκας) AC 025. 046.
 20 al^{fero omni} vg s² : αιμα εδωκας αυτοις N gig s¹ : εδωκας αυτοις
 αιμα 61. 69 Pr (arm⁴) sa (eth ?) : εδωκας αιμα αυτοις bo : αυτοις
 > arm² | δεδωκας AC arm². 4 : εδωκας N 025. 046. 20 al^{omni} | πειν
 (πιν C) A(C) : πειν N 025. 046. 20 al^{fero omni} | αξιοι] pr οπερ N :
 pr οτι 336. 620. 628. 1918 Pr (gig) s² bo (sa) eth : pr ut
 vg^a. v |.

7. του θου. λεγοντος ANC 025. 20. 250. 2038 al^{pl} vg^d. s s
 arm⁴ bo : pr εκ 046. 1. 2037. 2067 vg^a. d. (v) arm¹. 2. 2 : φωνην εκ

- xix. 5. Καὶ φωνὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου ἐξῆλθεν λέγουσα
Δινεῖτε τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν, πάντες οἱ δοῦλοι αὐτοῦ
καὶ οἱ φοβούμενοι αὐτόν, οἱ μικροὶ καὶ οἱ μεγάλοι.
6. καὶ ἤκουσα ὡς φωνὴν ὄχλου πολλοῦ καὶ ὡς φωνὴν ὑδάτων
πολλῶν καὶ ὡς φωνὴν βροντῶν ἰσχυρῶν, λεγόντων
Ἀλληλουιά.
7. ὅτι ἐβασίλευσεν κύριος, ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ.
χαίρωμεν καὶ ἀγαλλιῶμεν,
καὶ δώσομεν τὴν δόξαν αὐτῷ,
ὅτι ἦλθεν ὁ γάμος τοῦ ἀρνίου,
καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἡτοίμασεν ἑαυτήν,

(> arm^a) τ. θυσ. λεγουσαν 2019 arm^a : alterum (aliam vocem Pr)
dicentem (-ens vg^a) Pr gig vg^a : ab altari dicens vg^a | αληθιναι . . .
δικαιαι] ~ arm¹. (b) = (bo) eth | δικαιαι] ο δικαιος bo | και² > bo |.

xix. 5. φωνη . . . ἐξῆλθεν . . . λεγουσα] Aκ^o 025. 046 :
φωναι . . . ἐξῆλθον . . . λεγουσαι κ^a : > arm². 4 | απο AC 046.
19 (-35. 175. 617. 632^{ab}. 1934). 250 al^{mn} : εκ κ 025. 1. 35.
175. 241. 242. 617. 632^{ab}. 1934. 1955. 1957. 2016. 2017. 2019.
2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2041. 2067 al^{mn} | θρονου AκC 025. 19
gig vg s arm². a bo : ουρανου 046. 61. 69 Pr | ἐξῆλθεν] tr before
απο τ. θρον. κ : > s¹ | τω θεω AκC 025. 046. 325 al^p : τον θεον 19
(-325). 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^p | ημων] υμων Pr : + αινειτε
2040 : > 18 arm⁴ | και² A 046. 19 al^{omn} Pr gig vg s arm². 4. a bo
eth : > κC 025 | αυτον] dominum Pr : το ονομα αυτου s¹ | μικροι
. . . μεγαλοι] ~ Pr | οι μικροι] pr και 1. 2023. 2037 al arm⁴ : pr
παντες s¹ | οι² > 175 | κ. οι μεγ.] μετα των μεγαλων s¹ bo | οι⁴ >
18 |.

6. ω¹ Aκ 025. 046. 19 vg s² bo : tr after φωνην 2019 s¹
arm⁴ eth : > 1^a. 110. 172. 181. 2016. 2018. 2037. 2038. 2067
Tyc Pr gig arm². a | οχλ. πολλ.] οχλων πολλων s¹ : tubarum (-ae
vg) magnarum (-ae vg) Pr vg^a. c. d. f. v | ω² κ 025. 046. 19 (-386)
Pr gig vg s arm². 4. a bo eth : > A 181. 201. 314. 386 Tyc | υδατ.
πολλ. . . βροντ. ισχ.] ~ Pr | βροντ.] + πολλων και 468 | ισχυρων]
magnorum vg | λεγοντων (-ουσων κ : -ουσησ 2067) A(κ) 025.
172. 314. 2018. 2019. 2020. 2036. 2037. 2040. (2067) al Pr gig
vg : λεγοντας (-τοσ 620). 046. 18 (-35. 2020. 2040) al^{mn} :
λεγοντας 051. 1. 35 al : dicentes Tyc | κυριος ο θεος Aκ^o 025.
046. 18 Tyc gig vg s² arm bo sa : ο θεος ο κυριος κ^a : ο θεος ο
θεος 2038 : ο θεος 051. 1. 110. 181. 2019. 2067 : κυριος Pr s¹ |
ο θεος A 1. 2023. 2040 Cyp s¹ arm². 4 bo sa eth : + ημων κ 025.
046. 18 (-2040). 250. 2037. 2038 2067 al^p Tyc Pr gig vg s²
arm². a | ο παντοκρ. > gig |.

7. χαίρωμεν] χαίρομεν (και χαίρομεν arm⁴) s¹ arm | αγαλλιωμεν
Aκ 025. 1. 94. 172. 181. 2018. 2019. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2040.
2067 : ωμεθα 046. 18 (-2040). 250 al^p | και² > s¹ | δωσ. τ. δ.

8. καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῇ ἵνα περιβάληται
βύσσινον λαμπρὸν καθαρὸν. (α)

9. Καὶ λέγει μοι Γράβιον Μακάριοι οἱ εἰς τὸ δεῖπνον τοῦ γάμου
τοῦ ἀρνίου κεκλημένοι. (β)

(α) An incorrect gloss follows in the text: τὸ γὰρ βύσσινον τὰ δικαιώματα
τῶν ἁγίων ἐστίν. See vol. ii. 127 sq.

(β) Text adds a doublet of xxii. 6^a. 8-9: καὶ λέγει μοι Οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι οἱ
ἀληθινοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰσίν. 10. καὶ ἔπεσα ἐμπροσθεν τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ προσκυνῆσαι
αὐτῷ. Καὶ λέγει μοι Ὅρα μὴ συνδουλόσῃ σου εἰμι καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν σου τῶν
ἐχόντων τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ τῷ θεῷ προσκύνησον· ἡ γὰρ μαρτυρία Ἰησοῦ ἐστίν
τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς προφητείας. See vol. ii. 128-129.

αὐτ.] glorificemus nomen eius Tyc arm³ | δωσωμεν Ακ^c Pr gig vg
arm⁴: δωσωμεν (δωσωμεν 2019) 025. 2019. 2036: δωμεν κ^{*} 046.
051. 18. 1. 61. 69. 104. 241. 242. 250. 314. 1957. 2018. 2023.
2024. 2037. 2039 al^{mu}: "we give" arm² s^a: δοξασωμεν 2067 cf.
Tyc arm³ | τ. δοξ. αὐτ. Ακ^c 025. 046 min^{pl} gig s eth: αὐτω τ. δοξ.
Pr Cyp vg | αὐτω] αὐτων κ^{*}: αὐτου 1. 175. 181. 250. 617. 1934.
2017. 2038 | γυνῇ νυμφῇ κ^c: sponsa gig: + ἡ νύμφη arm³ s^a |
αὐτου] αὐτω arm² bo: > 1. 104. 181. 336. 620. 1918 | αὐτην]
αὐτην 18. 2037 |.

8. καὶ] + καὶ 1934 | περιβαλῆται] περιβαλῆτε Α: περιβαλλῆται
69. 110. 172. 522. 2023^{**}. 2037: περιβεβῆλῆται 175 | λαμπ. καθ.
Ακ 025. 104. 620. 1957. 2040 Tyc Pr gig vg^a c. f. g. h. v arm² bo
eth: ~ 051. 35. 2036. 2038: λαμπ. καὶ καθ. 046. 18 (- 35. 620.
2040). 250 al^{pl} vg^d s²: καθ. καὶ λαμπ. 1. 2019. 2037. 2067 s¹:
λευκὸν λαμπ. (αγαθὸν sa) καθ. (καθ. καὶ λαμπ. arm² s^a) arm² s^a sa |
βύσσινον] + mundum Pr: + λευκὸν arm² | τ. ἁγίων] tr after εστιν
1 al gig vg s¹ |.

9. λέγει μοι > arm² | λέγει] εἶπεν s² bo: εἶπον s¹: + εἰς (εκ)
τῶν πρεσβυτέρων arm² s^a | γραφὸν] παλιν s¹: > 1. 2037. 2038 |
εἰς > 149 | το Ακ 025. 18 (- 386. 468. 620. 2020) al^{pl}: τὸν
046. 172. 336. 386. 468. 498. 522. 620. 2020 | τοῦ γάμου Ακ^c 046.
18 (- 620). 250. 2067 al^{pl} Pr vg s⁽¹⁾ s² arm² s^a sa eth: > κ^{*} 025.
1. 336. 620. 1918. 2019. 2036. 2037. 2038 gig arm⁴ bo | ἀρνίου]
+ εἰς s¹ | κεκλημένοι] + καὶ ἄγγελοι καὶ ἀπιοῦτες ὡς δεῖ (from the
comm. of Aretas) 314. 2016 | κ. λεγέει . . . εἰσιν > arm² s^a |
κ. λεγ. μοι² Ακ^c 025. 046. 18 (- 2020). 250. 2037. 2038. 2067
al^{pl} (Pr) gig vg (s) arm² s^a (bo) sa: > κ^{*} 314. 522. 2019. 2020
eth | καί] + iterum Pr | λεγέει²] εἶπεν s bo | λόγοι] + μου κ^{*} s² |
οἱ Α 91. 242. 1934 (s¹): > κ 025. 046. 18 (- 1934). 250. 2037.
2038. 2067 al^{pl} arm⁴ sa | ἀληθινοὶ] vera et iusta Pr arm² | ἀληθ.
τοῦ θεοῦ εἰσιν Α 025. 046. 18 (- 35. 2020. 2040). 250 al^{pl} gig
vg^a a. d. e. h. v s: ἀληθ. εἰσιν τ. θεοῦ κ^{*} 051. 1. 35. 1957. 2020.
2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2067 (Pr) arm⁽²⁾ s^a: τὸν θεοῦ ἀληθ. εἰσιν
κ^c 522. 2040 vg^e |.

10. ἔπεσα Ακ 025. 35. 325. 337. 386. 456. 620 al^{mu}: ἔπεσον

11. Καὶ εἶδον τὸν οὐρανὸν ἠνεφγμένον,
καὶ ἰδοὺ ἵππος λευκός,
καὶ ὁ καθήμενος ἐπ' αὐτὸν [καλούμενος] πιστὸς καὶ ἀληθινός,
καὶ ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ κρίνει καὶ πολεμεῖ.

12. οἱ δὲ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς φλόξ πυρός,
καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ διαδήματα πολλὰ· (α)

(α) Here follows an interpolation : *ἔχων ὄνομα γεγραμμένον ὃ οὐδεὶς οἶδεν εἰ μὴ αὐτός.*

046. 18. 175. 468. 617. 632. 920. 1849. 1934. 2004. 2040 al^{mu} | *εμπροσθεν* | ενωπιον 046 | τ. ποδ. > 620 | αὐτου] του αγγελου 620. 1918. 2040 | προσκυνησαι αυτω (αυτον 046) ΑΣ 046. 18 Pr gig vg s² arm² : καὶ (> bo sa) προσεκνησα αυτω 025. 2036. 2037. 2038 s¹ arm². 4. a bo sa eth | *λεγει* | ειπεν s bo | μοι > arm⁴ | ορα μη] + ποιησῃς 2017. 2040 : vide ne feceris Pr gig vg : pr μη προσκυνει 468^{me} eth : "obey (see thou art evil, and he said to me arm²). Fall thou (> arm²) not down before me" arm². 3. a | ορα > s¹ bo | συνδουλος] pr σι Pr bo eth : + γαρ gig arm². 3. a | σου²] > Ν 314 : + καὶ ι. 181. 2038 | *Ἰησου¹*] pr του 241. 429st : + χριστου Pr arm⁴ : (τω κυριω arm² | προσκυνησον] + μαλλον s¹ | η γαρ μαρτ. ιησου] sanctificatio enim testificationis Pr | το πν. της προφ.] spiritus est et prophetiae gig : "the spirit holy which is in the prophets" arm² | *Ἰησου²* ΑΣ 025. 046. ι. 35. 61. 69. 181. 336. 2019. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2040. 2067 : pr του 18 (- 35. 1934. 2040). 250. 314. 2018 al^{pl} : του υιου 242. 1934 | προφη- τειας] αληθειας 2037* bo |.

11. καὶ¹ | καὶ (> bo) μετα ταυτα bo eth : > Pr | *ἠνεωγμενον* ΑΣ 025. 432st. 2067 : ανεωγμενον 046. 18. 250. 2037. 2038 al^{pl} | κ. ιδου ιππ. λευκ. > 632* | καλ. πιστ. κ. αληθ. 046. 18 (- 175. 617. 1934). 250 al^{pl} s bo sa eth : vocatur (vocabatur Pr Cyp vg arm²) fidelis et verus (verax gig : + vocatur vg^{a. d. f. g. h}) Tyc Pr Cyp gig vg arm⁽²⁾. 4 : πιστ. καλ. κ. αληθ. Ν : καλουμενος > Α 025. 051. ι. (35*?). 91. 175. 181. 242. 314. 617. 1934. 2016. 2017. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2067 arm². a | κ. εν δικ. κρινει] > Tyc : aequum iustumque iudicat Pr | κ. πολ. > Tyc bo |.

12. οἱ 8ε] + οἱ Ν : καὶ οἱ Tyc bo | ὡς Α 172. 250. 1957. 2018. 2019. 2040 al Tyc Pr gig vg s arm². 4 bo sa eth : > Ν 025. 046. 18 (- 2040). ι. 2037. 2038. 2067 al arm². a | ἐπὶ τ. κεφ.] εν τη κεφαλη 61. 69 : in capite gig vg | *εχων*] et habebat (habens Pr : portabat Cyp) Pr Cyp arm^a | *ονομα* (+ *μεγα* Pr) *γεγραμμενον* Α 025. ι. 35*. 104. 175. 241. 242. 617. 632st. 1934. 2016. 2019. 2036. 2037. 2038 al Tyc (Pr) Cyp gig vg s¹ arm^a bo sa : *ονοματα* (+ *πολλα* arm²) *γεγραμμενα* Ν^o 42. 325. 336. 468st. 517. 620. 1918 arm⁽²⁾. 4 : *ονοματα γεγραμμενα* (~ 920) καὶ *ονομα γεγραμμενον* (τα *ονοματα γεγραμμενα* arm²) 046. 18 (- 35*. 175.

13. καὶ περιβεβλημένος ἱμάτιον ῥεραντισμένον¹ αἵματι,
καὶ κέκληται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ὁ Λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ. ρεραντισ-
μένον
14. καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα τὰ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἠκολούθει αὐτῷ ἐφ'
ἵπποις λευκοῖς,
ἐνδεδυμένοι ῥύσσινον λευκὸν¹ καθαρὸν. λευκοβύσ-
σινον
15. καὶ ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ ἐκπορεύεται ῥομφαία ὀξεία,
ἵνα ἐν αὐτῇ πατάξῃ τὰ ἔθνη,
καὶ αὐτὸς ποιμανεῖ αὐτοὺς ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ,
καὶ αὐτὸς πατεῖ τὴν ληνὸν τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ θυμοῦ τῆς ὀργῆς τοῦ
θεοῦ τοῦ παντοκράτορος.

325. 468**. 617. 632**. 1934). 250. 2067 al^{ms} s² arm³ | γεγρ.
ο ουδ. > κ* | ο > arm² | αυτοσ] qui accipit gig : + μονοσ 2026 bo
eth |.

13. περιβεβλημενος] circumdatus est Tyc arm^{2.3} : vestitus
erat vg : erat coopertus Pr | βεβαμμενον A 046. 051. 18 (- 2040).
1. 2037. 2038. 2067 (s¹) arm sa : περιβεβαμμενον κ* : περιρεραντισ-
μενον κ^o : ρεραντισμενον 025. 2019 : ερραντισμενον 172. 250.
2017. 2018. 2040. Similarly Tyc Pr gig Cyp vg s² arm³ bo eth |
αιματι] pr εν 175. 218. 242. 250. 314. 617. 1934. 2016. 2017 |
κεκληται Ακ^o 025. 046. 18 (- 35. 175. 617. 620. 1934) al^{pl} vg¹ |
arm^{2.3.4} (sa) : κεκλη (το ονομα) κ* : καλειται 1. 35. 175. 242.
250. 617. 620. 1934. 1957. 2016. 2019. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038.
2067 al Tyc Pr gig vg^{a. d. e. h} s¹ arm⁴ : καλουμενος (s²) bo | το
ον. αυτ.] αυτ. το ον. 69 : > bo |.

14. και¹ > Tyc | τα στρατ.] το στρατευμα gig bo | τα¹ > 61.
69. 2038 | τα² 025. 051. 18 (- 325. 468. 617. 620. 920. 2020).
241. 242. 250. 429. 1957. 2023. 2024 al Tyc Pr vg s² sa : αυτου
2017 : > Ακ 046. 1. 61. 69. 94. 104. 172. 181. 314. 325. 336.
468*. 498. 517. 617. 620. 920. 2016. 2018. 2020. 2036. 2037.
2038 gig s¹ (arm) bo eth | εν τ. ουρ.] του ουρανω (των ουρανων
468** s¹) 468**. 920 s¹ (arm) eth : τω > 2040 : > bo : tr after
αυτω gig | ηκολουθει] ηκολουθουν 051. 1. 2020. 2037. 2038. 2039 |
εφ ιπποισ (ενφιπποισ 620) λευκοισ Ακ 025. 1. 104. 620. 2019. 2020.
2037. 2040. 2067 al^p : επι ιπποισ λευκοισ 046. 18 (- 35*. 620.
2020. 2040). 250 al^{pl} : εφιπποι πολλοι 051. 35*. 181. 2036. 2038 |
ενδεδυμενοι] ενδεδυμενοισ κ* : ενδεδυμενα 632 : ενδεδυμενον 920 :
pr και s¹ | βυσσινον λευκον (λαμπρον 94. 2037 bo) κ 025. 046.
18 (- 2040). (1). (94). 250. (2037). 2038 al^{pl} Pr Tyc (gig) (s¹)
arm⁴ (bo) (sa) : λευκον βυσσινον (λευκοβυσσινον 2040) Α 2040 :
+ και κ 1. 456. gig s¹ sa : λευκον > arm^{2.3} | λευκ. καθ] ~ 104 s² :
καθ. και λευκ. arm^a : φωτοσ λευκου (corrupt) eth | καθαρων]
purpureum gig : > bo |.

15. αυτου] αυτων s¹ arm² bo | εκπορευεται] exiebat Pr arm |
οξεια Ακ 025. 1. 35*. 2019. 2020. 2036. 2037. 2038 al gig vg s¹

16. καὶ ἔχει (α) ἐπὶ τὸν μηρὸν αὐτοῦ ὄνομα γεγραμμένον,
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΥΡΙΟΣ ΚΥΡΙΩΝ.

17. Καὶ εἶδον ἓνα ἄγγελον ἐστῶτα ἐν τῷ ἡλίῳ, καὶ ἔκραξεν
φωνῇ μεγάλῃ λέγων πᾶσι τοῖς ὀρνέοις τοῖς πετομένοις ἐν μεσου-
ρανῇ Δεῦτε συνάχθητε εἰς τὸ δαῖπνον τὸ μέγα τοῦ θεοῦ, 18. ἵνα
φάγητε σάρκας βασιλέων καὶ σάρκας χιλιάρχων καὶ σάρκας ἰσχυρῶν
καὶ σάρκας ἱππῶν καὶ τῶν καθημένων ἐπ' αὐτῶν, καὶ σάρκας πάντων
(α) Text adds: ἐπὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον καὶ. See vol. ii. 137.

arm bo sa eth : pr διστομοσ 046. 18 (- 35*. 2020). 250. 2067
al^{pl} Tyc Pr s² | ἐν αὐτῇ ἐν αὐτῷ 2020 s¹ : ex eo Pr | παταξῇ]
παταξεῖ N 104. 385. 620 : παταξωσιν s¹ : παραταξῇ 325. 517 | τα
ἐθνη] pr πάντα 498. 2020 gig sa | καὶ³ > Tyc | πατεῖ] πατήσῃ Pr |
τ. οὐν. τ. θυμ. > s¹ | τ. θυμου (+ καὶ 1. 2019. 2036. 2037. 2038.
2067 al^p arm³) placed after οἶνον A 025. 046. 18 (- 2040) al^{pl}
Tyc vg s² arm eth : tr after ὀργησ N sa : tr before του οἶνον
2040 : > Pr gig bo | τησ ὀργησ] pr καὶ 2040 : > s² arm⁴ : +
αὐτου 620 | θεου] + magni Pr |.

18. καὶ¹] αὐτος Tyc | ἔχει A : + ἐπὶ (> Tyc) τὸ ἱμάτιον (τα
ἱματία αὐτου s¹ : το μετωπον 2040 : + αὐτου 920 bo sa eth) καὶ
(> s¹) N 025. 046. 18 al^{omn} Tyc Pr gig vg s¹ arm² (bo sa eth) |
ἐπὶ > N bo sa | τον μηρον] τουσ μηρους s¹ arm⁴ | αὐτου > 920 |
ονομα γεγραμμ. > arm⁴ | ονομα] pr το 1. 2037 : > gig vg |.

17. ἐνα A 025. 1. 35. 104. 241. 632*. 1957. 2020. 2023.
2038. 2040. 2041. 2067 al Pr gig vg eth : αλλον N 2019 s¹ arm⁴ :
bo sa : + αλλον 172. 250. 2018 : > 046. 18 (- 35. 632*. 2020.
2040). 2037 al^{pl} Tyc s² arm³ | ἐκραξεν AN 025. 18 (- 18. 2040)
al^{pl} Tyc Pr gig vg s arm : ἐκραξεν 046. 18. 181. 2040 : κραζων
bo | φωνη A 025. 35. 175. 250. 468*. 617. 620. 632*. 1934.
2020. 2037. 2038. 2040. 2067 al^{pl} Pr gig vg : pr ἐν N 046. 18.
61. 82. 104. 325. 336. 337. 386. 456. 468*. 632*. 920. 1849.
2004 al Tyc arm⁴ : bo sa | λεγων > 35*. 617 | πασι τοις ὀρν.]
πάντα τα ὀρνεα arm³ bo | πασι > 2040 s¹ | τ. πετ. ἐν μεσ.] caeli
Pr | πετομ. AN 046. 18 (- 456) al^{pl} | πετωμ. 025. 456 al |
συναχθητε > 051. 1. 2037. 2038 Pr | το (τον 91. 110. 385. 452.
2021. 2041) δειπνον το μεγα (tr after θεου 920) AN 025. 046. 35.
(91. 110). 325. 337. (452). 456. 632. (920). 1849. 2004. (2021).
2040. (2041). 2067 al : τον δειπν. τον μεγα 18. 172. 175. 201.
242. 250. 314. 336. 386. 468. 617. 620. 1918. 1934. 2016. 2017.
2018. 2020 | το μεγα του θ.] του μεγαλου θεου 051. 1. 2019. 2023.
2036. 2037. 2038 arm² : eth | το μεγα > gig |.

18. καὶ σαρκ. χιλ. > 1. 2023 arm⁴ | σαρκασ³ > Tyc | κ. τ.
καθ. . . . παντων > 617 | αυτων 025. 046. 17 (- 617). 250. 2037.
2038. 2067 al^{pl} : αυτοις N : αυτοις A 61. 69 | σαρκασ⁵] pr τας 18.
632. 1849 | παντων] απαντων 046* : + των 1934 : > 1. 2067 s¹ bo |
τε > 1. 314. 2067 | καὶ⁷ AN 025. 17 (- 632*. 1849. 2020) al^{pl}

ἐλευθέρων τε καὶ δούλων καὶ μικρῶν καὶ μεγάλων. 19. καὶ ἔιδον τὸ θηρίον καὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα αὐτῶν συνηγμένα ποιῆσαι τὸν πόλεμον μετὰ τοῦ καθημένου ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου καὶ μετὰ τοῦ στρατεύματος αὐτοῦ. 20. καὶ ἐπιάσθη τὸ θηρίον, καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ ὁ ψευδοπροφήτης ὁ ποιήσας τὰ σημεῖα ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ, ὁ μετ' ἐν οἷς ἐπλάνησεν τοὺς λαβόντας τὸ χάραγμα τοῦ θηρίου καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ προσκυνούντας [τὴν εἰκόνα] αὐτοῦ· ζῶντες ἐβλήθησαν οἱ δύο εἰς τὴν τῇ εἰκόνι λίμνην τοῦ πυρὸς τῆς καιομένης ἐν θείῳ. 21. καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἀπεκτάνθησαν ἐν τῇ ῥομφαίᾳ τοῦ καθημένου ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου, τῇ ἐξελθούσῃ ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ, καὶ πάντα τὰ ὄρνεα ἐχορτάσθησαν ἐκ τῶν σαρκῶν αὐτῶν.

Tyc Pr gig vg s bo : > 046. 61. 69. 241. 429. 522. 632^{**}. 1849. 2020 | μικρων ΑΚ 025. 1. 172. 175. 242. 250. 617. 1934. 2018. 2019. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2040. 2067 al^{mu} : + τε 046. 17 (- 175. 617. 1934. 2040) al^{mu} | μεγαλων] pr των K 2040 |.

19. θηριον] + και τα στρατευματα αυτου s¹ | κ. τ. βασ.] tr after γησ 920 | γησ] οικουμενησ 620 | κ. τα στρατ.] κατα τα τρατ. (sic) K^{*} | αυτων K 025. 046. 17 (- 456? 620? 920? 2040?) 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^{pl} Tyc Pr gig vg s arm^{1.4} : το : αυτου A 314. 2016 arm² sa | συνηγμενα] tr after πολεμον 2040 | τον ΑΚ 046. 17 (- 35. 175. 386. 617. 2020. 2040) al^{pl} : > 025. 1. 35. 175. 250. 314. 386. 617. 2020. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^p | ιππου] + (του) λευκου Pr arm bo sa eth | μετα² > bo sa eth | του στρατ.] των στρατευματων s arm |.

20. και² > Pr | μετ αυτου (μετα τουτου 1. 2023^{*}. 2037. 2038) ο K (1). 35. 69. 432. 1957. 2020. 2023^{**}. 2036. (2037. 2038). 2041. 2067 (Pr) vg s¹ arm^{2.4} : οι (ο 025 arm²) μετ αυτου (+ και bo) ο A (025). 2021 (arm² bo) : οι μετ αυτου οι (> 424) 424 arm¹ : ο μετ αυτου 046. 17 (- 35. 2020). 250 al^{pl} gig s² | ψευδ.] ψευδοπροφηται 424 arm¹ | εν οισ επλαν. . . . τ. εκ. αυτ.] quibus signis seducti erant adorare imaginem bestiae et qui acceperant caragma illius Pr | λαβοντασ] πλανωντασ 177. 180. 337 | το χαραγμα] τα χαραγματα 456 | τουσ προσκυν.] οι προσκυνουντες gig : των προσκυνουντων s¹ | την εικονα K^{*} 920. 1918. 2020 : τη εικονι ΑΚ 025. 17 (- 920. 2020). 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^{pl} : το χαραγμα 046 | ζωντες] και καταβησαν και s¹ : pr και s² : του ζωντοσ arm^{1.2.4} : ζωντασ bo : > Pr | εβληθησαν] βληθησονται 1. 2019. 2020. 2038. 2067 : εβαλον arm bo sa | οι δυο] tr after θειω 920 : αυτουσ arm^{1.2.4} : τουσ δυο bo sa eth : > 456 gig arm⁴ | τ. πυρ. τ. καιομ.] την καιομ. πυρι και bo | τησ καιομενησ ΑΚ 025 Pr vg : την καιομενην 046. 17 al^{oma} gig bo | εν θειω] εν τω θειω 1. 172. 175. 617. 2018. 2019. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038 al : et in sulphur gig : και θειου s¹ : igne et sulphore Pr (cf bo) |.

21. ρομφαια] + αυτου 2040 | ιππου] + (του) λευκου Pr eth | εκ¹] απο 920 | ορνεα] ερπετα 617 |.

RESTORED ORDER OF THE TEXT.

CHAPTERS XX. 1-3, XXI. 9-XXII. 2, XXII. 14. 15. 17.

XX. 1. Καὶ εἶδον ἄγγελον καταβαίνοντα ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ,
 ἔχοντα τὴν κλεῖν τῆς ἄβυσσου
 καὶ ἄλυσιν μεγάλην ἐπὶ τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ.

ἐν τῇ χειρὶ

2. καὶ ἐκράτησεν τὸν δράκοντα, ὁ ὄφεις ὁ ἀρχαῖος,
 ὃς ἐστὶν διάβολος καὶ ὁ Σατανᾶς,
 καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτὸν χίλια ἔτη,

3. καὶ ἔβαλεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον,
 καὶ ἔκλεισεν καὶ ἐσφράγισεν ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ,
 ἵνα μὴ πλανήσῃ ἐπὶ τὰ ἔθνη,
 ἀχρι τελεσθῇ τὰ χίλια ἔτη·

μετὰ ταῦτα δεῖ λυθῆναι αὐτὸν μικρὸν χρόνον.

XX. 1. ἀγγελον] pr αλλον № 2017. 2050 Tyc s¹ arm¹. 2. * sa eth : + αλλον 336. 620. 1918 | εκ τ. ουρ. > №* | κλειν] κλειδα (-αν 620). 1. 104. 620. 2037. 2067 al | αλυσιν μεγ.] αλυσειν μεγ. №* : αλυσις μεγαλη Tyc : ~ bo sa eth | μεγ. > Pr | επι τ. χειρα A 046. 18 (- 2020). 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^{pl} : εν τη χειρι № 2020 Tyc Pr gig vg s arm bo sa eth |.

2. ο οφισ ο αρχαιος A (s?) : τον οφιν τον αρχαιον № 046. 18 al^{omn} : serpentem (pr illum Pr : anguem Tyc) antiquum Tyc Pr gig vg : τον αρχαιον 2036 | οσ A 046. 18 al^{omn} : ο № 2050 | εστιν] cognominatus est Pr | διαβολος A 046. 18 (- 2020. 2050). 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 arm⁴ : pr ο № 69. 498. 2020. 2036. 2050 arm^a bo sa | κ. ο σατ. > 2050 | και² > bo sa eth | ο^s AM 046. 35. 175. 250. 325. 337. 456. 617. 1934. 2020 al^{mu} : > 051. 1. 18. 386. 620. 632. 920. 1849. 2004. 2037. 2038. 2040. 2067 al | (ο) σατανας AM 1. 175. 617. 632^{**}. 2016. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2040. (2050) Tyc Pr gig vg s¹ arm bo : + ο πλανων την οικουμενην ολην (> 61. 385) 046. 051. 18 (- 175. 617. 632^{**}. 2040. 2050). 250. 2067 al^{pl} s² | χιλ. ετη κ. εβαλ. αυτον > № |.

3. και . . . αβυσσον > arm⁴ eth | εκλεισεν] εδωκεν (+ αυτον 1) 1. 181. 2036. 2037. 2038 : εδωκεν και εκλεισεν arm⁴ : + το στομα αυτης bo sa | εσφραγισεν] + σφραγιδι eth | επανω αυτου] εμμενωσ αυτον A | πλανηση (-σει №) AM 1. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2040 al : πλανα (-η 2050) 046. 18 (- 2040). 250. 2067 al^{pl} | επι] tr after εθνη s¹ : > 1. 69. 141 Tyc bo eth | τα¹] > 35 : pr παντα s¹ | αχρι . . . ετη > s¹ | αχρι] αχρισ αν 2050 | τελεσθη] τελεσθωσι 141. 241. 386. 2067 | τα² > 051. 1. 181. 2036. 2067 | μετα AM 046.

xxi. 9. Καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς ἐκ τῶν ἐπτὰ ἀγγέλων τῶν ἐχόντων τὰς ἐπτὰ φιάλας, † τῶν γεμόντων † τῶν ἐπτὰ πληγῶν τῶν ἐσχάτων, καὶ ἐλάλησεν μετ' ἐμοῦ λέγων Δεῦρο, δείξω σοι τὴν νύμφην [τὴν γυναῖκα] τοῦ ἀρνίου. 10. καὶ ἀπήνεγκέν με ἐν πνεύματι ἐπὶ ὄρος μέγα καὶ ἠψήλόν, καὶ ἔδειξέν μοι τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἁγίαν Ἱερουσαλὴμ καταβαίνουσαν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, 11. ἔχουσαν τὴν δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ· ὁ φωστὴρ αὐτῆς ὅμοιος λίθῳ τιμωτάτῃ, ὡς λίθῳ ἱάσπιδι

18 (- 35. 175. 617. 1934. 2050) al^{mn} Tyc Pr gig vg^(v) s¹ : pr και ι. 35. 175. 617. 1934. 2050 al vg^v arm bo eth : + δε 385. 429 s² | δει λυθ. αυτ.] λυθησεται s² : λυσει (ελυσαν arm²) αυτ. arm^{1.2} | λυθ. αυτ. A. 046. 18 (- 35. 175. 617. 2020) al^{mn} : ~ κ ι. 35. 175. 250. 617. 1957. 2016. 2020. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2041. 2067 Pr gig vg | λυθηται | λυσαι Tyc s¹ | μικρον χρον.] ~ 2050 : pr ετι bo sa |.

xxi. 9. εισ] ο πρωτος 172. 2018. 2020 | εκ > ι. 172. 205. 2018. 2020. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2067 | επτα² > gig vg | των γεμοντων AN* 025. 181. 2036. 2038. 2050 : των γεμουσων κ^o : τας γεμουσας ι. 104. 2037 (s) : γεμουσας 046. 18 (- 2050). 61. 110. 385. 1957. 2016. 2023. 2037. 2067 al^{mn} : plenas Pr gig vg : εχουσας 2018 | των⁴ AN 025. ι. 35. 104. 172. 205. 632^{**}. 2018. 2023. 2037. 2050. 2067 al s arm⁴ bo : > 046. 18 (- 35. 205. 632^{**}. 2050). 250. 2038 al^{mn} | και² > bo sa | δευρο] + και vg⁸ arm^{2.4} : + ινα bo sa | την γυναικα (pr και arm^{1.2.4} : + και 42. 2017) placed after νυμφην AN 025. 35. 172. 218. 250. 2018. 2020 Tyc Pr gig vg s (arm^{1.2.4}) bo sa eth : tr after αρνιου 051. ι. 205. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2067 al : tr before την νυμφ. 046. 18 (- 35. 205. 2020). (42). 104. 110. 385. 2016. (2017). 2023 al^{pl} arm⁴ |.

10. απηνεγκεν] ηνεγκεν 2050 : duxit Pr : tulit gig : sustulit vg | εν πνευμ. > Pr | επι AN 172. 2018. 2050 : επ 025. 046. 18 al^{pl} | οροσ] ορουσ 2020 | και² > 205 bo | και³ > arm² bo sa | μοι] με 149. 325. 620. 1934 | πολιν AN 025. 046. 18 (- 35. 175. 205. 617) al^{pl} Tyc Pr gig vg s arm^{1.2.4} bo eth : + την μεγαλην 051. ι. 35. 175. 205. 250. 617. 1957. 2016. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2041. 2067 al arm^a | την²] και 051. ι. 35. 175. 205. 250. 617. 2016. 2036. 2037. 2038 arm^a | εκ τ. ουρ. AN 025. 046. 18 (- 18. 175. 617. 2004) Tyc Pr gig vg s arm bo eth : απο τ. ουρ. 18. 175. 218. 250. 617. 2004. 2016. 2017. 2018. 2039 | απο τ. θ. AN 025. ι. 35. 104. 205. 241. 632^{**}. 1957. 2020. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2050. 2067 al Tyc Pr gig vg s¹ arm bo eth : εκ τ. θ. 046. 18 (- 35. 205. 386. 632^{**}. 2020. 2050). 250 al^{pl} : > 61. 201. 386 |.

11. εχουσαν . . . θεου] > A 522 : την φωτιζουσαν αυτην 2050 : η εστιν αγια η γεμει δοξησ bo | τ. δοξαν] + απο κ gig : lumen claritatis Pr | τ. θεου] + και ι. 104. 205 Pr s¹ arm^{1.4} (bo) : + εν η η γυνη του αρνιου η ανω Ιερουσαλημ υπο θεου κοσμηθησεται και δοξασθησεται 743. 1075. 2067 : > arm⁴ | ο φωστηρ αυτ.] ωσ

κρυσταλλίζοντι. 12. ἔχουσα τεῖχος μέγα καὶ ὑψηλόν, ἔχουσα
 πυλῶνας δώδεκα, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς πυλῶσι ἀγγέλους δώδεκα, καὶ ὀνόματα
 ἐπιγεγραμμένα, ἃ ἔστιν τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν δώδεκα φυλῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ.
 13. ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς πυλῶνες τρεῖς, καὶ ἀπὸ βορρᾶ πυλῶνες τρεῖς, καὶ

φωσ της αυγησ s² : εν αυτη (ησ το arm⁴ : + ην arm¹) φωσ
 arm | ομοιος] + εστιν Pr : > bo arm¹ | λιθ. τιμ.] λιθου (-ων arm¹)
 τιμου (-ων arm¹) arm¹ bo : λιθοισ τιμοισ arm² : > arm⁴ |
 τιμωτατω] τιμω gig vg s¹ | ως λιθ.] tr after ιασπιδι arm⁴ : > 051.
 1. 35*. 94. 104. 181. 205. 241. 632*. 2020. 2038. 2050. 2067
 arm² : ως φωσ bo | κρυσταλλίζοντι Ακ 18 (-18. 337. 617.
 632*. 1934. 2020. 2050) : κρυσταλιζοντι 025. 046. 1. 18. 110. 172.
 337. 385. 498. 522. 617. 632*. 1934. 2018. 2020. 2036. 2037.
 2038. 2050 : sicut crystallum (cristallo gig) gig vg : refulgenti
 in modum cristalli Pr : "crystal-seeming (-gleaming arm¹ : > arm⁴)
 and (> arm⁴) luminous (living arm² :)" arm |.

12. ἔχουσα¹] ἔχοντι κ : ἔχουσιν 172. 2018 Tyc : + τε 1. 2037.
 2067 : et habebat (-et Pr) Pr vg | ὑψηλον] latum Pr | ἔχουσα²]
 ἔχουσιν 104. 172. 2018. 2050 al Tyc : ἔχοντασ κ* : pr και 2036.
 2037 : και 2067 bo : ο εχει Pr : και ειχε arm¹. 2. * eth | δωδεκα¹] ιβ'
 046. 35. 205. 337 | κ. επι τ. πυλ. αγγ. δωδεκα > A 2050 vg^r arm⁴ |
 επι τοις πυλωσιν 025. 046. 18 al^{tere om} : επι τοις πυλωνασ κ 94 :
 in portas (+ habens gig) Pr gig | αγγ.] angulosus Pr vg^a. v : pr
 τουσ bo | δωδεκα² 175. 617. 1934. 2020 : δεκαδυο 18 (-35. 175.
 205. 617. 1934. 2020). 104. 110. 172. 201. 498. 522. 2018. 2023.
 2024 : ιβ' κ 046. 35. 205 | ονοματα¹] + αυτων κ s¹ | επιγεγραμμενα]
 γεγραμμενα κ gig vg^c. d. l. v s¹ : εγγεγραμμενα (εγν- 2050) 94. 2050.
 cf. inscripta vg^a. s | α εστιν . . . Ισραηλ > arm^a | α εστιν > Pr
 arm² | τα ονοματα A s : tr after Ισραηλ 2050 : ονοματα (ονομα bo)
 046. 18 (-35. 205. 2050) al^{ter} gig vg arm⁴ bo : > κ 025. 1. 35.
 205. 241. 432. 1918. 1957. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2041. 2067
 Pr arm² | δωδεκα³] ιβ' κ 046. 35. 205 | υιων Ακ 046. 18 (-35. 205.
 386. 920. 2050). 250. 2038 al^{ter} : pr των 025. 051. 1. 35. 104.
 1957. 2023. 2041. 2050 al arm⁴ : > 181. 201. 241. 386. 517.
 920. 2017. 2036. 2037. 2067 s¹ arm¹. 2. * | Ισραηλ] pr του 201.
 205. 386. 2017. 2036. 2067 |.

13. ανατολης Ακ 025. 1. 205. 2017. 2020. 2037. 2038. 2050.
 2067 s : ανατολων 046. 18 (-205. 2020. 2050). 250 al | και¹. 2. *
 > 051. 1. 205 arm¹. 4. * Tyc Pr | και². 3 > 2037. 2038. 2067 |
 βορρα (-ρασ 2050 : βορα 920) . . . νοτου . . . δυσμων κ^c 025.
 046. 18 (-386). 250. (2037). 2038. (2067) al^{tere om} Tyc Pr gig
 vg s arm⁴. * : βορρα . . . βορρα . . . νοτου κ* : βορρα . . .
 δυσμων . . . νοτου (μεσημβριασ 1) A 1 : δυσμων . . . βορρα . . .
 νοτου 386. 1957 arm¹. 2. * : νοτου . . . βορρα . . . δυσμων 522 :
 νοτου . . . δυσμων . . . βορρα (bo) : + και απο μεσημβριασ πυλω-
 νες τρεις 2037. 2067 | τρεις¹. 2. * 3] γ' 046. 35. 337 |.

ἀπὸ νότου πυλῶνες τρεῖς, καὶ ἀπὸ δυσμῶν πυλῶνες τρεῖς. 14. καὶ τὸ τεῖχος τῆς πόλεως ἔχων θεμελίους δώδεκα, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν δώδεκα ὀνόματα τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων τοῦ ἀρνίου. 15. Καὶ ὁ λαλῶν μετ' ἐμοῦ εἶχεν μέτρον κάλαμον χρυσοῦν, ἵνα μετρήσῃ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς πυλῶνας αὐτῆς καὶ τὸ τεῖχος αὐτῆς. 16. καὶ ἡ πόλις τετράγωνος κείται, καὶ τὸ μήκος αὐτῆς ὅσον καὶ τὸ πλάτος. καὶ ἐμέτρησεν τὴν πόλιν τῷ καλάμῳ ἐπὶ ἑσταδίου¹ δώδεκα χιλιάδων· τὸ μήκος καὶ τὸ σταδίον² πλάτος καὶ τὸ ὕψος αὐτῆς ἴσα ἐστίν. 17. καὶ ἐμέτρησεν τὸ τεῖχος

14. το τευχος] muri Pr arm¹ | εχων A 025. 046. 1. 104. 498. 522. 1849. 2017. 2038 : εχον N^c 051. 18 (- 1849. 2020. 2050). 250. 2037. 2067 al^{pl} : habens gig vg : ειχε 2020 arm^a : habent Pr : > K^{*} 2050 arm¹. 2⁴ | θεμελ. δωδεκα] ~ 149. 1948 bo eth : τριμελειουσι τρεις 2050 | δωδεκα¹] ιβ' K 046. 35. 205. 337 | κ. επ. αυτ > 1*. 104 | επ αυτων] in ipso gig : pr γεγραμμενα (-ον bo) bo eth | δωδεκα ονομ. . . . αρνιου > 2050 | δωδεκα²] ιβ' (pr των 35*) 046. 35**. 205. 337 : δεκαδυο 93. 94 : > 1*. 104 Pr bo | ονοματα] ονομα bo | δωδεκα³] ιβ' K 046. 35. 325. 337 : > Tyc s¹ arm¹. 2 | του αρνιου] pr και Tyc Pr : του ιου s¹ |.

15. και¹ > 2050 arm⁴ | μετρον καλαμον AN^{*} 025. 046. 18 (- 2050). 250. 2067 al^{pl} Tyc gig s² arm⁴ : harundinem (auream) ad mensuram Pr : μετρον καλαμου N^c 517. 2016. 2050 cf mensuram harundineam vg : μετρου καλαμον s¹ : μετρον > 1. 2036. 2037. 2038 arm². a bo eth : καλαμον > arm¹ | μετρησῃ] μετρησει 046. 104. (2050). 2067 | κ. τ. πυλ. αυτης > s¹ arm² | κ. το τευχος (τα τειχη Pr arm bo eth) αυτης (> vg) AN 025. 175. 205. 617. 632. 1934. 2020. 2050 Pr gig vg s arm bo eth : > 046. 051. 18. 35. 325. 337. 386. 456. 620. 920. 1849. 2004 al^{pl} |.

16. αυτης] tr before τετραγωνος K : > arm¹ | και² A 2050 Pr vg s² arm². 4. a bo eth : > K 025. 046. 18 (- 2050). 250. 2037. 2067 al^{pl} gig s¹ arm¹ | πλατος] + αυτης s¹ arm | τω καλαμῳ AN 046. 18 (- 35. 175. 205. 617) : pr εν 025. 1. 35. 175. 181. 205. 250. 617. 2016. 2017. 2036. 2037*. 2038. 2067 : harundine (pr de vg) Pr gig vg sa : > bo arm | επι] per gig vg : ab Pr | σταδίου (-ον N^c) A (N^c) 046. 18 (- 205). 250 al^{pl} : σταδιων K^{*} 025. 1. 205. 2018. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2067 | δωδεκα AN 025. 2050 : ιβ' 046. 1. 35. 205. 632**. 2018. 2038 : δεκαδυο 18 (- 35. 205. 632**. 2050). 110. 201. 385. 498. 522. 2016 al^{ma} | χιλιαδων AN 025. 35*. 632**. 2020. 2050 Pr gig vg s¹ bo : pr και 046 : + δωδεκα (ιβ' 046. 35**). 046. 18 (- 35*. 632**. 2020. 2050). 250 al^{ma} (s²) : > arm¹ | το μηκος] μηκουσι bo sa : pr και 2020 s² : + αυτης s¹ arm | πλατος] + αυτης 2050 s¹ arm². 4. a bo sa eth | κ. τ. υψος > arm² | αυτης > 205. 2050 Pr gig arm |.

17. εμετρησεν (-τρισεν 620. 2050) AN 025. 35. 620. 2037. 2038. 2050. 2067 al^p Pr vg^a. 4. v s arm : εμετρηθη gig vg^a. 4. v bo : > 046. 18 (- 35. 620. 2050). 250 al^{ma} | τειχος] χιλος K : muro

αὐτῆς ἑκατὸν τεσσαράκοντα τεσσάρων πηχῶν, μέτρον ἀνθρώπου, ὃ ἐστὶν ἐγγέλου.

18. καὶ ἡ ἐνδώμησις τοῦ τείχους αὐτῆς ἱσπῖς,
καὶ ἡ πόλις χρυσίον καθαρὸν ὅμοιον ὕαλφ καθαρῷ.
καὶ οἱ θεμέλιοι τοῦ τείχους τῆς πόλεως παντὶ λίθῳ τιμὴ
κεκοσμημένοι·

ὁ θεμέλιος ὁ πρῶτος ἱσπῖς, ὁ δεύτερος σάπφειρος, ὁ τρίτος
χαλκιδών,

vg^a. d. v | ἑκατον τεσσαρεκ. τεσσ.] δ και εκατον τεσσαρεκοντα Α :
εκατον μδ κ : ρμδ 046. 1. 18. 35. 104. 325. 337. 456. 632. 920.
2004. 2020 : nonaginto octo gig | τεσσαρεκ.] τεσσαρεκοντα 025.
175. 205. 386. 617. 620. 1934 : σερακοντα (σαρακοντα 2050)
1849. 2050 | τεσσαρων] τεσσαρισ χυλιαδισ 2050 | πηχων] πηχεων
κ : σταδιων arm^a : > Pr bo | μετρον] μετρω s¹ : μετρα (placed before
πηχων s³) s³ bo | ανθρωπου] ουρανου 2050 |.

18. κ. η ενδωμ. του τειχ.] in structura murus gig | η¹ Ακ^o 025
Tyc s arm^{1.2.4} : ην κ* : ην η 046. 18. 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^{pl}
Pr vg bo | ενδωμησις Ακ^o 498. 2020 : εν δωμασι κ* cf gig :
ενδωσις 2050 : ενδομησις 025. 046. 051. 18 (- 2020. 2050) al^{pl} |
αυτησ > 175. 2050 Tyc arm⁴ | ιασπις] ex lapide iaspidi Pr vg
(arm^{2.4}) : pr ωσ bo : > Tyc | χρυσ. καθ.] χρυσιω καθαρω 2014.
2034. 2036. 2042 vg : χρυσιον (pr εκ Pr) καθαρου Pr s arm^{1.2.4} |
ομοιον] ομοια 051. 1. 35. 205. 2036. 2038 Pr : pr και gig | ναλω
Ακ 025. 046. 18. 175. 337. 456. 617. 920. 1934 : νελω (νελλω
385. 498) 35. 205. 325. 386. 620. 632. 1849. 2004. 2020. 2050
al^{pl} | καθαρω > 025 | η πολισ χρυσιον . . . καθαρω] civitas aurum
mundum (purum gig) simile (+ et gig) vitro mundo (puro gig)
Tyc gig : ipsa vero civitas ex (>vg) auro mundo similis vitreo
(simile vitro vg) mundo Pr vg : η πολισ (+ ολη arm⁴) χρυσιον
καθαρου ομοιον (or ομοια) ναλω καθαρω s arm^{1.2.4} : “the city
was wrought of gold pure like glass pure” bo : ομοια η πολισ ωσ
ησ η ποιησις εστι εν χρυσιω καθαρω eth |.

19. οἱ θεμέλιοι Ακ^o 025. 046. 18 (- 35). 250 al^{mu} Tyc vg sa :
pr και κ* 1. 35. 104. 2018. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2067 s arm
bo eth : pr ubi gig : + autem Pr | της πολεως] + ομοιω 2050 : >
Pr | παντι λιθ. τιμ.] omnia ex (ex omni Pr) lapide pretioso Tyc
Pr : λιθοισ τιμοις s¹ : παντων λιθων τιμων arm | τιμω κεκοσμη-
μενοι ~ 205 | κεκοσμημενοι] -μενω 1849. 2004 : > 61. 2050 Tyc
Pr gig arm | ο θεμ. . . ιασπις > arm⁴ | ο θεμελιος] pr και s¹
arm² eth : + του τειχους arm^{1.2} : > gig | πρωτος] εις κ | ο³ pr
και κ Tyc s¹ arm² eth | σαπφειρος] σαμψειρος 2017 : ηροσ 051.
2020. 2050 : ιροσ 025. 046. 2004 Pr vg gig bo : saffyrus Tyc | ο⁴
pr και κ s¹ arm² eth. (Also before ο³ and ver. 20 ο¹⁻⁹ κ arm²
eth add και : s¹ except ver. 20 ο^{3.9}) | τριτος] γ' κ (also δ' ε' . . .

20. ὁ τέταρτος σμάραγδος, ὁ πέμπτος σαρδόνυξ, ὁ ἕκτος σάρδιον,
ὁ ἑβδομος χρυσόλιθος, ὁ ὄγδοος βήρυλλος, ὁ ἕνατος τοπάξιον,
ὁ δέκατος χρυσόσπρασος, ὁ ἐνδέκατος ὑάκινθος, ὁ δωδέκατος
ἀμέθυστος·

21. καὶ οἱ δώδεκα πυλῶνες δώδεκα μαργαρίται,
ἀνὰ εἰς ἕκαστος τῶν πυλῶνων ἦν ἐξ ἑνὸς μαργαρίτου·
καὶ ἡ πλατεία τῆς πόλεως χρυσίον καθαρὸν ὡς ἱάλος διαυγής.

22. καὶ ναὸν οὐκ εἶδον ἐν αὐτῇ,
ὁ γὰρ κύριος, ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ, ὁ ναὸς αὐτῆς ἐστίν,
καὶ τὸ ἄρνιον < ἡ κιβωτὸς τῆς διαθήκης αὐτῆς >. (α)

(α) Lacuna restored by means of xi. 19. See vol. ii. 170 sq.

ιβ') | χαλκηδων] χαλκι- (χαλκε- 2020) 046 min^{mu} vg^a : καρχ- 2018.
2050 vg^c s¹ bo : καλιδων s² : sardonius (-icus vg^d) Tyc vg^d |.

20. σμαραγδος] ασμαρ- 2050 | σαρδονυξ] σαρδωνυξ 149. 1934
a^{1p} : σαλδονυξ 2024 : σαρδιονυξ (-δινυξ 2050) A 2050 | σαρδιον]
σαρδιος 1. 35. 104. 205. 2020. 2037. 2038. 2067 a^{1p} Pr vg^v :
sardinus (-onium Tyc : -inon bo) Tyc vg^v bo : σαριδον (σαρδον s¹)
s | βηρυλλος κ min^{pl} vg s : βηριλλος A 385 (Tyc) Pr gig : βηρυλ-
λιος (-ιον 025 : βιρυλλ- 046 : βηριλλ- 1) 025. 046. 051. 1. 61. 104.
175. 617. 2016. 2036. 2037. 2038** : βηρυλλησ 2050 : βυρηλλος
(βυριλλ- 2023 bo) 149. 2023 bo | ενατος A 046 min^{pl} : εννατος
025. 051. 35*. 205. 241. 242. 385. 522. 632. 2016. 2023. 2037.
2038. 2050. 2067 a^{1mu} : εθ' κ | τοπαξιον] τοπαδιον κ* (s²) : τοπαν-
ξιον (τοπανδιον s¹) 025 s¹ : παξιον 456 : topaxinos Pr : dotation
bo | χρυσόσπρασος] -ον A : -ιος κ^c : -σσοσ 104 Pr vg^a s : -ιουσ 42.
325. 517. 620. 1918 Tyc : -πασσοσ (-πασσοσ 498 : πασσοσ 61. 141.
2024). 61. 82. 141. 337. 385. 429*. 456. 498. 522. 1849. 2024 :
chrysoliprassus vg^f. v | υακινθος] υακινθινον Tyc (bo) : iacinctus
gig | αμεθυστος A 025. 046. 110. 175. 325. 456. 617. 620. 2004.
2038* a^{1mu} : -ιουσ κ* : αμεθυσσοσ κ^c 051. 18 (- 175. 325. 456. 617.
2004). 1. 104 a^{1pl} : αμυθεσσοσ s¹ |.

21. οἱ δώδεκα πυλῶνες] duodecim portas Pr : ideo Tyc | δωδ.
μαργ. > Pr | δωδεκα² > κ* 2030 bo | μαργαριται | + εἰσιν vg | ανα
ινα A 2018 : pr kai 456 : pr εἰσ s¹ | εἰσ] + kai 025 Tyc vg s¹ : >
205 | των πυλ. . . μαργαριτου > bo | τ. πυλ. ην > Pr | πυλωνων]
πυλων 498. 2020 : +ων κ* | εξ] pr ωσ 025. 046. 61. 2036 | πλατ.
τ. πολ.] plateas eius Pr | χρυσ. καθ.] ex auro limpidio (puro s¹
arm^{1.2} s) Pr s¹ arm^{1.2} s | ωσ] και 051 Tyc | υαλος (-ον 205) Aκ
025. 046. 175. 205. 456. 617 : υελος (υελλ- 385. 498. 2020)
min^{pl} | διαυγησ] διαυγες 205 |.

22. ναον ουκ ειδον] ουκ ειδον ναον bo sa eth | εν αυτη] εν αυτω
149 : >eth | ο γαρ] οτι ο κ* : ο γαρ ο κ^c | κυριος ο (>κ^c) θεος
Aκ 025. 046 min^{pl} Tyc Pr gig vg s² arm^{2.4} s bo sa : θεος 337.
1934 eth : κυριος 920 s² arm¹ | ο⁴ A s² : αυτος s¹ : >κ 025. 046

23. καὶ ἡ πόλις οὐ χρειάν ἔχει τοῦ ἡλίου οὐδὲ τῆς σελήνης ἵνα φαίνωσιν αὐτήν,
 ἡ γὰρ δόξα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐφώτισεν αὐτήν,
 καὶ ὁ λύχνος αὐτῆς τὸ ἀρνίον.
24. καὶ περιπατήσουσιν τὰ ἔθνη διὰ τοῦ φωτὸς αὐτῆς,
 καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς φέρουσιν τὴν δόξαν αὐτῶν εἰς αὐτήν,
25. καὶ οἱ πυλῶνες αὐτῆς οὐ μὴ κλεισθῶσιν ἡμέρας † νυξ γὰρ οὐκ ἔσται ἐκεῖ †. (a)
26. καὶ οἶσουσιν τὴν δόξαν καὶ τὴν τιμὴν τῶν ἔθνων εἰς αὐτήν,
 (a) Read καὶ νυκτός. See vol. ii. 173.

min^{oma} | ο ναοσ αυτ. εστιν] tr after αρνιον Pr | εστιν > 104 | το > 2050 | αρνιον] + "the only begotten son (> 2) of God (+ is 2) altar of holiness" arm^{1.2} | κ. το αρνιον] joined with what follows 046 s¹ |.

23. πολισ] + αυτη 498. 2020 | εχει] ειχε arm bo | ουδε] ουτε 2050 : και arm^{1.2} = | ινα] et Tyc | φαινωσιν] φαινουσιν 051. 2050 : φαινη Pr | αυτη ΑΝ* 025. 046. 18 (- 35) al^{pl} Pr gig s eth : pr εν Ν° 051. 35. 1957. 2023. 2037. 2041 al^p vg bo sa : αυτην 2018. 2036. 2067 al^p (arm^{1.2} =) | αυτη η γαρ ΑΝ 025. 35. 175. 205. 617. 2020. 2050 al Pr gig vg s arm^{1.2} = bo eth : αυτη γαρ η 046. 18 (- 35. 175. 205. 617. 2020. 2050) al^{mu} arm⁴ | θεου] κυριου Pr | εφωτισεν] φωτιζει Pr eth : φωτισει Tyc vg^{d. 5. v} arm⁴ | αυτησ] αυτου και 2037 : + και 2036 : + εστιν 2021 Tyc gig vg s¹ : + ην arm^{1.2} = |.

24. εθνη] + των σωζομενων ι | δια τ. φωτος] εν τω φωτι 2050 Tyc vg^r | και οι > 2050 | φερουσιν (affrent gig vg bo : con- ferent Pr) ΑΝ 025. 35. 2020. 2050 Tyc Pr gig vg s arm⁴ bo : + αυτω (αυτη 205) 046. 18 (- 35. 2020. 2050) al^{pl} | την ΑΝ 025. 35. 632^{**}. 2020. 2050 : > 046. 18 (- 35. 632^{**}. 2020. 2050) al^{pl} | δοξαν ΑΝ 025. 1. 35. 60. 94. 241. 632^{**}. 2020. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2050. 2067 Pr gig (vg) s¹ arm⁴ bo sa : + και (+ την 250) τιμην 046. 18 (- 35. 632^{**}. 2020. 2050). 42. 110. 201. 209. 242. 250. 385. 429. 498. 522. 2016. 2017. 2024. 2039 al^{mu} | αυτων ΑΝ 025. 35. 632^{**}. 2020. 2050 al^{mu} Pr gig (vg s²) arm⁴ sa : των εθνων (> 205) 046. 18 (- 35. 632^{**}. 2020. 2050). 250 al^{pl} (bo) : + και την τιμην (+ των εθνων s²) vg s² bo | verses 25, 26 > 337 |.

25. οι > 205 | οι πυλ. αυτ.] tr after κλεισθωσιν sa eth | ημερασ] ημερα Ν* : + και νυκτος arm^a | νυξ γαρ] και νυξ arm^{1.2} = bo | ουκ ουκετι 205 arm^{1.2} = | εσται] εστιν 617 Tyc arm^{2.4} : ην arm^{1.2} = | εκει] tr before ουκ εστιν Tyc |.

26. οισουσιν] ponet Pr : ηξουσιν bo^{codd} (οισουσιν bo^a) | την² > 2050 | δοξαν] + αυτων bo eth | τιμην] + αυτων bo eth | των εθνων] τα εθνη bo eth | εις αυτην (in illa gig : in ea Pr) ΑΝ 025. 35. 205. 632^{**}. 2050 Pr gig vg s arm⁴ bo : + ινα εισελθωσιν 046. 18 (- 35. 205. 632^{**}. 2050) al^{pl} |.

27. καὶ οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθῃ εἰς αὐτὴν † πᾶν κοινὸν † (a) καὶ ποιῶν
βδελυγμα καὶ ψεύδος,
εἰ μὴ οἱ γεγραμμένοι ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ ἁγίου.

xxii. 1. Καὶ ἰδεῖξέν μοι ποταμὸν ὕδατος ζωῆς λαμπρὸν ὡς κρύσ-
ταλλον,
ἐκπορευόμενον ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου 2. ἐν
μέσῳ τῆς πλατείας αὐτῆς,
καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ξύλον ζωῆς,

ἵ ποιοῦν καρποὺς δώδεκα,

κατὰ μῆνα ἕκαστον ἀποδιδούν τὸν καρπὸν αὐτοῦ·

καὶ τὰ φύλλα τοῦ ξύλου εἰς θεραπείαν τῶν ἐθνῶν.

ποιῶν

ἀποδιδούς

(a) Primitive corruption for πᾶς καὶ ὁ. As the rest of the verse (cf. xxii. 15) shows, only persons are contemplated : cf. vol. ii. 173 sq. arm⁴ (2. a) definitely restore the text. s¹, s² are susceptible of either text.

27. καὶ¹ > vg^d bo | εἰσελθῇ] εἰσελθωσιν κ : εἰσελθοι 2050 :
εἰσται s¹ | εἰς αὐτὴν] ἐπ αὐτὴν 2050 : in ea Pr gig vg : ἐκεῖ s¹
arm¹, 2. a | πᾶν κοινόν] "anyone corrupt (of evil will arm¹, 2. a)" arm |
ποιῶν AK^o 61. 94. 2021. 2032. 2050 : ποιοῦν 025. 046. 051. 1.
35. 175. 250. 617. 1934. 2037. 2038. 2067 : faciens Tyc Pr vg :
ο ποιῶν κ* 18 (-35. 175. 617. 1934. 2050). 42. 82. 93. 104.
110. 141. 201. 241. 336 al^{pl} s (arm⁴) : quod facit gig : οἱ
ποιοντες bo | βδελυγμα] pr ὡσεὶ κ* | καὶ ψεύδος] vitae Pr | οἱ
γεγραμμένοι] οἱ ἐγγεγραμ. 2016. 2050 : τὰ γεγραμμένα s¹ : quorum
nomina illorum (sua arm⁴) scripta sunt arm¹, s² | ἐν] ἐπ bo | τῷ
βιβλίῳ] τῇ βιβλῳ 2050 | τῆς ζωῆς > Pr s¹ | τοῦ ἁγίου] τοῦ
ουρανοῦ κ : τοῦ βιβλίου 2050 : illius agni Pr |.

xxii. 1. ποταμὸν AK 025. 046. 17 (-35. 175. 205. 617.
1934. 2020) al^{mn} Tyc Pr gig vg s arm¹, 4 bo sa eth : + καθάρων 35.
104. 175. 205. 209. 218. 242. 250. 506. 617. 1934. 1957. 2016.
2017. 2020. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2041. 2067 : pr καθάρων 1
arm^a | ὕδατος ζωῆς] ὕδωρ ζων arm⁴ : ζωντα ὕδατος arm^a : aquae
viviae gig vg^a, c. f. | ζωῆς > Tyc | λαμπρὸν] λαμπρὸς 2050 : λαμπρὸν
gig : candidum Pr eth : pr καθάρων καὶ s¹ : > 141. 2020. 2038
Tyc | ὡς] ὡσεὶ 175. 617 | κρυστάλλον] -ος 2050 : -σταλον 632 :
+ καὶ s¹ | τοῦ¹ > κ | θρόνου] στοματός 61 |.

2. ἐν μέσῳ] ἐμμέσῳ A 2050 : pr καὶ 2050 gig s¹ : per mediam
(plateam) Pr | τῆς πλατείας] τῶν πλατειῶν s¹ arm¹, a : τῆς πολέως
1934 | καὶ¹ ἐπ s¹ : + ἐπ s² | τοῦ ποτ.] tr after ἐκεῖθεν Tyc Pr vg
s¹ | ἐντεῦθεν] ἐνθεν κ* | ἐκεῖ. ξύλ. ζωῆς] > κ* : ἐνθεν κ^c | ἐκεῖθεν
A 046. 17 (-35. 205. 632^{**}. 2050). 250 al^{pl} gig s² arm¹, a bo sa :
ἐντεῦθεν 051. 1. 35. 205. 632^{**}. 1957. 2018. 2023. 2036. 2037.
2038. 2050. 2067 s¹ | ξύλον] "trees" arm^a | ποιοῦν κ 046. 051.
17 al^{sc} 0000 : ποιοῦν A 94 | δώδεκα] β 35. 205. 337. 617 : duo-
decies gig arm¹ : + καὶ s¹ | κατὰ μῆνα (μηναν A) ἑκαστὸν ἀποδιδόν

14. Μακάριοι οἱ πλύνοντες τὰς στολὰς αὐτῶν,
ἵνα ἔσται ἡ ἐξουσία αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς,
καὶ τοῖς πυλῶσιν εἰσέλθωσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν.
15. Ἔξω οἱ κύνες καὶ οἱ φαρμακοί,
καὶ οἱ πόρνοι καὶ οἱ φονεῖς καὶ οἱ εἰδωλολάτραι,
καὶ πᾶς φιλῶν καὶ ποιῶν ψεῦδος.
17. καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ ἡ νύμφη λέγουσιν Ἐρχου·
καὶ ὁ ἀκούων εἰπάτω Ἐρχου·
καὶ ὁ διψῶν ἐρχέσθω·
ὁ θέλων λαβέτω ὕδωρ ζωῆς δωρεάν.

(-διδον 175) A 175. 250. 617. 2037. 2038. 2067 al s¹? : κατα μνηνα
εκαστον (εκαστοσ 2020) αποδιδουσ N 35. 2020. 2050 al : κ. μνηνα
(> arm¹) ενα εκαστον αποδιδουν (-διδοντα I : -διδουσ 051. 2038) 051.
I. 205. 2038. 2067 (arm¹.^a) : κ. μ. αποδιδουσ εκαστοσ 325. 337.
456. 620 al s²? : κ. μ. αποδιδουσ (-διδουν 386. 632) εκαστον I8.
386. 632. I849. 1934. 2004 al : κ. μ. αποδιδουσ εκαστω 046. (141.
1918) : per singulos menses et (> Pr gig) reddens (reddentes Pr)
Tyc Pr gig : per menses singulos reddens vg^d.^v : per menses
singulos (singula vg^a.^f.^s) reddentia vg^a.^c.^f.^s | αποδιδ. τ. καρπ. αυτ.
> bo eth | τ. καρπον] τουσ καρπουσ N s¹ : τον > I. I8. 61. 141.
385. 429. 632*. I849. 2004 | αυτου] αυτων 2050 arm^a : > 205 |
τ. ξυλ.] των ξυλων N arm^a : αυτου s¹ : + καταγγελλεται 175. 218.
617. 2016. 2017 | των] > N : "the eyes of the" bo |.

14. πλυνοντες (-αντεσ 104. 2050) τας στολασ αυτων (+ in
sanguine agni vg^d) AN 104. 2020. 2050 (Pr) vg sa eth : ποιουντεσ
τας εντολασ αυτου (εμου 2067) 046. 17 (- 2020. 2050). 250.
2037. 2038. 2067 al^{pl} gig Cyp s arm^{(1).}.^a bo : (qui) servant
mandata haec Tyc | ινα > s¹ arm¹ | εσται] tr after αυτων² bo sa |
αυτων²] + ωσ δε η εξουσια N* | τοισ πυλ.] τω πυλωνι s¹ bo : + ου μη
2050 [εισελθωσιν] εισελεισονται s¹ arm⁴ bo | εισ την πολιν] + την
αγιαν Pr : της πολεωσ (+ του θεου arm¹) arm¹.^a |.

15. εξω . . . φαρμακοι] tr after ειδωλολατραι s¹ | εξω] + δε (και
s¹) s¹ bo sa : foris autem remanebunt Pr arm¹ : "and there shall
go forth" arm⁴.^a eth | κυνες] κοινοι s¹ | οι φαρμακοι] malefici Pr |
και² > Tyc | ος > 175. 1934 | ειδωλολατραι] + venefici Pr : +
"adulterers" arm¹ | πασ AN 046. 17 (- 175. 205. 617. 632*.
1934. 2020. 2050) al^{mn} : + ο I. 104. 175. 205. 250. 429*. 617.
632*. 1934. 2016. 2017. 2020. 2032. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2050. 2067
al^{mn} : παντεσ οι 94 arm bo eth | φιλων και ποιων A 046. 17 (- 175.
617. 1934). 2037. 2038. 2067 al^{pl} Tyc Pr vg s^{(1).}.² : ποιων και
(+ ο 2018. 2032) φιλων N 91. 175. 218. 242. 250. 424. 617. 664.
1934. 2016. 2017. 2018 gig : ποιουντεσ arm⁴ bo : φιλουντεσ arm^a :
φιλουντεσ ποιειν eth |.

17. και¹ > Tyc | το > N bo | πνευμα] + αγιον arm¹ eth | η

CHAPTER XX. 4-15.

4° Καὶ <εἶδον> τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν πεπελεκισμένων διὰ τὴν μαρ-
τυρίαν Ἰησοῦ (a)

d καὶ διὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ,

° καὶ [οἵτινες] οὐ προσεκύνησαν τὸ θηρίον
f οὐδὲ τὴν εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ,

ε καὶ οὐκ ἔλαβον τὸ χάραγμα ἐπὶ τὸ μέτωπον
h καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν χεῖρα αὐτῶν,

a καὶ εἶδον θρόνους καὶ ἐκάθισαν ἐπ' αὐτούς,
b καὶ κρίμα ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς.

(a) I have restored 4^a b to their original place after 4^b. See vol. II. 182 sq.

> κ | λεγουσιν] ελεγον 051. 35 | ερχου¹ > arm⁴ | και ο ακουων
... ερχου > arm¹ eth | ο¹ > 18 | ο ακουων] qui vidit gig : pr
his Pr | ερχου και² > Pr | και⁴ > arm¹ | ο² > 456 | ερχεσθω] +
et bibat Pr | ο θελων] pr και 209. 218. 2050 s² arm^a sa : >
gig s¹ | λαβειτω] λαβειν Tyc s² arm^a : pr και s² | ζωη] pr της
2050 |.

xx. 4^a-b. και ειδον (2050) Cyp : και ΑΝ 046. 18 (- 2050) al^{omn}
Tyc Pr gig vg s arm : περι bo eth | τ. πεπελεκισμενων]-κιμενων
175 : κημενων 201. 386 : τ. πεπολεμημενων Α : occisorum Pr gig
Cyp : decollatorum vg : τας πεπελεκισμενας s¹ | κ. οιτινες] ει τινες
ουν κ cf et si qui Pr gig : "they are those who" arm¹. 2. a |
προσεκυνησαν] προσεκυνουν 386 | το (τω 920) θηριον ΑΝ 046. 18
(- 18. 35. 175. 337. 617. 620. 2040) al^{pl} : τω (το 620) θηριω 1.
18. 35. 175. 250. 337. 617. 620. 1957. 2017. 2023. 2037. 2038.
2039. 2040. 2067 al | ουδε] ουτε 051. 1. 35. 175. 250. 617. 2037.
2038. 2067 al^{pm} | την εικονα ΑΝ 046. 18 (- 620. 2040. 2050). 1.
250. 2037*. 2038 al^{pl} : τη εικονι 104. 620. 1957. 2023. 2037*.
2067 al | ελαβον] ελαβε 18 | χαραγμα] + τον θηριον 2040 : + eius
vg | το μετωπον ΑΝ 046. 18 (- 386. 620. 2050) Pr gig arm bo :
των μετωπων 104. 181. 201. 336. 386. 620. 1918. 2036. 2037.
2050. 2067 vg : + αυτων 1. 35. 1957. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038 s¹
arm bo sa eth | επι² > 2040 | τ. χεира] τας χειρας 386 vg s¹ : την
δεξιαν χεира arm¹. a |.

4^a-b. εκαθισαν] sedentes Pr arm¹ | κ. εκαθισαν] (τοις) καθισασι
bo | επ] επανω 1934 | αυτους] αυτοις 2050 | και² > arm¹. 2 bo |
κριμα εδοθ.] ~ 386 |.

- 4¹. καὶ ἔζησαν καὶ ἐβασίλευσαν μετὰ τοῦ χριστοῦ χίλια ἔτη. (a)
 5^b. αὕτη ἡ ἀνάστασις ἡ πρώτη.
 6. Μακάριος καὶ ἅγιος ὁ ἔχων μέρος ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει τῇ πρώτῃ.
 ἐπὶ τούτων ὁ δεύτερος θάνατος οὐκ ἔχει ἐξουσίαν,
 ἀλλ' ἔσονται ἱερεῖς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ χριστοῦ,
 καὶ βασιλεύσουσιν μετ' αὐτοῦ [τὰ] χίλια ἔτη.

(a) Text adds 5^a: οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν νεκρῶν οὐκ ἔζησαν ἄχρι τελεσθῆ τὰ χίλια ἔτη —unobjectionable as far as diction is concerned but rejected as a gloss on the following grounds advanced by Mr. Marsh. (1) It is prosaic and made up of words borrowed from 4¹ 3^a or 7^a. (2) If it were original we should expect it to be introduced either by καὶ used adversatively or δέ as in 21^a. The asyndetic construction in 19³⁰ is not parallel, for there the thought of the preceding sentences is simply developed further. (3) It spoils the metre. (4) 5^b follows more naturally a positive than a negative statement.

4¹. κ. ἐζησαν κ. ἐβασίλ.] ους λευσαν (sic) 2050 | κ. ἐζησαν κ.
 >Pr | καὶ¹ | hi omnes Tyc : αἱ s¹ : οὗτοι (+ εἰσιν οἱ arm^{1.2}) arm^{1.2}
 eth : > bo sa | ἐζησαν] ἐζητησαν 920 : ζήσουσιν arm^{1.2.4} eth :
 + μετ' αὐτου bo | ἐβασίλευσαν] βασιλευσουσιν (-ουσι arm⁴) arm^{1.4}
 eth | του > 1. 2017. 2038. 2067 | τ. χριστου] Iesu Pr | χίλια ἐτη
 Ακ 1. 35. 175. 181. 250. 424. 617. 1957. 2017. 2023. 2036.
 2037. 2038. 2041. 2050. 2067 s¹ arm^{2.4.6} bo : pr τα 046. 18
 (- 35. 175. 617. 2050) al^{pl} s² : >arm¹ |.

5. οἱ λοιποὶ . . . χιλ. ἐτη Α 046. 35. 175^{ms}. 250. (617). 632.
 1934. 2020. 2037. 2038. 2040. 2050. 2067 al^p Pr gig vg (arm) bo
 sa : > N 18 (- 35. 175^{**}. 617. 632. 2020. 2040. 2050). 61. 69. 104.
 110. 385 al^{mn} s | οἱ λοιποὶ Α Pr gig vg : pr και 046. 1. 35. 175^{**}.
 181. 250. 336. 617. 632. 1934. 2016. 2020. 2023. 2037. 2038.
 2040. 2050. 2067 arm⁴ bo (sa) eth : και μετα ταυτα arm^{1.2.4} |
 των νεκρων] pr εκ arm^{1.2.4} : αυτων Pr | νεκρων Α 35. 1934. 2020.
 2040. 2050 al gig vg arm⁴ bo sa eth : ανθρωπων 046. 175. 250.
 424. 617. 2017 | ἐζησαν] ανεστησαν 1. 250 : ζησεται (-ονται arm⁴)
 arm | τελεσθη] τελεσθηναι 2020 : τελεσθωσι 2036. 2037 | αυτη] pr
 σι 104. 336. 620. 1918 : pr και s¹ eth : haec est itaque Tyc |.

6. μακαριος] pr και 18. 632^{*}. 1849. 2004 | κ. αγιος] κ. ο
 αγιος 2050 : > 61. 69 | εν τη αναστασει] + ταυτη Pr : + αυτου
 920 | επι] pr σι 2050 arm⁴ : pr και s¹ arm² | τουτων] τουτον
 (-τω 69) 61. 69. 385. 2036 Tyc | ο δευτ. θαν.] ο θαν. ο δευτ. 1.
 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038 | αλλ] αλλα N | του θεου κ. του χριστου]
 pr και N : τω θεω κ. τω χριστω 2020 s¹ : του ιησου χριστου (θεου κ.
 του κυρ. ιησ. χριστ. arm^{1.2.4}) arm | βασιλευσουσιν N 046. 18 al^{omn}
 Tyc Pr gig vg s arm bo sa : βασιλευουσιν Α | μετ' αυτου Ακ 046.
 35. 175. 617. 632^{**}. 920. 2020. 2040. 2050 Tyc Pr gig vg s arm
 bo eth : μετα ταυτα 18 (- 35. 175. 617. 632^{**}. 920. 2020. 2040.
 2050). 82. 110. 141. 201. 242. 336. 498. 1918 | τ. χιλ. ἐτη >arm¹ |
 τα N 046. 61. 69. 94. 241. 386. (632^{**}). 920. 2020 : > Α 051.
 18 (- 386. 632^{**}. 920. 2020). 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^{pl}
 arm^{2.4.6} |.

7. Καὶ ὅταν τελεσθῇ τὰ χίλια ἔτη, λυθήσεται ὁ Σατανᾶς ἐκ τῆς φυλακῆς αὐτοῦ, 8. καὶ ἐξελεύσεται πλανῆσαι τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ἐν ταῖς τέσσαρσι γωνίαις τῆς γῆς, τὸν Γῶγ καὶ Μαγῶγ, συναγαγεῖν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, ὃν ὁ ἀριθμὸς αὐτῶν ὡς ἡ ἄμμος τῆς θαλάσσης. 9. καὶ ἀνέβησαν ἐπὶ τὸ πλάτος τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἐκύκλευσαν τὴν παρεμβολὴν τῶν ἁγίων καὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἡγαπημένην. καὶ κατέβη πῦρ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ κατέφαγεν αὐτοὺς. 10. καὶ ὁ διάβολος ὁ θεοῦ πλανῶν αὐτοὺς ἐβλήθη εἰς τὴν λίμνην τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ θείου, ὅπου καὶ

7. ὅταν τελεσθῇ (οτε ετελεσθησαν 1 : οτε ετελεσθῇ s¹) Ακ 35. 175. 250. 617. 2020. 2037. 2038. 2040. 2050. 2067 al Tyc Pr gig vg s arm⁴ bo sa eth : μετα 046. 18 (-35. 175. 617. 2020. 2040. 2050). 61. 69. 104. 385 al^{pl} arm^{1.2.a} | αὐτον > arm^{1.2} = bo eth |.

8. ἐξελεύσεται > bo | πλανησαι] καὶ πλανησει (+ τοὺς δούλους καὶ bo) vg arm^{2.a} bo | τα ἔθνη Α 046. 18 (-386) Tyc Pr gig vg s² arm^{2.4} (bo) eth : pr πάντα κ 2036 s¹ (arm^{1.a}) : τα > 386 | τα² Α 046. 18 (-149). 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^{pl} Tyc Pr gig vg s² arm⁴ : > κ 61. 69. 149. 172. 2018 s¹ bo sa | ταισ > 1. 69. 432 | τεσσαραις] τετρασι κ : τεσσαρα 617 | τ. γῆς > κ* | τὸν¹ Ακ* 046. 18 al^{omn} : > κ* bo sa | τ. Γῶγ κ. Μ. συναγ. αὐτ.] "Gog and Magog shall be gathered" bo eth | Μαγῶγ Ακ* 1. 1934. 2036. 2037. 2050 bo sa : pr τὸν κ* 046. 18 (-1934. 2050). 250. 2067 al^{pl} | συναγαγειν Α 046. 18 (-35. 175. 617). 250. 2067 al^{pl} s² arm^{1.2.a} sa : pr καὶ κ 051. 35. 175. 617. 2016. 2017. 2036 s¹ arm⁴ : καὶ συναγει 181 : et congregabit (-avit gig : trahet Pr) Pr gig vg | τὸν² Ακ 046. 18 (-175. 617) al^{pl} : > 051. 1. 175. 250. 617. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2067 | ὡν > 2050 | αὐτῶν Ακ 046. 18 (-35. 175. 617. 1934. 2020) al^{pl} (s) arm^{1.2.a} : > 1. 35. 175. 242. 250. 617. 1934. 2020. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2067 Pr gig vg arm⁴ | ὡς ἡ] ὡσει 42. 82. 104. 201. 325. 385. 386. 456. 498. 620. 632. 920. 1918. 1934 |.

9. καὶ ἀνέβησαν] > 61. 69 : + diabolus et populus eius Tyc | πλατοσ] altitudinem Tyc gig | ἐκύκλευσαν Α 046. 18 (-35*. 175. 337. 617. 620. 1934. 2020. 2050). 82. 110. 385. 2023 al^{omn} : ἐκυκλωσαν κ 051. 1. 35*. 104. 175. 250. 337. 617. 620. 1934. 2016. 2020. 2037. 2038. 2050. 2067 | τ. παρεμβ. τ. αγ.] + καὶ τὴν πόλιν τῶν ἁγίων 046. 498 : τὴν πόλιν τῆς παρεμβολῆς τῶν ἁγίων s¹ | τ. ἡγαπημένην] dilectorum Tyc : τὴν καινὴν bo : τὴν ἁγίαν eth | κατέβη] ascendit gig | πῦρ . . . εἰς τ. λίμνην > κ* | εκ] ἀπο 051. 1. 35. 93. 205. 620. 2038 | εκ τ. οὐρ. Α 94. 181. 2036. 2037 Pr : pr ἀπο (εκ 051. 1. 35. 93. 205. 2038) του (> 35. 2038) θείου κ* 025. 051. 1. 35. 93. 104. 205. 2037. 2040. 2050 al vg s² arm⁴ : + ἀπο τοῦ θεοῦ 046. 18 (-35. 205. 2040. 2050). 250. 2067. al^{pl} Tyc gig s arm^{1.2.a} bo sa eth |.

10. καὶ θείου Α 025. 046. 18 (-325. 620. 632*. 2040. 2050). 1 al sa : καὶ (> 620) τοῦ θείου κ 42. 94. 104. 172. 218. 241. 250.

τὸ θηρίον καὶ ὁ ψευδοπροφήτης, καὶ βασανισθήσονται ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

11. Καὶ εἶδον θρόνον μέγαν λευκὸν καὶ τὸν καθήμενον ἐπ' αὐτοῦ,† (α)

οὗ ἀπὸ [τοῦ] (δ) προσώπου ἔφυγεν ἡ γῆ καὶ ὁ οὐρανός, καὶ τόπος οὐχ εὐρέθη αὐτοῖς.

12. καὶ εἶδον τοὺς νεκροὺς τοὺς μεγάλους καὶ τοὺς μικροὺς ἐστῶτας ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου, καὶ βιβλία ἠνοιχθήσαν, καὶ ἄλλο βιβλίον ἠνοιχθὲν ὃ ἔστιν τῆς ζωῆς, καὶ ἐκρίθησαν οἱ νεκροὶ ἐκ τῶν γεγραμμένων ἐν τοῖς βιβλίοις [κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν].

(α) Wrong construction due to editor.

(δ) An interpolation by the editor (?); cf. vi. 16, xii. 14.

325. 336. 632^{**}. 1918. 2017. 2018. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2040. 2067 al : την καιομενην πυρι (θειω bo) 2050 bo : > 2038 | και³ A 025. 046. 19 (- 205. 2050). 250. 2037 al^{pl} Tyc Pr gig vg s² : > K 1. 205. 1957. 2050 s¹ arm^{1.2} = bo sa eth | και⁴] + οπου K : > 620 | ο ψευδοπροφ.] + ἐβλήθησαν 2050 : οι ψευδοπροφηται Tyc arm¹ | βασανισθησονται] + εκει 2050 | εισ. τ. αιων. τ. αιων. > 1. 181. 2038 arm^a | των αιωνων > 241. 336^{**}. 2067 |

11. θρονον μεγαν] ~ bo sa | μεγαν] μεγα 2050 | μεγαν (+ και 2050 Pr arm^{1.4} eth) λευκον Aκ 025. 046. 19 (- 18. 175. 205. 337. 617. 2020) al Pr gig vg s arm^{1.4} bo sa eth : ~ 1. 175. 205. 250. 617. 2020. 2037. 2038. 2067 arm^a : μεγαν > 18. 337 | επ] επανω K 2020 s bo sa | αυτου Aκ 1. 2020. 2040 : αυτον 025. 046. 19 (- 2020. 2040). 250. 2037 al^{pl} : αυτω 218. 2018. 2038. 2067 | του Aκ 025. 2040. 2050 : > 046. 19 (- 2040. 2050) al^{pl} | προσωπου] + αυτου 2040 s arm^{1.2} | η γη και ο (> 2050) ουρ. Aκ 025. 046. 19 (- 35) al^{pl} gig vg s bo sa : ο ουρ. κ. η γη 35. 60. 432. 1957. 2023. 2041 Pr arm eth | αυτοισ] eorum Pr bo : ab eis vg : in illis gig |

12. μεγαλ. . . μικρουσ] ~ 046. 91. 175. 242. 250. 506. 617. 1934. 2016. 2017 bo | τ. (και K^{*}) μεγ. κ. τ. μικρ. (τ. μικρ. κ. τ. μεγ.) placed before εστωτας Aκ 025. 046. 35. 205. 632^{**}. 2020. 2037. 2038. 2050. 2067 al^{mn} Tyc gig vg s arm⁴ = bo sa eth : placed after εστωτας 91. 175. 242. 250. 506. 617. 1934. 2016. 2017 : placed before τους νεκρους 104. 620 : > 1. 18. 82. 93. 110. 201. 325. 337. 385. 386. 429. 452. 456. 498. 517. 522. 632^{*}. 920. 1849. 2004. 2024. 2039 | εστωτας ενωπ. τ. θρ. > Pr arm² | εστωτας > 61. 69. 82. 429 | ενωπιον] επι K^{*} : ενωπιον επι K^c | θρονου] θεου 1. 2037. 2067 al | βιβλια] βιβλοι 2050 : βιβλιον 386 | ηνοιχθησαν . . . ηνοιχθη] ηνεωχθη K^{*} : ηνεωχθη και αλλο βιβλιον ηνεωχθη K^c | ηνοιχθησαν A 025. 046. 1. 61. 69. 172. 175. 218. 242. 250. 1934. 2016.

13. καὶ ἔδωκεν † ἡ θάλασσα † (α) τοὺς νεκροὺς τοὺς ἐν † αὐτῇ † (α)
καὶ ὁ θάνατος καὶ ὁ ᾠδης ἔδωκεν τοὺς νεκροὺς τοὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς,
καὶ ἐκρίθησαν ἕκαστος κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν.

14. καὶ ὁ θάνατος καὶ ὁ ᾠδης ἐβλήθησαν εἰς τὴν λίμνην τοῦ
πυρός, (δ)

(α) The text has been tampered with here. The abode of righteous souls should occur instead of "the sea." Probably εἰ θησαυροί or αἱ μοναί (John xiv. 2) or δ παράδεισος (Luke xxiii. 43) stood originally in the text. See vol. ii. 194-198.

(δ) + οὗτος ὁ θάνατος ὁ δευτέρως ἐστίν, ἡ λίμνη τοῦ πυρός—a marginal gloss drawn from xxi. 8f., where it is full of meaning, but nonsensical here.

2017. 2018 : ηνεωχθησαν (ανεωχθησαν 35. 432. 1957. 2020. 2023).
35. 104. 205. 432. 617. 632^{**}. 1957. 2020. 2023. 2037. 2038. 2050 :
ανοιγησαν 2067 : aperti sunt Tyc Pr gig vg s arm bo : ηνοιξαν (-εν
42. 325. 336. 517. 620. 1918) 18 (-35. 175. 205. 617. 632^{**}.
1934. 2020. 2050). 82. 110. 141. 201. 385. 429. 452. 498. 522.
2021. 2024 sa eth | κ. αλλο βιβλ. ηνοιχθη > i arm² | ηνοιχθη A
025. 35. 141. 172. 385. 2018. 2036. 2037 : ηνοιγη 2067 : ηνεωχθη
(ανεωχθη 432. 498. 2020. 2023. 2041) N 046. 19 (-35). 250.
432. 498. 2016. 2023. 2038 | ζωησ] κρισεως s¹ : + unius cuiusque
Tyc Pr | εν τοις βιβλοις] εν ταις βιβλοις N : librorum Pr : επι του
βιβλιου bo eth : > arm^a].

18. > arm¹ | τοις εν αυτη . . . νεκρουσ² > 2020 | τ. νεκρουσ τ.
εν αυτη AN 025. 046. 18 (-35. 205. 2020). 250 al^{pl} Pr gig vg s
bo sa eth : τοις εν αυτη (αυτοις ι) νεκρουσ 051. ι. 35. 205. 2023.
2037. 2038. 2041. 2069 : mortuos suos Tyc arm^a | κ. ο θαν. . . .
αυτων > 141. 1957 arm² 4 | και ο¹ > 205 | ο¹ > 325. 620 | ἔδωκεν
N 025. 046. 18 (-1934. 2020) al^{ferre omni} Tyc Pr gig vg s bo sa
eth : ἔδωκεν A 82. 242. 1934 : > arm^a | τ. νεκρουσ τοις (τοις 046)
εν αυτοις AN 025. 046. 18 (-35. 205). 250. 2037 al^{pl} vg s :
τοις εν αυτοις νεκρουσ 051. ι. 35. 205. 2023. 2038. 2067 eth :
mortuos suos Tyc arm^a : mortuos quos in se habebant Pr : mortuos
suos qui in ipsis erant gig | εκριθησαν] κατεκριθησαν N : εκριθη s¹ |
εκαστοσ] + αυτων s¹ : > bo | αυτων AN 35. 205. 325. 386. 620.
1934. 2020. 2050 vg s arm bo : αυτου 046. 18. 61. 69. 104. 175.
250. 337. 456. 632. 920. 1849. 2004. 2067 sa |.

14. ο¹ > 149 | θαν. . . . αδησ] ~ gig vg eth | του πυρος] >
Tyc : + την καιομενην εν θειω bo : + την γεμουσαν θειου eth |
ουτοσ] pr και N | ουτοσ ο θαν. . . . (ver. 15) πυρος > 2050 arm²
| ουτοσ . . . η λιμνη τ. πυρος > ι. 94. 149. 201. 205. 452. 2016.
2021. 2038 Pr arm^{1-a} bo | ουτοσ . . . ἐστιν > 498 | ο θαν. ο δευτ]
ο δευτεροσ θανατοσ N 2020 : ο θαν. δευτεροσ 2036. 2037 | ἐστιν
placed after δευτεροσ A (N) 025. 046. 18 (-149. 205. 2050). 61.
69. 110. 172. 250. 2018. 2036. 2037 vg s² : after ουτοσ 60. 432.

15. καὶ εἴ τις οὐχ εὐρέθῃ ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ τῆς ζωῆς γεγραμμένος
ἐβλήθη εἰς τὴν λίμνην τοῦ πυρός.

1957. 2023. 2041 gig s¹ arm⁴ : after θανατος 2067 : > 104 | η
λίμνη τ. πυρος > s¹ arm⁴ |

15. καὶ > 325 | εὐρεθῇ] εὐρεθησεται κ* arm¹ | τη βίβλῳ Ακ
025. 35. 104. 205. 2020. 2023. 2036. 2038. 2067 al : τῷ βιβλίῳ
046. 18 (– 35. 205. 2020. 2050). 1. 250 al^{pl} |

RESTORED ORDER OF THE TEXT.

CHAPTERS XXI. 5^a. 4^d. 5^b [6^a]. 1–4^a b. c. XXII. 3–5, XXI.
5^o, 6^b–8, XXII. 6. 7. 18^a [18^b–19]. 16. 13. 12. 10 [11]. 8. 9.
20. 21. See vol. ii. 144–154.

xxi. 5^a. Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ † τῷ θρόνῳ † (a)
4^d. Τὰ πρῶτα ἀπῆλθαν.
5^b. Ἰδοὺ καινὰ ποιῶ πάντα (δ).

(a) Wrong construction due to editor.

(δ) The text contains the following intrusion : 6^a. καὶ εἶπεν μοι Γέγοναν.
See vol. ii. 203 sq. xxi. 5^a should be read immediately before xxi. 6^b.
Hence correct note in Commentary.

5^a. καὶ > 18. 82. 201. 325. 337. 385. 386. 456. 498. 632^{**}.
920. 1849. 2004. 2021. 2024. 2039 | εἶπεν] ait gig : + μοι s¹
arm². 4. a bo | ο καθ. ἐπὶ τ. θρον. > 2050 | ἐπὶ] ἐν 172. 2018. 2036.
2037 | τῷ θρονῳ] του θρονου 1. 205. 920. 2023. 2038 al |

4^d. τα Α 025. 051. 2038 arm⁴ : pr σι (κ) 046. 18 al^{fero oia} Pr
gig vg s² arm¹. 2. a bo sa eth : + γαρ 2036 | τα πρῶτα] τα προβατα
κ* : ταυτα 2050 : ἐπὶ τα προσωπα αυτησ και s¹ : > arm¹. 2 | απηλθαν
Α : απηλθον 025. 1. 18. 35. 104. 205. 920. 2037. 2038. 2067 al :
απηλθεν κ 046. 18 (– 18. 35. 205. 920). 250 al^{mn} arm^(1. 2). a : + και
(> bo) ιδου παντα ποιηθησονται καινα (κ. εποιηθησαν π. eth) bo eth |

5^b. ιδου] pr και Α : + ιδου 2021 | καινα (κενα κ) ποιω παντα
Ακ 025. 172. 205. 432. 1957. 2018. 2020. 2023. 2041. 2050 Pr
gig vg s¹ : καινοποιω παντα 051. 35. 2036. 2038 : παντα καινα ποιω
046. 18 (– 205. 2020. 2050). 250 al^{pl} s² : καινα παντα ποιω 1.
2037. 2067 : ποιησω (ποιω eth) παντα καινα bo sa eth |

5^c. For text of this line see p. 379, line 5. κ. λεγει > arm² |
λεγει (ειπεν Tyc vg^f s bo) Α 046. 18. 325. 337. 386. 456. 620.
632^{*}. 1849. 2004 Tyc Pr gig vg^{a. c. b} arm^{2. 4. a} : + μοι κ 025.
051. 1. 35. 175. 205. 250. 617. 632^{**}. 920. 1934. 2020. 2037.
2038. 2050. 2067 al^{pl} vg^{d. f. v} s¹ bo eth arm^{1. a} | γραψον σι] ~
205 : > Pr | σι > 051. 386. 1849 s¹ arm^{2. 4. a} | πιστοι κ. αληθινοι

1. Καὶ εἶδον οὐρανὸν καινὸν καὶ γῆν καινὴν·
ὁ γὰρ πρῶτος οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ πρώτη γῆ ἀπῆλθαν,
καὶ ἡ θάλασσα οὐκ ἔστιν ἔτι.
2. καὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἁγίαν Ἱερουσαλὴμ καινὴν εἶδον
καταβαίνουσαν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ,
ἡτοιμασμένην ὡς νύμφην κεκοσμημένην τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς.
3. καὶ ἤκουσα φωνῆς μεγάλης ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου λεγούσης
Ἰδοὺ ἡ σκηνὴ τοῦ θεοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων,
καὶ σκηνώσει μετ' αὐτῶν,
καὶ αὐτοὶ λαὸς (α) αὐτοῦ ἔσονται, λαοί
καὶ αὐτοὶ † [ὁ θεὸς μετ' αὐτῶν] ἔσται αὐτῶν θεός †. (β)

(α) In the New Jerusalem God has only one λαός. Before the final judgment our author might have said that God had many λαοί. Hence λαοί (AN and a few cursives) is a corruption. Otherwise if λαοί is the older reading, then it arose through a misunderstanding of the editor, and λαός (025. 046 and Versions) is a right emendation of the text.

(β) Read: αὐτῶν θεός ἔσται or ἔσται θεός αὐτῶν. See vol. ii. 207 sq. δ θεός μετ' αὐτῶν (= ἡκυω) seems to have originated in an excellent marginal gloss on 3^b, but in 3^a it is wholly irrelevant and against the parallelism.

AN 046. 18 (- 35. 175. 205. 617) al^{mu} Tyc (Pr vg) gig s arm^{1.2.4} bo sa eth : ~ 025. 1. 35. 175. 205. 250. 617. 2037. 2038. 2067 arm^a | πιστ. κ. αληθ. (κ. πιστ.) + του θεου 046. 18 (- 35. 205. 2020. 2050) al^{mu} s³ | εἰσιν] tr before και αληθινοί Pr vg : + του θεου 175. 250. 617 |.

Θ^a. εἰπεν] λεγει N arm | γεγοναν (-σιν 2020) A 2020 s¹ : γεγονα N* 025. 046. 051. 18 (- 386. 2020) al^{few} om^a s² arm : γεγονε 386 : factum est Pr gig vg : > N^a Tyc bo |.

1. καινον . . . καινην] κενον . . . κενην N arm⁴ | πρωτος] κενος arm⁴ | πρωτη > 42. 385 Pr bo arm | απηλθαν AN : απηλθον 046. 18 (- 35. 205. 620). 42. 61. 110. 201. 250. 385. 429. 498. 2017 al Tyc Pr s bo : απηλθεν 025. 82. 91. 172. 241. 522. 2016. 2018 gig vg : παρηλθεν 051. 1. 35. 205. 620. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2067 al | η θαλ. ουκ εστι] την θαλασσαν ουκ ιδον A | η^a > 18. 2050 | ουκ εστιν ετι] ουκ εσται ετη 2050 : ουκετι εσται 205 |.

2. και¹] + ego Iohannes vg^r | αγιαν] μεγαλην Pr | καινον] κενον N | καινην ιδον] ~ 2050 arm⁴ | ειδον] tr before την πολιν gig vg^r | εκ του] απ 920 (arm^a) | εκ τ. ουρ. απο τ. θεου AN 046. 18 (- 35. 205. 920). 250. 2067 al Tyc Pr gig vg s arm^{1.2.4} bo sa eth : απο τ. θ. εκ τ. ουρ 025. 1. 35. 205. 1957. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2041 al : απο του θεου > 2021 | νυμφην] + και Tyc |.

3. και ηκουσα φωνησ μεγαλησ . . . λεγουσησ] και φωνη μεγαλη . . . λεγουσα N* | μεγαλησ > gig arm^{1.2.4} | εκ τ. θρον. > 2050 | θρονου AN 94 vg : ουρανου 025. 046. 18 (- 2050) al^{few} om^a Tyc Pr eth s arm bo sa eth | ιδου] ιδε 205 | σκηνώσει] εσκηνωσεν N* 2050

πάν ἀπό 4^{h.c.} καὶ ἐξαλείψει ἡ θεὸς πάν τὸν δάκρυον ἐκ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν,
καὶ ὁ θάνατος οὐκ ἔσται ἔτι·
οὔτε πένθος οὔτε κραυγὴ οὔτε πόνος οὐκ ἔσται ἔτι,
xxii. 3. καὶ πάν κατάθεμα οὐκ ἔσται ἔτι.

καὶ ὁ θρόνος τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀρνίου ἐν αὐτῇ ἔσται,
καὶ οἱ δοῦλοι αὐτοῦ λατρεύσουσιν αὐτῷ,

4. καὶ ὄψονται τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ,
καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν μετώπων αὐτῶν.

. Tyc gig eth | λαοσ αντ.] tr after εσονται Pr Tyc gig | λαοσ 025. 046. 18 (- 2050). 250. 2067 al^{pl} Tyc Pr gig vg s arm bo sa eth : λαοι ΑΝ 1. 61. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2050 al | και αυτοσ ο θεος μετ αυτων (+ και 2050 s¹) εσται αυτων (αυτοις s) θεος Α 2050 Tyc vg s : και αυτοσ ο θεος εσται μετ αυτων θεος αυτων 025. 051 : και (> κ) αυτοσ ο θεος εσται μετ αυτων (μετ αυτων εσται 046 gig) κ 046 Pr gig bo sa : και αυτοσ εσται θεος αυτων και εσται θεος μετ αυτων eth : min. thus ; μετ αυτων εσται 18 (- 35. 175. 205. 617. 632^{**}. 2050) : εσται μετ αυτων 1. 35. 175. 205. 241. 250. 617. 632^{**}. 2016. 2017. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2041. 2067 | θεος (+ ων 181) αυτων 35^{*}. 175. 181. 205. 617. 2036. 2037. 2038 al : > 18 (- 35^{*}. 175. 205. 617. 2050). 1. 61. 104. 110. 250. 385. 2067 al |.

4^{a b.c.} και¹ | + αυτοσ s¹ | ο θεος Α 1. 2067 vg : απ (εξ 522) αυτων 18. 325. 337. 386. 456. 522. 632^{*}. 920. 1849. 2004 al : > κ 025. 046. 35. 175. 205. 250. 617. 620. 632^{**}. 1934. 2020. 2037. 2038. 2050 Tyc Pr gig s arm bo sa eth | δακρυον] δρακν κ^{*} | εκ τ. οφθ. αντ.] απ αυτων 141. 2021 | εκ ΑΝ 2017 : απο 025. 046. 18 al^{omn} | ο² Α 025. 046. 18 (- 632^{**}. 2020. 2050). 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^{pl} : > κ 241. 632^{**}. 2020. 2050 bo sa | ουκ εσται ετι] ουκετι ου μη εσται 2050 | ουκ εσται . . . πονος > 172. 522. 2018. 2067 | ουτε . . . ουτε . . . ουτε] ουδε . . . ουδε . . . ουδε 2050 | πενθ. . . . κραυγη] ~ κ | ουτε κραυγη ουτε πονος > Tyc | ουτε πονος] > κ : ου πονος 205. 620 : sed nec luctus ullus Pr | ουκ εσται ετι] ουκετι εσται 2050 : > Pr arm¹ | ετι²] ετι κ^{*} : οτι corr first hand : > 1 |.

xxii. 8. καταθεμα] καταγμα κ^{*} : αναθεμα 2050 (s¹ ?) | ετι] > κ^{*} : εκει 051. 1. 35. 104. 175. 205. 250. 617. 632^{**}. 1934. 2020. 2037. 2038. 2067 al s¹ | και²] sed Pr : οτι arm¹ | ο θρον. . . . εσται] sedes . . . erunt vg | εν αυτη εσται] εσται εν αυτη 2050 bo sa | εν] επ 205 | κ. οι δουλ. αντ. λατρ. αυτω > Pr | κ. οι δουλοι αυτου] και θυμος ουκ εσται οι δε δουλοι του θεου bo : και ουκ εσται θυμος κατα των δουλων του θεου οι eth | λατρευσουσιν] λατρευουσιν 18. 82. 110. 175. 181. 205. 337. 456. 522. 617. 1849. 2004. 2020 |.

4. ετι] pr και κ : pr scriptum Pr arm^{*} |.

5. καὶ νῦν οὐκ ἔσται ἔτι,
καὶ οὐχ ἔξουσιν¹ χρειαν φωτὸς λύχνου καὶ φῶς ἡλίου, ἔχουσιν
ὅτι κύριος ὁ θεὸς φωτίσει ἐπ' αὐτούς,
καὶ βασιλεύσουσιν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

xxi. 5°. Καὶ λέγει Γράψον ὅτι οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι πιστοὶ καὶ ἀληθινοὶ
εἰσιν.

6^b. Ἐγὼ εἰμι τὸ Ἄλφα καὶ τὸ ὦ, ^Ω
ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ τὸ τέλος.
ἐγὼ τῷ θυμῷ δώσω ἐκ τῆς πηγῆς τοῦ ὕδατος τῆς ζωῆς
δωρεάν.

5. εσται] εστιν 051. 35. 175. 617 s¹ : ην arm¹.^a | ἐτι ΑΝ 025.
82. 93. 2018. 2032. 2050 Tyc Pr gig vg s³ arm¹.⁴ bo sa eth :
εκει 051. 1. 35. 104. 175. 205. 617. 620. 632^{**}. 1934 al s¹ arm^a : >
046. 18. 325. 337. 386. 632^{*}. 1849. 2004. 2020 al^{mu} | ουχ εξουσιν
χρειαν Α 2050 Tyc gig vg s bo : ουκ εχουσιν χρειαν Ν : χρειαν ουκ
εχουσιν 025. 1. 35. 175. 205. 241. 242. 250. 617. 632^{**}. 1934.
1957. 2016. 2017. 2018. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2041. 2067
al^{mu} arm^t sa : ου χρεια 046. 18. 104. 110. 325. 337. 386. 620.
632^{*}. 1849. 2004. 2020 al^{mu} Pr arm¹.^a | φωτ. λυχν. κ. > 2018 |
φωτοσ (φωσ 2036. 2050 : + και s¹) λυχνου (~2020 : εν αυτη bo :
> sa) ΑΝ 94. 241. 632^{**}. 2020. 2036. 2037. 2050 Tyc Pr gig vg
s arm¹.⁴ (bo sa) : λυχνου (-ον 1) 025. 046. 051. 17 (-632^{**}.
2020. 2050). 250. 2038. 2067 al^{pl} arm^a | και³ > 1849 | φωσ
ηλιου Α 025. 175. 181. 242. 617. 1934. 2017. 2036. 2038. 2050 :
lucem (lumen Pr) solis Pr gig : φωτοσ ηλιου Ν 1. 35. 205. 250.
632^{**}. 1957. 2016. 2018. 2020. 2023. 2038. 2041. 2067 Tyc vg
s arm bo sa : φωτοσ 046. 18. 61. 82. 104. 110. 201. 325. 336.
337. 386. 429. 498. 522. 620. 632^{*}. 1849. 1918. 2004 | φωτισει
Α 025. 181. 452. 2038. 2050 : φωται Ν 046. 051. 17 (-175.
617. 1934. 2050). 1. 2037. 2067 al^{pl} : inluminabit Tyc Pr vg^d
arm^t bo sa : φωτιζει 175. 242. 250. 617. 1934. 2016. 2017. 2036 gig
vg^a. c. e. h. v s : inluminavit vg^t arm¹.^a | επ ΑΝ 2018. 2050 Tyc Pr
gig eth : > 025. 046. 17 (-2050) al^{exo} om^a vg arm⁴.^a bo sa |
βασιλευσουσιν] regnabit super eos Tyc : βασιλευσ αυτων s¹ |

xxi. 5°. See p. 376 (*ad fin.*) sq. for notes on this line.

6^b. εγω ειμι το Α 1918. 2020 Tyc Pr gig vg bo eth : εγω το
Ν 025. 046. 35. 42. 104. 172. 175. 181. 205. 218. 241. 242. 250.
506. 617. 632^{**}. 1934. 1957. 2016. 2017. 2018. 2036. 2037.
2038. 2050 s sa : το 18. 61. 82. 91. 93. 94. 110. 141. 201. 325.
336. 337. 385. 386. 429. 432. 452. 456. 498. 517. 522. 620. 632^{*}.
920. 1849. 2004. 2023. 2024. 2039. 2041. 2067 | αλφα] Α 1.
205. 456. 820. 2023. 2037. 2067 al^{mu} Pr vg | και¹ + εγω s¹ eth |
ω] + και 18. 82. 104. 337. 385. 386. 456. 632^{*}. 920. 2004. 2016.
2041 al | η αρχη κ. το τελ. ΑΝ 025. 046. 18 (-35. 175. 205. 617.
1934) : αρχη κ. τελος 35. 110. 175. 205. 385. 432. 617. 2017.

7. ὁ νικῶν κληρονομήσει ταῦτα,
καὶ ἔσονται αὐτῷ θεός,
καὶ αὐτὸς ἔσται μοι υἱός.
8. τοῖς δὲ δειλοῖς καὶ ἀπίστοις καὶ ἐβδελυγμένοις,
καὶ φονεῦσι καὶ πόρνοις καὶ φαρμακοῖς,
καὶ εἰδωλολάτραις καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ψευδέσιν—
τὸ μέρος αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ τῇ καιομένῃ πυρὶ καὶ θείῃ,
ὃ ἐστὶν ὁ θάνατος ὁ δεύτερος.

xxii. 6. Καὶ εἶπεν μοι Οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι πιστοὶ καὶ ἀληθινοί, καὶ ὁ κύριος, ὁ θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων τῶν προφητῶν, ἀπέστειλεν τὸν ἄγγελον

2038 al^p arm⁴.^a | εγω² | + καὶ 205 arm¹.⁽⁴⁾ | τω δαψ.] sitientibus Tyc (arm¹.²) | τω > 025 | δωσω AN 025. 35. 205. 620. 632^{**}. 2020. 2037. 2038. 2050. 2067 al Tyc Pr gig vg s arm⁴.^(a) bo sa : + αυτω (αυτοις arm¹) 046. 18 (- 35. 205. 620. 632^{**}. 2020. 2050). 61. 82. 110. 172. 201. 242. 250. 385. 498. 2016. 2018 al arm^(1.2) | της πηγης > A | της ζωης > 386. 620 : vivae Tyc gig vg^a. c. f. g. h. v | δωρεαν | δωρεας K^{*} 205 |.

7. ο νικων] καὶ ο νικων (+ αυτοσ s¹) s¹ arm eth | κληρονομησει (-ση 104) AN 025. 1. 35. 104. 205. 241. 432. 632^{**}. 1957. 2020. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2050. 2067 al Tyc Pr gig vg s arm bo sa eth : δωσω αυτω 046. 18 (- 35. 205. 632^{**}. 2020. 2050). 250 al^p | ταυτα] παντα 1. 2037 : παντα ταυτα arm^{1.2}.^a | αυτω] αυτων (αυτοις arm^{1.4}.^a) A 1. 2036. 2037. 2038 arm^{1.4}.^a : αυτου Tyc | αυτοσ εσται] αυτοι εσονται 051. 1. 2036. 2037. 2038 arm¹.^a | αυτοσ > A Tyc s¹ | μοι A 025. 046. 051. 18 (- 175. 325. 386. 456. 620) al^p Pr gig vg s¹ arm¹.^a bo : μου K 175. 325. 386. 456. 620. 2038 al Tyc s² arm⁴ | υιοσ] ο υιοσ 1957 : υιοι 051. 1. 2036. 2037. 2038 arm^a : λαοσ arm¹ |.

8. τοις δε δειλοισ] δειλοισ δε 1 | δε] + ωσ K^{*} : > 025 | καὶ¹ > eth | απιστοις (πιστοις eth) AN 025. 1. 2023^{*}. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2050 Tyc Pr gig vg arm bo sa eth : + καὶ αμαρτωλοισ 046. 18 (- 2050). 250. 2067 al^p s | καὶ² > 1. 181. 205. 2023^{*}. 2036. 2037. 2038 al | κ. πορν. > Tyc gig arm² | κ. π. τ. ψευδεσιν > arm² | ψευδεσιν] ψευσταισ A (bo) | αυτων] εσται Tyc Pr : + εσται (εστιν arm²) vg bo arm² | εν τη] εστιν 2050 | εν > 620 | τ. καιομ. πυρι κ. θειω] του πυροσ 2050 : ardente (> bo eth) ignis et sulphuris Tyc bo eth | ο¹] η s | ο (> 617. 1934 al^p) θαν. ο. δευτ. AN 046. 18 (- 35. 205). 250 al^p arm : ο δευτ. θαν. 051. 1. 35. 205. 2023. 2037. 2038. 2067 al : θανατοσ 025 |.

xxii. 6. ειπεν AN 025. 1. 175. 205. 250. 617. 1934. 2037. 2038. 2050. 2067 al^{ma} Pr vg s arm⁴ bo : λεγει 046. 17 (- 175. 205. 617. 1934. 2050) al^{pm} gig arm¹.^a | πιστοι] fidelissima (+ sunt vg^d) (Pr) vg : + εισιν καὶ αghoi εισιν bo | πιστ. . . . αghθ.] ~ 2050 al : + εισιν Pr gig vg^a. c. f. g. h. v bo | καὶ² > bo | ο¹ AN 61. 2018 s¹ bo

αὐτοῦ δεῖξαι τοῖς δούλοις αὐτοῦ ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐν τάχει. 7. καὶ ἰδοὺ ἔρχομαι ταχύ. μακάριος ὁ τηρῶν τοὺς λόγους τῆς προφητείας τοῦ βιβλίου τούτου. 18^a. μαρτυρῶ ἐγὼ παντὶ τῷ ἀκούοντι τοὺς λόγους τῆς προφητείας τοῦ βιβλίου τούτου. (a)

(a) The following interpolation is inserted here : 18^a. *ἐάν τις ἐπιθῇ ἐπ' αὐτά, ἐπιθήσει ὁ θεὸς ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὰς πληγὰς τὰς γεγραμμένας ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τούτῳ.* 19. *καὶ ἐάν τις ἀφῇλῃ ἀπὸ τῶν λόγων τοῦ βιβλίου τῆς προφητείας ταύτης, ἀφελεί ὁ θεὸς τὸ μέρος αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς καὶ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τῆς ἁγίας, τῶν γεγραμμένων ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τούτῳ.* See vol. ii. 222-224.

sa : > 025. 046. 17 a[fore omni | θεος] + omnipotens vg^a | των πνευματων AN 025. 046. 17 (- 175. 205) Pr vg^l. 5. v s¹ arm⁴ bo sa : τω πνευματι (του πνευματος s² arm⁴ : το πνευμα eth) gig vg^d s² arm⁴ eth : των αγιων 175. 205 (arm^a) : omnipotens vg^a : > 1. 2036. 2037. 2038 | των προφητων] προφητων 205 : τ. αγιων 1. 250. 2018. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2067 : τ. αγιων προφ. s¹ | απεστειλεν] + με K^{*} 452. 467. 506. 680. 2021 s² : αποστέλλει s¹ | αυτου¹] + δια μεσου του την οπτασιαν ευρακοτοσ Ιωαννου 35^{*} | δειξαι τ. δ. αυτου] διδασθαι 1849 : > 18. 325^{*}. 337. 386. 456. 632^{*}. 2004 |

7. και¹ AN 046. 17 (- 35. 175. 205. 617. 1934). 2037 al^β gig vg s : > 1. 35. 175. 205. 250. 617. 1934. 1957. 2018. 2020. 2036. 2038. 2067 Pr arm bo sa | ερχομαι] ερχονται K^o : ερχεται 181 arm¹ | ταχυ] εν ταχει 181 s¹ arm⁴ : + λεγει κυριοσ 2050 | τ. προφ.] + ταυτησ bo sa : tr after βιβλιου gig : > arm¹ | τ. βιβλ. τουτου > arm^a |.

18. ver 18, 19 > 181 | μαρτυρω (pr η K) AN 046. 17 (- 175. 617. 1934). 2037. 2038. 2067 al^β | μαρτυρομαι 175. 242. 250. 424. 617. 1934. 2016. 2018 | εγω] ergo Tyc : + Ιωαννης 2050 Pr | τω¹ > 35. 110. 468. 1957. 2023. 2036. 2038. 2041. 2067 | παντι τω ακουοντι] omnes qui audiunt Pr | τουσ λογουσ] τον λογον Tyc s¹ arm¹. a [τ. προφ.] + ταυτησ bo sa : > arm⁴ eth | εαν τισ] pr οτι bo sa | επιθη] επιθησει K 2036. 2037 arm | επ αυτα επιθησει > K^{*} | επ αυτα 522. 2037 : ad eam Tyc (arm^a) eth | επιθησει (-εται 1957. 2018. 2020) AN^o 046. 175. 205. 250. 1957. 2018. 2020. 2037. 2038. 2050 al^β Pr vg s arm bo sa eth : επιθησαι 051. 17 (- 175. 205. 1934. 2020. 2050). 42. 110. 336. 498. 522. 2023. 2041 al Tyc gig | επ αυτον] > A^{*} : επ (> 2037) αυτω A^{**} 61. 2036. 2037. 2050 : επ αυτα (αυτουσ arm⁴) arm⁴ bo sa | ο θεος επ αυτον (αυτω) A^{**} (late cursive hand) 046. 17 (- 35. 175. 205. 617. 1934) al^β Pr gig vg s² (bo sa) eth : επ αυτον (αυτω) ο θεος K 35. 61. 175. 205. 218. 242. 250. 432. 617. 1934. 1957. 2017. 2023. 2036. 2038. 2041. 2050. 2067 Tyc s¹ | πληγασ AN 17 (- 35. 175. 205. 617. 1934) al^β Tyc Pr gig vg s arm⁴ bo sa eth : pr επτα 046. 051. 35. 175. 205. 218. 242. 250. 432. 617. 1934. 1957. 2016. 2017. 2023. 2037. 2038. 2041. 2067 arm^a |.

19. και¹ > 205 | εαν] αν K | αφελη] αφελεται 046 : αφελαι

16. ἐγὼ Ἰησοῦς ἐπέμψα τὸν ἄγγελόν μου μαρτυρῆσαι ὑμῖν ταῦτα
ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις,

ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ ρίζα καὶ τὸ γένος Δαυιδ,
ὁ ἄσπληρ ὁ λαμπρὸς καὶ ὁ πρωινός.

13. ἐγὼ τὸ Ἀλφα καὶ τὸ Ὡ,
ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος,
ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ τὸ τέλος.

2050 : contempserit Tyc | απο τ. λογ. . . . ταυτησ > Pr arm⁴ |
απο τ. λογ.] τον λογον 2050 : + τουτων κ | του βιβλ.] + τουτου bo :
> Tyc arm¹ | τ. προφ. placed after βιβλιου Ακ 046. 17 (- 386.
456) al^{pl} vg s arm⁴ bo : tr before τ. βιβλιου 201. 368. 456. 582.
1948. 2014. 2025. 2028. 2029. 2033. 2034. 2036. 2037. 2042 :
> gig eth | ταυτησ] τουτου 201. 368. 386. 456. 582. 1948. 2014.
2025. 2028. 2029. 2033. 2034. 2036. 2037. 2042 | αφελει Ακ 046.
175. 205. 250. 617. 1934. 2037. 2038. 2050 al^{mn} Tyc Pr gig vg s
arm bo eth : αφελαι (αφελαι 325. 620) 17 (- 205. 175. 617. 1934.
2050). 42. 82. 110. 241. 1957. 2018. 2023. 2041. 2067 al^p | ο
θεος] dominus Pr | του² > 456 | απο τ. ξυλου] απο τ. βιβλιου
2067 Pr vg^t v bo : pr de libro vitae et vg^d | εκ > Α 60. 2020 bo |
τ. πολεωσ] των πολειων s¹ | τησ αγιασ] των αγιων s¹ arm¹ a : + και
εκ gig vg | των γεγραμ.] των εγγεγραμ. 2018 : τησ γεγραμμενης Tyc
Pr | εν] επι bo : > 2050 |.

16. ὑμιν] pr εν s¹ : > gig arm¹ | ταυτα > 2050 Pr | εν Α 94.
250. 469. 582. 699^{**}. 2014. 2020. 2034. 2036. 2037 Tyc gig vg
arm¹ a bo sa : επι κ 046. 17 (- 175. 205. 617. 632^{**}. 1934. 2020)
al^{pl} s eth : > 051. 1. 91. 175. 181. 205. 241. 242. 617. 632^{**}.
1934. 2016. 2038. 2067 Pr (arm^a) | τ. εκκλησιαισ] ecclesia Tyc :
septem ecclesiis Pr : pr πασαις bo | κ. το γενοσ] tr after Δαυιδ
386 | το γενοσ] origo Pr | Δαυιδ] pr τον 1. 104 al : + και ο λογοσ
2050 : + και ο λαοσ αυτου s¹ : "of Adam" arm¹ | ο¹] pr και 051.
35. 104. 205. 250. 2018. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2050 s¹ arm
bo sa : pr ωσ s² | ο λαμπροσ και > 2018 bo arm¹ | ο² > 18 | και²
Α 205 gig vg : > κ 046. 17 (- 205) al^{mn} Tyc Pr s arm eth |
ο² > 205 | πρωινος] προινος Α 1957. 2038 : πρωτοσ arm⁴ |
λαμπροσ . . . πρωινος Ακ 046. 17 (- 175. 617. 1934. 2050) al^{pl}
Tyc Pr gig vg s² arm⁴ a eth : ~ 91. 141. 175. 218. 242. 250. 617.
1934. 2017. 2050 s¹ |.

13. εγω] + εμι gig vg^d v arm | το αλφα Ακ 17 (- 35. 205.
2020). 250 al^{pl} gig bo arm⁴ a : το Α 046. 35. 205. 2020. 2037.
2038. 2067 Tyc Pr vg | και¹] + εγω s¹ | ο πρωτοσ κ. ο (> 2041)
εσχατοσ κ 046. 17 (- 2050) al^{mn} omn : πρωτοσ κ. εσχατοσ Α 104.
110. 2014 arm⁽⁴⁾ a : tr after τελοσ 1. 35. 175. 205. 242. 617.
1934. 1957. 2016. 2017. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2067 al arm⁴ :
> 2050 arm¹ bo | η αρχη κ. το τελοσ Ακ 046. 17 (- 35. 175.

12. ἰδοὺ ἔρχομαι ταχύ,
καὶ ὁ μισθός μου μετ' ἐμοῦ,
ἀποδοῦναι ἑκάστῳ ὡς τὸ ἔργον † ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ †. (a)

10. καὶ λέγει μοι Μὴ σφραγίσῃς τοὺς λόγους τῆς προφητείας
τοῦ βιβλίου τούτου, ὁ καιρὸς γὰρ ἐγγύς ἐστιν. (b)

(a) This order is against our author's use and is probably due to the editor. See Gram. in Introd. to vol. i. Read αὐτοῦ ἐστιν.

(b) The following verse is removed from the text as an interpolation; see vol. ii. 221-222:

11. ὁ δίκων ἀδικήσάτω ἐτι,
καὶ ὁ ρυπαρὸς ρυπαρθῆτω ἐτι,
καὶ ὁ δίκαιος δικαιοσύνην ποιησάτω ἐτι,
καὶ ὁ ἅγιος ἁγιασθήτω ἐτι.

205. 617. 1934). 250 al¹ | ἀρχὴ κ. τέλος 1. 35. 175. 205. 617.
1934. 2037. 2038. 2067 al arm | τέλος] + λέγει ὁ κυριος ὁ θεος
ὁ παντοκράτωρ arm¹ |.

12. ἰδοὺ] pr kai 1. 2038. 2067 Tyc eth | ταχύ] + μακαριος ὁ
τηρων τους λογουσ του βιβλιου τουτου 104 | και² > bo | αποδοῦναι]
αποδοθῆναι κ*: και (> bo) αποδωσω s¹ bo | ωσ . . . αυτου] κατα
τα εργα (το εργον s¹ sa eth) αυτου (αυτων gig) 2036 Pr Tyc gig vg
s¹ arm bo sa eth | το > 325 | ἐστιν AN 205. 2014. 2020. 2038 s²:
ἐσται 046. 17 (- 205. 2020). 1. 42. 61. 201. 250. 429. 498. 522.
1957. 2018. 2023. 2037. 2038. 2041. 2050. 2067 al¹ | ἐστιν (ἐσται)
αυτου (αυτω 2050) AN 046. 17 (- 35. 175. 205. 617. 1934. 2020).
2014 al¹ : ~ 1. 35. 175. 205. 250. 617. 1934. 2020. 2037. 2038.
2067 al^p |.

10. κ. λέγει . . . τουτου > gig | λεγ. μοι > eth | λεγει] ειπεν
Tyc Cyp s bo | μοι] + angelus Tyc | σφραγισῃσ] σφραγισεισ
205 | λογουσ] + τουτουσ κ* (del first hand) | προφ.] + ταυτησ bo |
τ. βιβλ. > Tyc arm¹ | τουτου] eius Tyc : ταυτησ arm¹ | ὁ καιρος
γαρ] οτι ὁ καιρος 1. 35. 205. 1957. 2023. 2038 Pr | γαρ placed
after καιρος AN 046. 17 (- 35. 205. 620. 1934. 2050). 250 al¹
Tyc gig vg s arm bo sa : tr before καιρος 82. 94. 141. 2036.
2037. 2050 : > 91. 242. 336. 517. 620. 1918. 1934. 2032 |.

11. ὁ ἀδικων] pr kai 424. 2018. 2032 Pr s¹ eth | ὁ ἀδικ.
ἀδικήσάτω ἐτι] hii qui perseverant nocere noceant Pr : qui
perseveraverit nocere noceat adhuc Tyc^b (qui iniustus est iniusta
faciat adhuc Tyc^a) | ἐτι¹ 2. 3. 4 > arm¹. * | και (> bo) ὁ ρυπ. ρυπ.
ἐτι (> arm bo) κ 046. 17 (- 2050). 2037. 2038. 2067 al¹ Tyc
Pr gig vg s arm bo sa : > A 1. 218. 250. 498. 2014. 2018. 2032.
2050 | ὁ ρυπαροσ] qui in sordibus est Tyc^b Pr Cyp gig vg |
ρυπαρθῆτω κ 94. 2017 : ρυπαρευθῆτω 046. 17 (- 205. 2050). 2037.
2038. 2067 al¹ : ρυπαρωθῆτω 205 : sordescat Tyc Pr Cyp vg |
ἐτι² 3. 4 > arm⁴ bo eth | δικαιοσύνην ποιησάτω ἐτι AN 046. 17
(- 2020) al¹ gig vg s : iustiora faciat (iusta faciat adhuc Tyc^a)

8. Κἀγὼ Ἰωάννης ὁ ἀκούων καὶ βλέπων ταῦτα. καὶ ὅτε ἤκουσα καὶ ἱβλεπον, ἔπεσα προσκυνῆσαι ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ποδῶν τοῦ ἀγγέλου τοῦ δεικνύοντός μοι ταῦτα. 9. καὶ λέγει μοι Ὁρα μὴ συνδουλόσ σου εἰμι καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν σου τῶν προφητῶν καὶ τῶν τηρούντων τοὺς λόγους τοῦ βιβλίου τούτου· τῷ θεῷ προσκύνησον.

20. Ἀγέει ὁ μαρτυρῶν ταῦτα Ναί· ἔρχομαι ταχύ. Ἀμήν· ἔρχου κύριε Ἰησοῦ.

Tyc^b Pr Cyp : δικαιωθῆτω ἐτι (> arm bo eth) 2020. 2036 arm¹-a (bo) eth | κ. ο. αγ. αγ. ἐτι] similiter et sanctus sanctiora Tyc Pr Cyp : > 61. 2036. 2037 |.

8. καγω] καὶ εγω 1. 35. 175. 205. 250. 617. 1934. 2037. 2038 al : ὅτι εγω arm¹ : εγω s¹ bo sa | Ἰωαννησ] pr ο 205 | ο > 2020. 2024 | ακουων κ. βλέπ. ταυτα] βλέπ. ταυτα κ. ακουων 1 al | ακουων κ. βλέπων A 046. 17 (- 35. 175. 205. 617. 1934). 2067 al^{pl} gig vg s² arm : ~ κ 35. 175. 205. 218. 242. 250. 617. 1934. 2016. 2017. 2036. 2037. 2038 Pr s¹ bo sa eth | βλέπων] ο βλέπ. bo sa eth | ταυτα] αυτα 18. 2004 : + μαρτυρω 2050 | καὶ³ > 1934 | ηκουσα κ. ἐβλεπον] ἐβλεψα κ. ηκουσα s¹ arm¹ | ἐβλεπον A . ἐβλεψα κ 1. 35. 175. 242. 250. 617. 1934. 1957. 2016. 2017. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2041. 2050. 2067 al : ειδον 201. 336. 386. 456. 522. 2018. 2020 : οτε ειδον (ιδων 046 : ιδον 61. 104. 110). 046. 18. 205. 325. 337. 620. 632. 1849. 2004 al^{pl} : + ταυτα bo eth | επεσα AN 1. 336. 429. 2018. 2020. 2032. 2038. 2050 : επεσον 046. 17 (- 2020. 2050). 250. 2037. 2067 : > eth | προσκυνησαι] καὶ (> eth) προσεκυνησα arm eth : > bo sa | εμπροσθεν των] προ A | δεικνυντοσ (διγν- A) A 046. 17 (- 35. 325. 456. 620. 1934. 2020). 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al^{pl} : δεικνυντοσ (δικν- κ) κ 35. 60. 82. 91. 104. 325. 456. 498. 506. 517. 620. 1934. 2020. 2023. 2024. 2041 al |.

9. λεγει] ειπεν vg^d s bo | μοι > 205. 325. 2050 | ορα μη] + ποιησῃσ 2017 Pr gig vg | συνδουλοσ] pr οτι Pr | εἰμι] + εγω 175. 617. 1934 bo sa eth | καὶ³ AN 046. 17 (- 35. 175. 205. 386. 617. 1934). 250. 2037 al^{pl} gig vg s arm⁴ bo sa : > 1. 35. 60. 91. 175. 181. 201. 205. 241. 242. 386. 432. 617. 1934. 1957. 2016. 2017*. 2023. 2038. 2041. 2067 Pr | τ. λογουσ] + τῃσ προφητειασ 2020 Pr arm^a : pr τουτουσ s¹ | του βιβλ. τουτου] τουτουσ 2050 | τ. θεω προσκυνησον] magis Deum adora Pr : > gig |.

20. λεγει] + ο θεος 2050 | ο > s¹ | ταυτα] + ειναι κ* arm⁴ | ναι > Pr gig arm^a | αμην > κ 2050 Tyc Pr gig s¹ arm⁴ | ερχου AN 046. 175. 205. 250. 617. 1934. 2038 al^p gig vg s arm⁴ bo sa eth : pr ναι (καὶ 104). 051. 17 (- 175. 205. 617. 1934). 1957. 2018. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2067 al^{pl} Pr | κυριε] + ημων bo | ιησου AN* 046. 18. 35. 250. 325. 620. 632. 1849. 2004 al^{pl} vg ssa : + χριστε κ* 17 (- 18. 35. 325. 620. 632. 1849. 2004). 42. 91. 201. 242. 2016. 2017. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2067 Pr arm⁴. (ω) bo : > gig |.

21. ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἀγίων. Ἀμήν.

21. ver. 21 > Pr | ἡ χαρ. τ. κ. ἰησου > bo | τ. κ. Ἰησου] του
χριστου 175. 181. 617. 1934. 2016. 2017. 2023 | κυριου ΑΚ 046.
17 (-149. 175. 205. 468. 617. 1934). 250. 2037. 2038 al^{pl} arm^a
sa : + ἡμων 149. 205. 468. 2067 al^p gig vg s arm^t eth | ἰησου ΑΚ
506 sa : + χριστου 046. 17 al^{pl} gig vg s arm eth | μετὰ (επι arm^a
bo) παντων των (> arm) αγιων (+ αυτου s¹) 046. 051. 17 (-2050).
250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al s arm^t (bo) sa : μετὰ παντων Α
vg^a o. d. e. h : μετὰ παντων υμων (ημων 2050) 2050 vg^t. v eth : μετὰ
(επι gig) των αγιων K gig : + εις τον αιωνα των αιωνων bo | αμην
K 046. 17. 250. 2067 al^{pl} vg s arm bo sa eth : > Α 2014. 2025^b.
2026. 2031. 2034 2036. 2037. 2038 gig |.

Subscription.—αποκαλυψις (-εισ K) Ιωαννου ΑΚ 1854 : αποκα-
λυψις του αγιου Ιωαννου 2004 : αποκαλυψις του αγιου ιωαννου του
θεολογου (+ και ευαγγελιστου 1849) 325. 1849 : τελος της αποκα-
λυψεως του αγιου ιωαννου του ευαγγελιστου 82 : τελος της του
αγιου ιωαννου του θεολογου θειας αποκαλυψεως 522 : τελος του
αποκαλυψεως του αγιου αποστολου και ευαγγελιστου ιωαννου 468 :
> 046. 18. 35. 104. 149. 175. 205. 429. 456. 617. 620. 632.
1934. 2017. 2020. 2023. 2050 al.

IV. ENGLISH TRANSLATION.

CHAPTER I.

1-3. THE REVELATION WHICH GOD GAVE TO JESUS CHRIST TO BE MADE KNOWN TO HIS SERVANT JOHN, AND THE BEATITUDE PRONOUNCED ON THOSE WHO KEEP THE THINGS WRITTEN THEREIN.

The book
—its
source and
contents,
1-2

1. The revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave unto him, to show unto his servants—even the things which must shortly come to pass; and (which) he sent and signified by his angel unto his servant John; 2. Who bare witness of the word of God, and of the testimony of Jesus Christ—(even) of all things which he saw.

The first
beatitude
for those
who keep
the things
written
therein

3. Blessed ¹ (is) he that readeth,
And they that hear the words of the prophecy,
And keep the things that are written therein :
For the time (is) at hand.

4-7. JOHN'S GREETING AND BENEDICTION TO THE SEVEN CHURCHES.

John's
greeting to
the Seven
Churches

4. John to the Seven Churches that are in Asia—

Grace unto you and peace, from him which is, and which was, and which is to come,²

Grace and
peace from
God and
from Jesus
Christ

5. And from Jesus Christ, the faithful witness,
The firstborn of the dead, and the ruler of the kings of the earth.³

Sovereign
of the
dead and
Ruler of
the living

Unto him that loveth us and loosed us from our sins by his blood,

¹ On the seven beatitudes in this book, see vol. ii. 49.

² Here John's editor interpolates the following words: "And from the seven spirits which are before his throne"; see vol. i. 9, 11-12.

³ The last two phrases = the Sovereign of the dead, the Ruler of the living. The primary meaning of *πρωτότοκος*, *i.e.* "firstborn," is wholly superseded by its secondary one of "chief," "foremost," "sovereign." See note on i. 5 (vol. i. 14).

6. And hath made¹ us to be a kingdom, priests unto his God and Father—
 Unto him be the glory and the dominion for ever and ever. Amen. Ascription
of praise
to Him as
the
Redeemer
7. Behold he cometh with the clouds;
 And every eye shall see him, and they that pierced him.² His
Advent
 And all the tribes of the earth shall wail because of him.³
 Even so. Amen.⁴

9-20. JOHN'S CALL AND COMMISSION.

(His vision of the Son of Man, who is described in terms that recur in the Letters to the first six of the Seven Churches.)

¹ Not "and he hath made us"; for we have here a Hebrew idiom which often recurs in our text; see vol. i. 14-15.

² In this translation I generally use "*that*" to "introduce a statement that is essential to the complete meaning of the antecedent," and "*who*" to "introduce a non-essential statement," as Abbott, *Gr.* 218, footnote, recommends, this being the usage generally adopted by Shakespeare and Addison.

³ Here ἐπ' αὐτῶν requires this rendering. In Zech xii. 10, on the other hand, the same words mean, "they shall wail for him." We could also render "wail in regard to him": cf. John xiii. 28.

⁴ Here all the authorities add: 8. "I am the Alpha and the Omega, saith the Lord God, which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty." This verse is unquestionably interpolated, though I did not recognize this fact when writing my Commentary. This is proved by the evidence of (a) the context (or thought), and (b) that of the text (or grammar). (a) Contextual grounds. These words imply that John heard them in a vision; for otherwise he could not have heard them. But this would necessitate a foregoing statement, that John had fallen into a visionary condition or trance, such a statement as we find in i. 10 ("I was in the spirit") before his vision of the Son of Man, or his very frequent "I saw" or "I saw, and behold"; see vol. i. 106 sq. John does not fall into a trance till i. 10. If, then, i. 8 is original, the text is fragmentary. But the words cannot come from John's hand at all, as we see from (b). (b) Textual or grammatical grounds. John never dis-connects ὁ θεός ("God") and ὁ παντοκράτωρ ("Almighty"), for the very good reason that ὁ παντοκράτωρ represents a genitive in the Hebrew dependent on θεός. That is, ὁ θεός ὁ παντοκράτωρ is a stock rendering of אלהי הגבול ("God of hosts"); see vol. i. 20. Only an ignorant scribe could have separated the words. For John's use of this phrase, see iv. 8, xi. 17, xv. 3, xvi. 7, 14, xix. 6, 15, xxi. 22. The recognition of this fact is very important, seeing that not only has no scholar recognized the misuse of this phrase in i. 8, but none has recognized that the text in xix. 6, ὁ θεός [ἡμῶν] ὁ παντοκράτωρ (α 025. α46 Pr gig vgr s²), is equally impossible with that in i. 8. Here such great authorities as A 2040 s¹ arm² vgr bo eth Cyp should at all events have led scholars with WH to bracket ἡμῶν as an intrusion, if not as impossible. In the LXX and in all works written by Jews in Hebrew or in Greek, nothing can intervene between ὁ θεός (or κύριος) and ὁ παντοκράτωρ in this phrase.

Hence i. 8 must be rejected. By its removal the right order of thought is restored. First in i. 4-7 comes John's greeting to the churches, and next in 9-20 his account of his call and commission by Christ. i. 8 is thus impossible in itself linguistically in our author, unintelligible in its present position, and intolerable as creating a breach between i. 4-7 and 9-20.

John bid-
den to
write
down his
visions and
testimony
and send
them to
the
Seven
Churches,
9-11

9. I John, your brother and companion in the tribulation and kingdom and endurance (which is) in Jesus, was in the isle which is called Patmos, because of the word of God and the testimony of Jesus. 10. I was in the Spirit on the Lord's day, and I heard a great voice behind me, as of a trumpet, saying :

11. What thou seest, write in a book,
And send it to the seven churches ;
Unto Ephesus, and unto Smyrna, and unto Pergamum,
And unto Thyatira, and unto Sardis, and unto Phila-
delphia, and unto Laodicea.

12. And I turned to see the voice that spake with me.

Vision of
the Son of
man amid
the seven
candle-
sticks,
13-19

And having turned, I saw seven golden candlesticks ;
13. And in the midst of the candlesticks One like unto a son
of man,
Clothed with a garment down to the foot,
And girt about the breasts with a golden girdle.

14. And his head and his hair were white as white wool,¹
And his eyes were as a flame of fire,

15. And his feet like unto burnished brass, as when refined
in a furnace,
And his voice as the voice of many waters.

16. And he had in his right hand seven stars :
And out of his mouth went a sharp two-edged sword :
And his countenance was as the sun shining² in his
strength.

17. And when I saw him, I fell at his feet as dead. And he
laid his right hand upon me, saying,

Fear not ; I am the first and the last :

18. And he that liveth,³ and was dead :

And, behold, I am alive for evermore ;
And have the keys of death and Hades.

19. Write therefore the things which thou hast seen,
And the things which are,
And the things which shall be hereafter.

¹ The text adds what was originally a marginal gloss, "as snow" ; see vol. i. 28.

² Not "shineth," which is neither good English nor a rendering of the text. The text here contains a Hebrew idiom ; see vol. i. p. 31.

³ This clause belongs to this line, not to the preceding ; see vol. i. 15, 31.

20. As for the mystery of the seven stars which thou sawest in my right hand and the seven golden candlesticks—the seven stars are the angels of the seven churches; and the candlesticks are the seven¹ churches.

The seven candlesticks are the Seven Churches, and the stars are the ideals they are to fulfil

CHAPTERS II.-III.

LETTERS TO THE SEVEN CHURCHES.

(To the angels of the Churches, *i.e.* to the Churches in their potential and ideal character, John addresses the seven following letters, which come from Jesus Himself, through whom alone their ideals can be realized; for He holds them in His right hand. These Churches, which are very imperfect witnesses of God on earth, are menaced with world-wide tribulation. These Letters were written by John, probably in the time of Vespasian, and edited afresh for incorporation in the Apocalypse. See vol. i. 43-47.)

CHAPTER II.

II. 1-7. (Letter to the Church in Ephesus, which is praised for rejecting false teaching, but blamed for forsaking its first love.)

1. To the angel of the Church in Ephesus write:

These things saith he that holdeth the seven stars in his right hand,
That walketh in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks:

2. I know thy works, even thy toil and endurance, And that thou canst not bear evil men;

But hast tried them which say they are apostles and are not,²
And hast found them false.

Church of Ephesus praised for its rejection of false teachers and its

¹ Nearly all the authorities read *ai λυχίας αι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ εἰς*, endurance, The position of the numeral without the article in the predicate here is parallel to that of *ἐν τῇ* and *δέκα* in xvii. 9, 12, xxi. 21. But here we require the article in the predicate, since the predicate is co-extensive with the subject, and since "*the seven churches*" (*τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν*) have just been mentioned. Two cursives Pr ff and arm⁴ rightly omit the second *ἐν τῇ*.

² Not "and they are not"; for we have a Hebraism here; see note on 5-6, vol. i. 14.

3. And thou hast endurance,
And didst bear for my name's sake,
And hast not grown weary.

But
blamed
for forsak-
ing its first
love

4. But I have (this) against thee, that thou hast left thy first love.

5. Remember therefore from whence thou hast fallen,
And repent and do the first works ;
Or else I will come unto thee,
And remove thy candlestick out of its place.¹

6. But this thou hast, that thou hatest the works of the Nicolaitans, which I also hate.

7. He that hath an ear, let him hear
What the Spirit saith unto the Churches :

The victor
will eat of
the tree of
life

To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the tree of life,
which is in the Paradise of God.

8-11. (Letter to the Church in Smyrna, which is praised for its loyalty under tribulation and impoverishment, and forewarned against a still worse though shortlived persecution.)

Church in
Smyrna
praised for
its loyalty
under
tribula-
tion, and
fore-
warned
of coming
but short-
lived
persecu-
tion, 8-10

8. And to the angel of the Church in Smyrna write :

These things saith the first and the last
Which was dead, and is alive (again) :

9. I know thy tribulation and poverty,
But thou art rich ;
And the blasphemy of certain of those² which say they
are Jews and are not,³
But are a synagogue of Satan.

10. Fear not the things which thou art about to suffer :
Behold, the devil is about to cast some of you into
prison,
That ye may be tempted, and have tribulation for ten
days.

Be thou faithful unto death,
And I will give thee the crown of life.

¹ A gloss adds, "except thou repent" ; see vol. i. p. 51.

² *ἐκ τῶν λεγόντων* is partitive. Our author does not charge with blasphemy all who claim to be Jews. The limitation is defined further in "and are not, but are a synagogue of Satan." But the *ἐκ* here may be only a sign of the genitive ; see my Grammar in the Introd. to vol. i. under *ἐκ*.

³ Not "and they are not" ; see note on ver. 2.

11. He that hath an ear, let him hear
 What the Spirit saith unto the Churches :
 He that overcometh shall not be hurt by the second death.

The victor
 will be
 beyond
 the reach
 of death

12-17. (Letter to the Church in Pergamum.)

12. And to the angel of the Church in Pergamum write :
 These things saith he that hath the two-edged the sharp sword :

Church in
 Pergamum
 praised for
 its stead-
 fastness
 and loyalty
 in the days
 of persecu-
 tion, 12-13

13. I know where thou dwellest,
 (Even) where Satan's throne is :
 And thou holdest fast my name,
 And didst not deny (thy) faith in me,
 Even in the days of Antipas, my faithful witness,¹
 Who was slain among you,
 Where Satan dwelleth.

14. But I have a few things against thee,
 Because thou hast there some who hold the teaching of
 Balaam,
 Who taught Balak to cast a stumbling-block before the
 children of Israel,
 To eat things sacrificed to idols, and to commit fornication.

But
 blamed for
 suffering
 men cor-
 rupt in
 doctrine
 and life to
 exist in
 their
 midst,
 14-16

15. Thus² thou too in like manner hast some who hold the
 teaching of the Nicolaitans.

16. Repent, therefore,
 Or else I will come unto thee quickly,
 And I will make war against them with the sword of my mouth.

The victor
 will be
 endowed
 with
 enriched
 powers
 and
 personality

17. He that hath an ear, let him hear
 What the Spirit saith unto the Churches.
 To him that overcometh I will give of the hidden manna,
 And I will give him a white stone,
 And upon the stone a new name³ written,
 Which none knoweth but he that receiveth it.

¹ AC read "my witness, my faithful one"; but I. 5, iii. 14 support the text adopted above.

² The "thus" is justified by the statement in 14, while the words "thou too in like manner" involve a comparison with the Church in Ephesus, ii. 3.

³ Though difficulties may attach to the various explanations of the "white stone," that of the new name is clear. The name stands for the man and all therein implied—his personality. For him that overcometh this personality is so transformed, developed and enriched that it is in effect a new personality, which none knoweth save God and the man himself.

18-20. (Letter to the Church in Thyatira.)

Church of
Thyatira
praised for
its growth
in things
spiritual,
18-19

18. And to the angel of the Church in Thyatira write :

These things saith the Son of God,
Whose eyes¹ are like a flame of fire,
And whose feet² are like unto burnished brass :

19. I know thy works—

(Even) thy love, and faith, and ministry, and endurance ;
And thy last works are more than the first.

20. But I have (this) against thee,

That thou sufferest the woman Jezebel, who calleth
herself a prophetess,
And teacheth³ and seduceth my servants,
To commit fornication, and to eat things sacrificed to
idols.

But
blamed for
suffering a
false
prophet-
ess in its
midst,
20-25

21. And I have given her time that she should repent :

But she hath refused to repent of her fornication.

22. Behold, I will cast her upon a bed of suffering,⁴

And those who commit adultery with her into great
tribulation ;⁵

23. But her children I will slay with pestilence :

And so⁶ all the churches shall know
That I am he that searcheth the reins and hearts,
And giveth⁷ to each one of you according to your works.

¹ Lit. "who has his eyes."

² Lit. "and his feet"; but the possessive pronoun is really a part of the relative in Hebrew. Thus the stanza would run in Hebrew :

כה אמר בן־האלהים
אשר עיניו כלהב ואש
וצלילתיו כנחשת קלל

³ Not "and she teacheth" ; for we have here a Hebrew idiom ; see vol. i. 14 sq.

⁴ See vol. i. p. 71. Here as in iii. 9, *ὅσού* with the present indic. is to be rendered by the future.

⁵ Text adds a gloss, "unless they repent of their works." These words are unnecessary. Moreover, *ἐὰν μὴ* with ind. (*μετανοήσουσιν*, AK: *μετανοήσωσιν* C 025. 046), is against John's usage. The punishments in 22^a b leave an opportunity for repentance but not the punishment in 23^a. The omission of 22^b restores the parallelism and makes this stanza a tristich as the two that follow.

⁶ Here *καὶ* has this meaning still more strongly than in Matt. v. 15, xxiii. 32 ; 1 John iii. 19, etc.

⁷ *ὁ δὲ ἀπαντῶν . . . καὶ δώσει*. We have here another instance of the same idiom as in i. 5^b-6 = *ואתן . . . רבחת*. Cp. Amos ix. 6 for a construction like that implied in the text. The judgments about to be executed in 22-23^a will

24. But to you I say, to the rest that are in Thyatira,
As many as have not this doctrine,
That know¹ not the deep things of Satan, as they call
(them)—
25. I cast upon you none other burden :
Only hold fast what ye have till I come.
26. And he that overcometh, even he² that keepeth my works unto the end—
To him will I give authority over the nations :
- 27^c. As I also have received from my Father,⁸
27. And he shall break⁴ them with a rod of iron ;
As the potter's vessels shall they be dashed to pieces :⁵
28. And I will give him the morning star.
29. He that hath an ear, let him hear
What the Spirit saith unto the Churches.
- The victor shall share in Christ's dominion over the nations, and receive the morning star, 26-28

cause all the Churches to know that it is Christ that is the Judge, and that He judgeth now. In fact it is from such experience that they connect the judgments in 22 with the conclusion in 23^d. The judgments are in accordance with the works. Both the sins and their punishments have become actually known to them. Hence there is no eschatological reference here to the final judgment, and accordingly *καὶ δώσω* must not be translated "and I will give," but according to the Hebrew idiom as rendered above. Here is another fact tending to prove that the Seven Letters were written at a much earlier date than the Book as a whole. The Letters insist more upon the present judgments of Providence, the Book as a whole on the final judgment.

¹ *Ἔγνωναι*. Timeless aorist to be translated as a perfect = "have recognised" = "know." See *Introd.* vol. i. *Gram.* § 4. iii.

² Or "and."

³ This line follows 26^b immediately, as the exactly parallel construction in iii. 21 shows.

⁴ Or "shatter" or "destroy"; see note in vol. i. p. 75 sq.

⁵ *συντριβεται* is to be taken as a Hebraism and rendered by the future; see vol. i. 77. *Tyc* (ut vas figuli comminuentur) *Pr vg* (sicut (tanquam) *vg*) *vas figuli confringentur*) (*s²⁷*) presuppose *συντριβήσονται* and the above translation. 2050 *gig* (*s¹* emended by Gwynn) = *καὶ συντριψεί αὐτοὺς ὡς τὰ σκεύη κτλ.* In any case the verb affects the *ἐθνη*, not the *σκεύη*.

συντριβονται (or *συντριβήσονται*) would have seemed more natural in our text, since *ἐθνη* is thrice preceded and twice followed by the plural verb in our author (xi. 18, xv. 4). But the sing. verb occasionally follows the neuter plural of various nouns in our author; see vol. i. *Gram.* § 8. ii. (*b*). If this seems unsatisfactory here, seeing that *ἐθνη* is referred to in the preceding clause by *αὐτοίς*, then we must regard *συντριβεται* as a slip of the writer or a primitive corruption for *συντριβονται* or *συντριβήσονται*.

CHAPTER III.

III. 1-6. (Letter to the Church in Sardis.)

The Church in Sardis blamed for its spiritual declension, and admonished to be watchful and repent, 1-3, xvi. 15

1. To the angel of the Church in Sardis write :

These things saith he that hath the seven Spirits of God,
And the seven stars :

I know thy works
That thou hast a name to live, but art dead.

2. Be watchful, and strengthen the things that remain, (but) which are ready to die :¹

For I have found no works of thine fulfilled before my God.²

3. Remember therefore how thou hast received and didst hear,
And keep (them), and repent.

XVI. 15. Behold, I come as a thief :

Blessed is he that watcheth, and keepeth his garments,
So that he may not walk naked,
And his shame be seen.³

Second Beatitude for those who keep their garments clean

III. 3°. If therefore thou dost not watch,
I will come as a thief,
And thou shalt not know
At what hour I shall come to thee.

Yet a few in Sardis are worthy

4. But thou hast a few names in Sardis
Which have not defiled their garments,
And they shall walk with me in white ;
For they are worthy.

The victor shall obtain a spiritual body, and have his name in the Book of life

5. He that overcometh shall thus be arrayed in white garments ;
And I will in no wise blot his name out of the book of life,
But I will confess his name before my Father,
And before his angels.

He that hath an ear let him hear
What the Spirit saith unto the Churches.

¹ The epistolary imperfect here rendered as a present.

² "Works of thine" (AC). This judgment is more sweeping than the reading of μ 025. 046— "thy works." Sardis has failed as a centre of spiritual power.

³ Lit. "they see his shame."

III. 7-13. (Letter to the Church in Philadelphia in which it is given unqualified approval for its fidelity and steadfastness, and promised the honour and privileges of the true Israel (9), and deliverance from the final demonic woes in the approaching worldwide tribulation (10-11). He that overcometh shall have an everlasting place in the spiritual Kingdom of God—even God's city, the New Jerusalem—and bear on his forehead God's name and Christ's own new name, 12.)

7. And to the angel of the Church in Philadelphia write :

These things saith he that is holy, he that is true,
He that hath the key of David,
That openeth and none closeth,¹
And closeth and none openeth :

8^b. Behold I have set before thee an open door,

8^c. Which none can shut.²

Church in
Phila-
delphia
praised for
its stead-
fastness
despite its
weakness,
7-8

8^a. I know thy works,
That thou hast a little power,
And yet thou hast kept my word
And hast not denied my name.

9. Behold, I will cause³ them of the synagogue of Satan
Who say that they are Jews and are not,
But do lie :
Behold, I will make them to come
And worship before thy feet,
And know that I have loved thee.

Promised
the powers
and privi-
leges of
the true
Israel

10. Because thou hast kept the word of my endurance,
I also will keep thee from the hour of tribulation,
Which is about to come upon the whole world,
To tempt them that dwell upon the earth.⁴

And de-
liverance
from the
woes that
are to try
the
faithless

¹ See vol. i. 86.

² 8^{b-c} form a parenthesis, if the MSS order is followed. But the MSS order of the text cannot be right. Hence 8^{b-c} are restored before 8^a. Thus in 7-10 there are four stanzas : the first and third of six lines each, and the second and fourth of four lines each.

³ Here *lō' dō' dō' =* לו' ידע, and indubitably refers to the future, and should be so translated (so rightly in AV.). This common Hebraism (see Gesenius, *Heb. Gram.*, transl. by Cowley, § 116p), where the participle = a future, is called *futurum instans*. Our author sometimes puts the present (indicative) (cf. ii. 22^a) after *lō' dō'*, where it is to be rendered as a future : also xvi. 15, xxii. 7, 12. In the last three cases the *ἐρχομαι* may be rendered as a present owing to the idea of futurity associated with the technical use of the verb. The same variation in the renderings of this idiom appears in the LXX.

⁴ The demonic temptations here referred to can only affect the unbelievers (*i.e.* "those that dwell upon the earth" ; see note on xi. 10 in vol. i. 289).

The victor
shall dwell
for ever in
God's city
and bear
His name
and
Christ's
new name

11. I come quickly ; hold fast what thou hast ;
Let none take thy crown.
12. He that overcometh—I will make him a pillar in the
temple of my God,
And he shall go out no more :
And I will write upon him the name of my God,
And the name of the city of my God,
The new Jerusalem which cometh down out of heaven
from my God,
And mine own new name.
13. He that hath an ear, let him hear
What the Spirit saith unto the Churches.

III. 14-22. (Letter to the Church in Laodicea.)

Church in
Laodicea
denounced
for its
self-com-
placency
and for its
spiritual
destitution
despite its
material
wealth and
intellectual
culture,
14-17

14. And to the angel of the Church in Laodicea write :
These things saith the Amen,
The faithful and true witness,
The beginning of the creation of God :
15. I know thy works
That thou art neither cold nor hot :
I would thou wert cold or hot.
16. So because thou art lukewarm,
And neither cold nor hot,
I will spew thee out of my mouth.
17. Because thou sayest, I am rich,
And have gotten riches, and have need of nothing ;
And knowest not that thou art (of all creatures) the
(most) wretched and miserable
And poor and blind and naked :
18. I counsel thee to buy of me gold refined by fire, that
thou mayest be rich ;
And white garments, that thou mayest clothe thyself,
And that the shame of thy nakedness be not made
manifest ;
And eyesalve to anoint thine eyes, that thou mayest see.
19. As many as I love, I reprove and chasten : be zealous
therefore, and repent.

Bidden to
seek the
true riches
and to re-
pent, 18-
19

20. Behold, I stand at the door and knock :
If any man hear my voice and open the door,
I will come in to him, and will sup with him,
And he with me.

Appeal to
the indi-
vidual
Laodicean

21. To him that overcometh, I will grant to sit with me on
my throne,
As I also have overcome, and sat down with my Father
on his throne.

The victor
shall share
in Christ's
glory, as
He in His
Father's

22. He that hath an ear, let him hear
What the Spirit saith unto the Churches.

CHAPTER IV.

THE VISION OF GOD THE CREATOR, FROM WHOM ARE ALL THINGS.

(With iv. comes an entire change of scene. The dramatic contrast could not be greater. In ii.-iii. we had a vivid description of the Churches, with the ideals they cherished, their faulty achievements, their not infrequent disloyalties, and their outlook darkened with the fear of universal martyrdom. But the moment we leave behind the restlessness and turmoil of earth, the moral shortcomings and apprehensions of the Churches in ii.-iii., we enter in iv. into an atmosphere of perfect assurance and peace, where neither the threatenings of the powers of evil nor the alarms of the faithful on earth can awake even a momentary misgiving in the heavenly hosts that serve and worship. And yet that the manifold needs and claims of the faithful on earth were the object of God's gracious purposes becomes clear and ever clearer as we advance.)

1. After these things I saw, and behold, a door was opened¹ in heaven, and the former voice,² which I had heard as of a trumpet speaking with me, said, Come up hither, and I will show thee the things which must come to pass hereafter. 2. Straightway I was in the spirit :³

Vision of
a throne
and of
Him that
sat there-
on, 2-3

And behold a throne was set in heaven,
And on the throne (was) one seated ;

¹ I have taken these participles as finite verbs, a construction occasionally occurring in our author and in Hebrew, and very frequently in Aramaic. If rendered as participles the sense is not so good : "Behold, a door opened in heaven, and the former voice, as of a trumpet speaking with me, saying."

² *i.e.* that in i. 10.

³ On the high probability that part of this chapter was written at an earlier date by our author and subsequently incorporated by him when he edited the complete work, see vol. i. 104 sq., § 3.

8. And he that sat was to look upon like a jasper stone and a sardius,
And there (was) a rainbow round about the throne, like an emerald to look upon.

The four
and twenty
Elders

4. And round about the throne (were) four and twenty thrones :
And on the thrones four and twenty elders sitting,
Clothed in white garments ;
And on their heads (were) crowns of gold.

The four
Cherubim,
6^b-8^b

5. And out of the throne proceeded lightnings and voices and thunders,
And seven lamps of fire were burning before the throne,¹
6. And before the throne there was as it were a sea of glass like unto crystal ;
And ² round about the throne (were) four living creatures,³
full of eyes before and behind.

7. And the first creature (was) like a lion,
And the second creature like a calf,
And the third creature had a face as of a man,
And the fourth creature (was) like a flying eagle.

The
Cherubim
praise God
as Holy,
Almighty,
and Ever-
lasting

8. And the four living creatures had each of them six wings,⁴
And they rest ⁵ not day and night, saying :
Holy, holy, holy (is) the Lord God Almighty,⁶
Which was, and which is, and which is to come.

¹ A gloss is added here : " which are the seven spirits of God." On the whole line see vol. i. 117.

² A disturbing gloss is added here : " in the midst of the throne and " ; see vol. i. 118.

³ *i.e.* Cherubim ; see vol. i. 119-123.

⁴ The following clause is here interpolated : " Around and within they are full of eyes " ; see vol. i. 125.

⁵ *Pr* *gig* and *vg*^{a, d} give " rested." See next note.

⁶ The rendering " Almighty " is probably right, but by no means certain. The Hebrew behind *παροκράτωρ* is in our author *מַלְאִכִּים* ; see Isa. vi. 3. See footnote on l. 7 above. The specific word in Greek for " Almighty " is *παντοδύναμος*, which is found in Wisd. vii. 23, xi. 17, xviii. 15. It is significant that, although *κρᾶειν* has in some instances approximately the meaning of " to be powerful," in the LXX (see Esth. i. 1 ; 1 Esdr. iv. 38, etc.), it never has this meaning in our author nor in the NT. The two words *παροκράτωρ*, *παντοδύναμος* are found side by side in the Liturgy of St. James ; see Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, II. i. 7. In the Apostles' Creed and generally in later times *omnipotens* is the equivalent of *παροκράτωρ*. The rendering " Lord God of Hosts " would be safe in any case.

9. And when the living creatures give¹ glory and honour
and thanks
To him that sitteth on the throne,
Who liveth for ever and ever,
10. The four and twenty elders fall¹ down before him that
sitteth on the throne,
And worship¹ him that liveth for ever and ever,
And cast their crowns before the throne, saying,
11. Worthy art thou our Lord and God,
To receive the honour and the glory and the power :
For thou didst create all things,
And because of thy will they were, and were created.²

The Elders
praise God
as the
Creator of
all things,
10-11

CHAPTER V.

THE VISION OF CHRIST THE REDEEMER, THROUGH WHOM ARE ALL THINGS.

(As in iv. we have the vision of God from whom are all things, in v. we have the vision of the Lamb, into whose hands the destinies of the world are committed, inasmuch as through His redeeming death He had won the right to carry God's purposes into effect. As in iv. the Elders and Cherubim worship God as the Creator, in v. the Cherubim, Elders, and angels worship Christ as the Redeemer, while the chapter closes in the adoration of God and Christ by all.)

1. And I saw upon the right hand of him that sat on the throne a book written within and on the back, sealed

Vision of
the sealed
book

¹ These verbs are futures and not pasts in the Greek. But the context cannot admit of futures. We have here *no prediction of what shall be under certain circumstances*, but (a) either *an account of what the Seer saw in a vision in the past*—in such a case we should have pasts, and so *Pr vga d. v arm¹* render—(b) or *a statement of the regular order of divine worship in heaven*. Since the praise of the Elders follows immediately on that of the Cherubim, the context seems to favour (b). Hence the futures are to be rendered as presents. The Greek futures represent Hebrew imperfects in the mind of our author *used in a frequentative sense*—a common usage in Hebrew ; see vol. i. *Gram.* § 10. ii. (4). But (a) may be right, and the context refer simply to what the Seer saw in his vision. Then the futures would have to be rendered as pasts, as in the Latin and Armenian Versions mentioned above. The Hebrew imperfects in the mind of our author would explain this anomaly also. In careful translations like the LXX the uncertainty of the translators as to whether the Hebrew imperfect should be rendered by the Greek present, future, or past imperfect is constantly manifest, each of these renderings being possible.

² Lit. "were" (*ἦσαν*—so A omitting rest of line). Other MSS and Versions : "were and were created."

save the
Lamb,
whom the
Seer now
beholds

Adoration
of the
Lamb by
the
Cherubim,
Elders,
and count-
less hosts
of angels,
8-12

2. with seven seals. And I saw a strong angel proclaiming with a loud voice, Who is worthy to open the book, and
3. to loose the seals thereof? And no one in heaven, or on earth, or under the earth was able to open the book, or to
4. look thereon. And I wept much, because no one was
5. found worthy to open the book, or to look thereon. And one of the Elders saith unto me, Weep not: Behold the Lion that is of the tribe of Judah, the Root of David, hath
6. prevailed to open the book and its seven seals. And I saw between the throne and the four living creatures and the elders¹ a Lamb standing as though it had been slain, having seven horns and seven eyes, which are the seven
7. spirits of God sent out into all the earth. And he came and took² (it) out of the right hand of him that sat on the throne. And when he had taken the book, the four living creatures and the four and twenty elders fell
9. down before the Lamb, having each of them a harp and golden bowls full of incense.³ And they sang⁴ a new song, saying,
 Worthy art thou to take the book,
 And to open the seals thereof;
 For thou wast slain,
 And hast redeemed unto God with thy blood
 Men of every tribe, and tongue, and people, and nation,
10. And hast made them unto our God a kingdom and priests,
 And they reign⁵ upon the earth.
11. And I saw, and heard the voice of many angels round about the throne;⁶ and the number of them was ten thousand times ten thousand and thousands of thousands,
12. saying, with a loud voice:
 Worthy is the Lamb that hath been slain
 To receive the power, and riches, and wisdom,
 And might, and honour, and glory, and blessing.

¹ Here the Lamb stands between the inner circle of the Cherubim and the outer circle of the Elders. This implies a Hebraism in the text. See vol. i. 140. Otherwise render: "in the midst of the throne and the four living creatures and in the midst of the elders."

² The perfect is here an aorist perfect: the RV. renders "taketh"; cf. viii. 5. See *Introd.* vol. i. *Gram.* § 4. v.

³ The MSS add a gloss here: "which are the prayers of the saints." The prayers and the incense were not identical; see vol. i. 145.

⁴ The text has "sing"; but this can represent the Hebrew imperfect in our author's mind.

⁵ In the vision the Seer sees the saints already reigning in the Millennial Kingdom. Otherwise the verb is to be given a future sense as a Hebraism.

⁶ The MSS add a gloss here: "And the living creatures and the elders." See vol. i. 148.

13-14. (These two verses form the proper close to iv.-v., for they give the grand finale pronounced by all creation in praise of both God and the Lamb—the themes of iv. and v. 1-12.)

13. And every created thing which is in heaven, and on the earth, and under the earth, and on the sea, and all things that are therein, heard I, saying, All crea-
tion unites
in praising
God and
the Lamb,
13-14

Unto him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb,
Be the blessing, and the honour, and the glory,
And the power, for ever and ever.

14. And the four living creatures said
Amen.

And the elders fell down and worshipped.

CHAPTER VI.

THE JUDGMENT OF THE WORLD BEGINS WITH THE OPENING OF THE SEALS BY CHRIST.

(Christ opens seal after seal of the Seven-sealed Book, and as they are successively opened a series of destructive agencies are let loose—war, international strife, famine, pestilence, the prayers of the martyrs which have become instruments of divine wrath (see footnote 2, p. 403), a mighty earthquake, cataclysms affecting heaven and earth. Through these God's judgments on evil are brought to pass. But the cosmic troubles are still future, and even when fulfilled are partial and not the immediate heralds of the end, as the dwellers on the earth apprehended (see vol. i. 183, 153 sqq.).

1. And I saw when the Lamb opened one of the seven seals, and I heard one of the four living creatures saying as with a voice of thunder, Come.

2. And I saw, and behold a white horse,
And he that sat thereon had a bow;
And there was given unto him a crown:
And he went forth conquering and to conquer.

Vision of
War

3. And when he opened the second seal, I heard the second living creature saying, Come.

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Vision of
inter-
national
and civil
strife

4. And another horse, a red one, went forth :
And to him that sat thereon was given to take away the
peace of the earth,¹
And that they should slay one another,
And there was given to him a great sword.²

5. And when he opened the third seal, I heard the third
living creature saying, Come.

Vision of
famine

And I saw, and behold, a black horse ;
And he that sat thereon had a balance in his hand.

6. And I heard as it were a voice in the midst of the four
living creatures saying,
A measure of wheat for a penny,
And three measures of barley for a penny ;
But to the oil and the wine do no hurt.³

7. And when he opened the fourth seal, I heard the voice of
the fourth living creature saying, Come.

Vision of
pestilence

8. And I saw, and behold, a pale horse :⁴
And he that sat thereon was named Pestilence,⁵

¹ So A, which omits *ék*. But even if we retain *ék*, with the great majority of the authorities, the sense could be the same ; cf. ii. 9, "the blasphemy of (*ék*) them." This peace is the wrong peace. Christ came to destroy it to make room for the true peace. The text recalls a saying of Christ in Matt. x. 34 : "Think not that I came to send peace on the earth : I come not to send peace but a sword." Otherwise with *u*, etc., render : "to take peace from the earth."

² The sword bears here the eschatological meaning of civil and international strife. It is given by God to the faithless nations that they may destroy each other with it. See vol. i. 165.

³ Ramsay (*Cities of St. Paul*, 430 sq.) traces these commands to ancient custom. "The annual crops may be destroyed, but that means only scarcity and high prices ; a new year will bring new crops. On the other hand, the vines and the olive must not be destroyed, because that means lasting ruin. New olive trees take about seventeen years to mature. Vines also need a number of years. . . . This old principle of West Asiatic international religious law was taken up into the Mosaic Law." This is no doubt true, but our author is first of all and mainly dependent on the Little Apocalypse (Mark xiii. and parallels) and Zech. i. 8, vi. 2-7. See vol. i. 158 sqq.

⁴ The MSS add a gloss : "And Hades followed with him." See vol. i. 169 sq.

⁵ So *θάνατος* must be rendered. It bears this meaning in ii. 23, xviii. 8, and frequently in the LXX. It=רָבַר. See vol. i. 170. In Aquila and Symmachus רָבַר is rendered by *λοιμός* ("pestilence"), which is unmistakable in meaning, but in the LXX by *θάνατος* and not *λοιμός*. (Hence correct footnote in vol. i. 170.) Aquila so renders it in Deut. xxviii. 21 ; Amos iv. 10 ; Hab. iii. 5 ; Sym. in Ps. lxxvii. (lxxviii.) 48, xc. (xci.) 6 ; Jer. xlv. (xxxviii.) 2, and both translators in Ex. v. 3, ix. 3, 15 ; Ezk. vi. 12, xii. 16. In Ps. lxxvii. (lxxviii.) 50 the LXX renders both שָׁמַח and רָבַר by *θάνατος*.

And authority was given unto him over the fourth part of the earth.¹

9. And when he had opened the fifth seal, I saw underneath the altar the souls of them that had been slain for the word of God, and for the testimony which they held : Vision of the martyrs praying for retribution on their persecutors, 9-10
10. And they cried ² with a loud voice, saying,
How long, O Master, holy and true,
Dost thou not judge and avenge our blood
On them that dwell on the earth ?
11. And there was given to each one of them a white robe ;
And they were bidden to rest yet for a little season,
Until their fellow-servants also and their brethren should be fulfilled,
That should be killed even as they. The martyrs given spiritual bodies
12. And I saw when he opened the sixth seal :
And there was a great earthquake ;
And the sun became black as sackcloth of hair,
And the whole moon became as blood ; Vision of an earthquake with other cosmic evils, 12-14
13. And the stars of heaven fell ³ to the earth,
As a fig tree casteth her unripe figs,
When shaken by a mighty wind.

¹ MSS add a gloss : "to kill with sword and with famine and with pestilence (or 'death'), and with the wild beasts of the earth." See vol. i. 171.

² Though the subject of the seal is described as "persecutions" (see vol. i. 158, 171 sqq.), in keeping with the original eschatological tradition in Mark xiii. 7-9, 24-25 (and parallels), the reader should observe that its character has been changed by our author. Here the first thought is not of the persecutors or of their victims, but of the prayers of the latter. The prayers of the martyrs, vi. 9-10, are conceived as an instrument of divine wrath. The prayers of the martyrs offered on the altar, vi. 9-10, as those of all the saints, viii. 3-4, become spiritual forces. Hence a voice from this altar, ix. 13, orders the four angels of punishment to be let loose for the second Woe, and in xiv. 18 an angel from this altar delivers to the Son of Man the divine command to undertake the judgment of the earth, while in xvi. 7 (which rightly belongs to xix., see vol. ii. 122) the altar declares, as the angels, Elders and Cherubim have already done, that God's righteousness and truth have at last been vindicated in the destruction of Rome. Thus the prayers of the martyrs and saints are conceived as bringing about divine judgment, like the other seals.

³ *ἐπεσεν* should perhaps be rendered "were cast," seeing that *πίπτειν* is here used as the passive of *βάλλειν* = "casteth," in the next line. In Isa. xxxiv. 4 the same verb is presupposed in both clauses of the LXX and Sym. : *πεσείσιν* . . . *ὡς πίπτει*. See vol. i. 180.

Men's
hearts fail
them for
fear,
15-17

14. And the heaven was parted,
Being rolled up as a scroll;¹
And every mountain and island were moved out of their
places.
15. And the kings of the earth, and the princes, and the
chief captains, and the rich, and the strong, and every
bondman and freeman, hid themselves in the caves and
16. in the rocks of the mountains; and said to the mountains
and to the rocks,
Fall on us, and hide us from the presence of him that
sitteth on the throne,
And from the wrath of the Lamb:
17. For the great day of his² wrath is come;
And who is able to stand?

CHAPTER VII.

VISION OF THE SEALING OF THE SPIRITUAL ISRAEL: AND OF THEIR BLESSEDNESS IN HEAVEN AFTER MARTYRDOM.

(In the preceding five chapters there is a progressive drama, advancing in a series of visions dealing first with its chief agents: (a) with the Christian Church on earth, ii.-iii.; (b) with God from whom are all things, iv.; (c) with Christ, who takes upon Himself the fulfilment of God's purposes, v.; and then with the opening of the first six Seals, which are to be followed by a series of social and cosmic judgments, vi. But with vii. 1-3 a pause is made in order that the spiritual Israel may be sealed, to secure them against the coming three Woes of a demonic character, 4-8. Thus in vii. 1-8 a pause is made in the movement of the divine drama, but in vii. 9-17 there is more: there is a breach in the unity of time, a unity which has been observed in ii.-vii. 8. But this breach is full of purpose. The sealing in vii. 1-4, though it secures the faithful from demonic powers, does not secure them from suffering martyrdom. Hence to encourage them to face these impending evils the Seer recounts the vision in vii. 9-17, in which, looking to the close of the great tribula-

¹ So *κ* *ελισσόμενος* and some Cursives. So also Isa. xxxiv. 4: *ἐλγῆσται ὡς βιβλίον ὃ οὐρανός*. But the best attested reading, *ελισσόμενος*, is perhaps at once original and a primitive slip for the emended form in *κ*. If *ελισσόμενος* be taken as the original and correct text, then it is to be rendered: "as a scroll being rolled up."

² Less weighty authorities read "their."

tion, he beholds those who had been sealed and died as martyrs, already triumphant in heaven before the establishment of the Millennial Kingdom. This vision is proleptic. It constitutes a breach in the unity of time. At its close the chronological order of events is resumed. Such proleptic visions recur with the same purpose later on.)

1. After this I saw four angels standing at the four corners of the earth, holding the four winds of the earth, that no wind should blow on the earth, or on the sea, or upon any tree. And I saw another angel ascend from the sun-rising, having a seal¹ of the living God: and he cried with a loud voice to the four angels, to whom it was given to hurt the earth and the sea, saying, Hurt not the earth, neither the sea, nor the trees, till we have sealed the servants of our God in their foreheads. And I heard the number of them that were sealed: a hundred and forty and four thousand were sealed² out of every tribe of the children of Israel.

Destructive agencies restrained till God's servants are sealed, 1-3
The spiritual Israel sealed, 4-8

5. Of the tribe of Judah were sealed³ twelve thousand :
Of the tribe of Reuben twelve thousand :
7. Of the tribe of Simeon twelve thousand :
Of the tribe of Levi twelve thousand :
Of the tribe of Issachar twelve thousand :
8. Of the tribe of Zebulun twelve thousand :
Of the tribe of Joseph twelve thousand :
Of the tribe of Benjamin were sealed³ twelve thousand :
- 5.^c Of the tribe of Gad twelve thousand :
6. Of the tribe of Asher twelve thousand :
Of the tribe of Naphtali twelve thousand :
Of the tribe of Manasseh twelve thousand.³

9. After these things I saw,
And behold, a great multitude, which no man could number,
Out of every nation, and (all) tribes and peoples and tongues,
Standing before the throne and before the Lamb,
Clothed in white robes, and with palms in their hands ;

Vision of the future blessedness of those that had been sealed and suffered martyrdom

¹ The text here is without the article. In ix. 4, where it recurs, it has the art.

² The participle here is to be rendered as a finite verb. See *Introd. Gram.* § 4. ii. (δ).

³ 5^c-6 have been restored to their original order, in which the sons of Leah are followed by those of Rachel, and these in turn first by the sons of Leah's handmaid and then by Rachel's. See vol. i. p. 207.

Their
praise
before the
throne

10. And they were crying¹ with a loud voice, saying,
Salvation to our God
That sitteth on the throne,
And to the Lamb.

In which
the angels
join, 11-12

11. And all the angels stood round about the throne and
the elders and the four living creatures; and they fell
before the throne on their faces, and worshipped God,
saying,

12.

Amen :

Blessing, and glory, and wisdom,
And thanksgiving, and honour, and power,
And might, be unto our God for ever and ever.²

13. And one of the elders answered, saying unto me, These
who are clothed in the white robes, who are they, and

14. whence came they? And I said unto him, My Lord,
thou knowest. And he said unto me,

These are they that have come out of the great tribulation,
And have washed³ their robes,
And made them white in the blood of the Lamb.

The
blessedness
of the
martyrs,
15-17

15. Therefore they are before the throne of God ;
And they serve him day and night in his temple :
And he that sitteth on the throne shall abide upon them.⁴

16. They shall hunger no more, neither thirst any more ;
Neither shall the sun smite⁵ them any more, nor any heat :

17. For the Lamb that is in the midst of the throne shall be
their shepherd,
And shall guide them unto the fountains of the waters of
life :

And God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes.

¹ Here *κράζουσι* represents the imperfect in Hebrew in the Seer's mind, and should be rendered by a past imperfect.

² Nearly all authorities but C Pr add "Amen"; but it seems to be here a liturgical addition, as Swete remarks: it is bracketed by WH. See note in vol. i. pp. 19, 151 sq. The MSS read: "The blessing and the glory," etc.

³ We have here a Hebraism frequent in our author; see note in vol. i. 14 sqq. The RV. here, as always in the case of this idiom, is wrong—"Come . . . and they washed."

⁴ Or: "shall cause his Shekinah to dwell upon them." See vol. i. p. 215. The construction *σκηνοῦν ἐπ' αὐτοῦς* is not found in any OT. version (so far as I know) except in Aquila's (Ex. xxiv. 16). In xxi. 3 of our text we have *σκηνοῦν μετ' αὐτῶν*. Now, since *σκηνοῦν* = *ἵκω* and *ἐν* frequently follows *ἵκω*, *σκηνοῦν ἐπὶ* seems here modelled on the Hebrew, as *σκηνοῦν μετὰ* on *עִם*. Cf. the presupposed interchange of *ἐν* and *עִם* in the LXX and Theod. of Dan. vii. 13, while Matt. xxiv. 30, xxvi. 64 (*ἐρχόμενον ἐπὶ τ. νεφελῶν*) and the LXX of Dan. vii. 13, presuppose *ἐν*, and Mark xiii. 26, Luke xxi. 27 (*ἐρχόμενον ἐν*), and Mark xiv. 62 (*ἐρχόμενον μετὰ*), presuppose *עִם*.

⁵ An emendation of Gwynn and Swete. See vol. i. 216.

CHAPTER VIII.

**HEAVEN'S PRAISES STILLED THAT THE PRAYERS OF
ALL THE FAITHFUL MAY BE PRESENTED TO GOD
AGAINST THE IMPENDING THREE WOES.**

(1, 3-5, 2 (restored), 6 (restored), 13. Amid the silence of heaven for the space of half an hour, when all praises and thanksgivings were hushed, the prayers of all the saints are presented before God, 1, 3-5, to shield them in the coming tribulation. Then three Trumpets are given to three angels, wherewith they prepared to sound, 6, whereupon the Seer beheld another vision, even an angel flying in mid heaven and proclaiming, "Woe, woe, woe to the inhabitants of the earth," *i.e.* the non-Christians and faithless, because of the three Woes that were about to come upon them, 13. On the interpolated passage, viii. 7-12, and the changes introduced by the interpolator in viii. 1, 2, 6, 13, see notes below, and vol. i. 219 sqq.)

1. And when he opened the seventh seal, there followed a Silence
3. silence in heaven for about the space of half an hour.¹ And made in
another angel came and stood by the altar, having a golden heaven
censer; and there was given to him much incense, that the that the
he should offer it upon ² the prayers of all the saints upon the prayers of all the
4. golden altar which was before the throne. And the smoke saints
of the incense went up from the angel's hand before God might be
5. on behalf of the prayers of the saints. And the angel took presented
the censer and filled it with the fire of the altar, and cast before
it upon the earth. And there followed lightnings, and God, 3-5
voices, and thunders,³ and an earthquake.

2. And I saw three angels; and unto them were given three Three
trumpets.⁴ angels
bidden to
sound the
three
trumpets
announc-
ing the
three
Woes,
2, 6, 13

¹ viii. 2 is an intrusion in its present context and not original in its present form. It is restored in what appears to have been its original form after viii. 5. These changes are due to the interpolation of viii. 7-12. See vol. i. 218-222, 224.

² Or "on behalf of."

³ This is the original order as in iv. 5, xi. 19, xvi. 18. See Intro. Chap. IV. where it deals with this phrase. Corrupt order in MSS, due to interpolator of viii. 7-12.

⁴ The text reads: "And I saw the seven angels which stand (*ἐστηκασιν*). This termination *-ασιν* not found elsewhere in our author, who uses *-αν*. Cf. xix. 3, *ἐστηκαν*; xxi. 6, *ἑτάραν*. See vol. i. Intro. Gram. § 1. iii. (c) before Gol., and there were given unto them seven trumpets."

6. And the three¹ angels who had the three¹ trumpets prepared to sound.²
13. And I saw, and I heard an eagle flying in the midst of heaven, saying with a loud voice, Woe, woe, woe, to them that dwell on the earth, because of the voices³ of the trumpets of the three angels, which are about to sound.

INTERPOLATED PASSAGE.

- [7. And the first (angel) sounded,
And there followed hail and fire, mingled with blood, and they were cast upon the earth :
And the third part of the earth was burnt up,
And the third part of the trees was burnt up,
And all⁴ green grass was burnt up.
8. And the second angel sounded :
And as it were a great mountain burning with fire was cast into the sea :
And the third part of the sea became blood ;
9. And there died the third part of the creatures which were in the sea—that had life ;
And the third part of the ships were destroyed.
10. And the third angel sounded :
And there fell from heaven a great star, burning as a torch, And it fell on a third part of the waters, and on the fountains of waters,⁵
- 11.^b And the third part of the waters became like⁶ wormwood ;
And † many men †⁷ died of the waters, because they had become bitter.

¹ Text has "seven."

² Here the editor of John's Apocalypse interpolated a small Apocalypse, viii. 7-12 ; see vol. i. 218-222. This consisted of four stanzas of four lines each. These four plagues are modelled on the first four Bowls.

³ Text reads : "the remaining voices." The addition comes from the hand of the interpolator of viii. 7-12.

⁴ Instead of "all green grass" the rest of viii. 7-12 suggests that in the original document there stood originally : "the third of all green grass." But why the change was made is not apparent ; for as it stands it is in direct conflict with ix. 4.

⁵ The context requires "of the fountains," etc. See vol. i. 234. The MSS add : "and the name of the star is called Wormwood." But this clause breaks the development of thought and makes the stanza consist of five lines instead of four.

⁶ So 2038 Or⁶ Pr fl gig vg s¹ bo sa eth. Other authorities="became wormwood." But the waters did not "become wormwood," but bitter in taste like wormwood.

⁷ We should expect : "the third part of mankind." See vol. i. 236.

12. And the fourth angel sounded :
 And the third part of the sun was smitten,
 And the third part of the moon, and the third part of the
 stars ;
 So that the third part of them was darkened,
 And † the day did not shine for the third part of it, nor
 likewise the night. † ¹]

CHAPTERS IX.-XIII.

THE THREE WOES.

(The three Woes, *i.e.* (1) the demonic locusts, (2) the demonic horsemen, (3) Satan and the two Beasts. These affect only those that dwell on the earth, *i.e.* the non-Christians, viii. 13, who had not the seal of God on their foreheads, ix. 4. The third Woe, it is true, results in the universal martyrdom of the faithful, xiii. 15 ; but its power to deceive and destroy spiritually is limited to the non-faithful, xiii. 14. Thus these Woes affect in the deepest sense only those who had not the seal of God on their foreheads. Yet evil at this stage appears to have triumphed, and the cause of God on earth to be brought to an end for evermore.)

THE FIRST AND SECOND WOES.

IX. (The first Woe consists of a plague of demonic locusts, which had no power to hurt those who had God's seal on their foreheads, but only those who had not, 1-11. The second Woe consists of a plague of demonic horsemen, which were let loose from the Euphrates and destroyed one-third of the heathen world, 13-21.)

CHAPTER IX.

1. And the first ² angel sounded :
 And I saw a star fallen from heaven to the earth,
 And there was given unto him the key of the pit of the
 abyss.

¹ The text is hopelessly corrupt. There is no connection between the destruction of one-third part of the sun and the reduction of the *length* of the day by one-third. The corruption may have arisen in the Hebrew. The Bohairic gives what was apparently the original sense: "the third part of them did not shine by day, nor likewise by night." Cf. eth. I here withdraw the note in vol. i. 237 unless so far as it traces the error to the Semitic original.

² "Fifth," owing to the interpolation of the four plagues in viii. 7-12.

First Woe
—plague
of demonic
locusts, 2-3

2. And he opened the pit of the abyss ;
And there went up a smoke from the pit,
As the smoke of a great furnace ;
And the sun and the air were darkened by the smoke of
the pit.

3. And out of the smoke came forth locusts upon the earth ;
And power was given them, as the scorpions of the earth
have power.

No power
to injure
any save
such as had
not God's
seal on
their fore-
heads, 4-5

4. And it was said unto them that they should not hurt the
grass of the earth,
Nor any green thing, nor any tree, but only the men
That had not the seal of God on their foreheads.

5. And it was given them that they should not kill them,
But that they should be tormented five months :
And their torment was as the torment of a scorpion, when
it striketh a man.¹

6. And in those days men shall seek death,
And shall not find it ;
And they shall desire to die,
But death shall flee² from them.

The
appearance
of the
locusts,
7-10

7. And the forms of the locusts were like unto horses pre-
pared for war ;
And on their heads as it were crowns like gold,
And their faces were as the faces of men.

8. And they had hair as the hair of women,
And their teeth were as those of lions ;

9. And they had breastplates, as it were breastplates of iron.
And the sound of their wings was as the sound of
chariots,
(Yea) of many horses rushing to war.

10. And they have tails like unto scorpions, and stings ;
And in their tails is their power
To hurt men five months.

Their king 11. They have over them as king the angel of the abyss :
His name in Hebrew is Abaddon.³

¹ In my Commentary (vol. i. 222, 243) and Text I have treated this line as a gloss for the reason given in vol. i. 222 ; but it may be original.

² The text reads "fleeth," which seems to be a Hebraism : *i.e.* = Hebrew imperfect in the mind of the writer. See vol. i. Introd. *Gram.* § 4. i. (a).

³ Text adds a gloss : "And in the Greek (tongue) he hath the name Apollyon." See vol. i. 245 sq.

12. The first Woe is past: behold, there come yet two Woes hereafter.

13. And the second¹ angel sounded:

And I heard a voice from the horns of the golden altar which is before God,

14. Saying to the second¹ angel who had the trumpet,
Loose the four angels who are bound at the great river Euphrates.

The second Woe—the demonic horsemen from the Euphrates

15. And the four angels were loosed,
Which had been prepared for the hour and day and month and year,
In order to kill the third part of mankind.

16. And the numbers of the armies of the horsemen were twice ten thousand times ten thousand:

17. I heard the number of them: and so I saw the horses in the vision;²

And them that sat < on them.

And they that sat > on them³ had breastplates of fire and brimstone:

And the heads of the horses were as the heads of lions;

And from their mouths issued fire and smoke and brimstone.

18. By these three plagues was the third part of mankind killed,

By the fire and the smoke and the brimstone, which issued from their mouths;

The third part of mankind slain, 18-19

19. For the power of the horses is in their mouths;⁴ and with them they do hurt.

¹ Text reads "sixth," owing to the interpolation of the four plagues in viii. 7-12.

² Text seems corrupt, but I cannot emend it satisfactorily. The fact that we have here the construction *τ. καθήμενοι ἐπ' ἃ ἀνῶν*†—a construction against our author's usage—may point to the evil activities of John's editor. Cf. xiv. 15, 16, where in an interpolation the same wrong construction occurs twice. I have supposed a loss of *ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ οἱ καθήμενοι* through hmt. and corrected *ἐξορres* into *ἐξορres. οβρωs*, according to our author's usage, refers to what precedes, cf. ii. 15, iii. 5, 16, xvi. 18; but it cannot do so here, for the description of the horses comes later.

³ i.e. "on the horses." The text reads: *καθήμενοι ἐπ' ἃ ἀνῶν*† (= "sat on them"). This incorrect phrase seems due to the interpolator who tampered with the text. I here withdraw the suggestions in vol. i. 252 sq.

⁴ The text adds a gloss here: "and in their tails; for their tails are like unto serpents, having heads." But the destructive powers of the horses lie in the fire, smoke, and brimstone which issue from their mouths, and not in their tails. The gloss is due to ix. 10. See vol. i. 253 sq.

The rest
repented
not, 20-21

20. And the rest of mankind, which had not been killed by these plagues,
Did not even repent of the works of their hands,
So as not to worship demons, and the idols
Of gold, and of silver, and of brass, and of stone, and of wood;
Which can neither see, nor hear, nor walk:
21. And they repented not of their murders, nor of their sorceries,
Nor of their fornication, nor of their thefts.

CHAPTER X.

THE SEER'S NEW COMMISSION.

(This chapter serves several purposes. It was written mainly as an introduction to xi. 1-13 (the Little Book), but partly also to prepare the way for xii. sqq. (see x. 11) and partly to declare that the time prayed for by the martyrs, vi. 9 sqq., when God's purposes, x. 7, should be accomplished, would no longer be delayed. Thus x. links together the earlier chapters with the later. A strong angel presents the seer with the Little Book (*i.e.* xi. 1-13—a transmitted source), and swears that God's purpose with regard to the world would be forthwith fulfilled, 1-7. The Seer is then bidden to eat this Book and to issue other prophecies, 8-11.)

The angel
with the
Little
Book

The seven
thunders,
but their
message
not to be
written
down, 3-4
God's pur-
poses to be
fulfilled
without
delay, 6-7

1. And I saw another strong angel coming down from¹ heaven clothed with a cloud, and the rainbow was upon his head, and his face was as the sun, and his legs² were
2. as pillars of fire. And he had in his hand a little book open: and he set his right foot upon the sea, and his
3. left foot upon the earth; And he cried with a loud voice, as a lion roareth: and when he cried, the seven thunders
4. uttered their voices. And when the seven thunders uttered (their voices), I was about to write: and I heard a voice from heaven saying, Seal up the things which the
5. seven thunders have uttered, and write them not. And the angel that I saw standing upon the sea and upon the
6. earth lifted up his right hand to heaven, And swore by him that liveth for ever and ever, who created the heaven and the things that are therein, and the earth and the

¹ The word is here *ἐκ*.

² That *οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ* has this meaning here is shown in vol. i. 259.

- things that are therein, and the sea and the things that are therein, that there shall be time no longer.
7. But in the days of the voice of the third¹ angel, when he shall sound,² then is the mystery of God finished, according to the good tidings which he declared to his
 8. servants the prophets. And the voice which I heard from heaven spake unto me again and said,³ Go, take the book which is open in the hand of the angel that standeth upon
 9. the sea and upon the earth. And I went unto the angel and bade⁴ him give me the little book. And he saith unto me, Take it and eat it up, and it shall make thy belly
 10. bitter, but in thy mouth it shall be sweet as honey. And I took the little book out of the hand of the angel and ate it up; and it was in my mouth sweet as honey, and when I
 11. had eaten it my belly was made bitter. And they said unto me, Thou must prophesy again concerning many peoples and nations and tongues and kings.

The Seer
eats the
Book

The Seer
will after-
wards issue
other
prophecies

CHAPTER XI.

THE ANTICHRIST IN JERUSALEM.

(XI. 1-18 is a proleptic digression on the Antichrist in Jerusalem. It is a digression, because the Seer turns aside from his main theme of the Antichrist as identical with Rome and its empire: it is proleptic, because in point of time it belongs to the third Woe, when Satan has been cast down from heaven, and the kingdom of the Antichrist established, xii.-xiii. This task once fulfilled in xi. 1-13, he returns to his main theme in xi. 14-xviii. The seer here uses a source which originally had in several respects a different meaning. Its present meaning is given in the short summary in vol. i. 269.)

1. And he gave⁵ me a reed like unto a rod, saying, Rise and measure the temple of God, and the altar, and them
2. that worship therein. But the court that is without the

The
measuring
of the
faithful to
secure
them
against
demonic
powers,
i-2

¹ Text reads "seventh." For this and other changes introduced by an early editor, see vol. i. 219 sqq.

² See vol. i. 264 sqq.

³ The Greek is solecistic, and the solecism appears to go back to the Seer.

⁴ "And bade" is here a rendering of *λέγων*, followed by an inf., as in xiii. 14.

⁵ The Greek is *ἐδόθη μοι λέγων*, which must be rendered as if it were *ἐδωκεν μοι . . . λέγων*. For like abnormal constructions, see note, vol. i. 274.

The
preaching
of the two
witnesses,
3-6

The Beast
from the
abyss puts
them to
death in
Jerusalem,
and the
people of
the land
rejoice,
7-10

Resurrec-
tion and
ascension
of the two
witnesses,
11-12

Judgment
on Jeru-
salem and
conversion
of the rest
of the
Jews

- temple leave out, and measure it not; for it hath been given unto the nations: and the holy city they shall
3. tread under foot forty and two months.¹ And I will appoint my two witnesses, and they shall prophesy a thousand two hundred and threescore days, clothed in
 4. sackcloth. These are the two olive trees and the two candlesticks, which stand before the Lord of the earth.
 5. And if any man will hurt them, fire proceedeth out of
 6. their mouth, and devoureth their enemies.² These have the power to shut the heaven, that it rain not during the days of their prophecy: and they have power over the waters to turn them into blood, and to smite
 7. the earth with every plague, as often as they will. And when they have finished their testimony, the beast that cometh up out of the abyss shall make war with them, and
 8. shall overcome them, and kill them. And their dead bodies (shall lie) in the street of the great city, that spiritually is called Sodom and Egypt, where also their
 9. Lord was crucified. And some of the peoples and tribes and tongues and nations look upon their dead bodies three days and a half, and suffer not their dead bodies to be laid in a tomb.
 10. And they that dwell in the land³ rejoice over them, and make merry; and they shall send gifts one to another; because these two prophets had tormented them that
 11. dwell in the land.³ And after the three days and a half the breath of life from God entered into them, and they stood upon their feet, and great fear fell upon them that
 12. beheld them. And they heard a great voice from heaven saying unto them, Come up hither. And they went up into heaven in the cloud; and their enemies beheld them.
 13. And in that hour there was a great earthquake, and the tenth part of the city fell; and there were killed in the earthquake seven thousand persons: and the rest were affrighted, and gave glory to the God of heaven.
 14. The second Woe is past: behold the third Woe cometh quickly.

¹ Vers. 3-13 are a prophecy rather than a vision. The presents in 4-6, 9-10, are equivalent to futures. The past verbs in 11-13 represent Hebrew perfects (or in some cases probably the imperfects with *vav* conversive); but these perfects vividly represent the prophetic future.

² The text adds a gloss here which is based on 5^a and xiii. 10: "and if any will hurt them, in this manner must he be killed"; see vol. i. 284.

³ *i.e.* Palestine; see vol. i. 289.

INTRODUCTION TO THE THIRD WOE.

XI 15-19. The proleptic digression in xi. 1-13, to which x. is an introduction, has come to an end, and our author here returns to the progressive development of the divine drama in the third Woe, xii.-xiii. Though x. in certain respects links up the chapters that precede with those that follow it, yet in the order of action xi. 14 follows immediately on ix. and the main theme is resumed in the third Woe, which is heralded by the third Trumpet. This Woe apparently results in the absolute triumph of Satan and his agents on earth and the annihilation of the Church; but the two songs in heaven, which introduce it in xi. 15-18, disclose in advance the actual issues of events: their burden is that the Kingdom of the world has in the reality of things become the Kingdom of God and of His Christ, that the time has come for the judgment of the nations and of Satan and the Beast, for the judgment of the dead and the due recompense of God's servants.

- 15.** And the third¹ angel sounded; and there followed great voices in heaven, saying,

The kingdom of the world has become (the kingdom) of our Lord and of his Christ,
And he shall reign for ever and ever.

Song (of the Cherubim ?) over the impending advent of the Lord and of His Christ,

- 16.** And the four and twenty elders, which sit before God on their thrones, fell on their faces and worshipped God, saying,

advent of the Lord and of His Christ,

- 17.** We give thee thanks, O Lord God Almighty,
Which art and which wast;
Because thou hast taken thy great power,
And hast become King.

Song of the Elders on the impending advent of the Millennial Kingdom, the last judgment, and the final recompense of God's servants.

- 18.** *a.* And the nations have waxed wroth,
b. And thy wrath hath come,
h. And < the time > to destroy them that destroy the earth,²
c. And the time for the dead to be judged—

¹ Text reads "seventh"; see vol. i. 218 sqq. Each Woe is heralded by a trumpet blast. Before the interpolation of viii. 7-12 there were only three trumpets.

² In the text this clause is certainly out of place. By its restoration after 18^b we recover the development of events in their true order; see vol. i. 295 sqq. "The destroyers" are the first Beast, the False Prophet, and Satan as well as their adherents.

- g. The small and the great.¹
- d. And for giving their reward to thy servants,
- e. The prophets and the saints,
- f. And them that fear thy name.

Ark of
God's
covenant
manifested
—a pledge
of the ful-
filment of
the songs
just sung

10. And there was opened the temple of God that is in heaven; and there was seen in his temple the ark of his covenant; and there followed lightnings, and voices, and thunders, and an earthquake, and great hail.

CHAPTER XII.

A RETROSPECT.

(XII. This chapter is retrospective. Its object is to give the reader insight into the past in order to prepare him for the crowning evil—the climax of Satan's power upon earth. But this crowning evil is not really a sign of his growing power, but the closing stage of a war in heaven, which had already terminated in the vindication of God's sovereignty, and the hurling down of Satan to earth. Hence, however, Satan and his minions, the Roman and heathen powers, may rage, but it is but the last struggle of a beaten foe, whose malignity is all the greater, since he knows that his time is short. The vision goes back before the birth of Christ, and tells with mythological colouring how Satan sought to destroy Christ, and, after His ascension, the Church itself. In setting forth his theme the Seer has borrowed the main part of this chapter from Jewish sources, which had in turn been derived from international sources, and has adapted them—though not wholly—to their new and Christian setting. The closing verses, 14–16, were written before 70 A.D., and cannot be interpreted in detail of the crises of 95 A.D., when our author wrote. See vol. i. 299, 331 sq. For a summary of the chapter, see vol. i. 298 sq.)

A woman,
goddess-
like in ap-
pearance
(= the
Jewish
Church),
bears a
child

- 1. And a great sign was seen in heaven; a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and
- 2. upon her head a crown of twelve stars. And she was with child, and cried out in her travail and pain to be
- 3. delivered. And there was seen another sign in heaven; and behold, a great red dragon, having seven heads and

¹ I have restored this line immediately after 18°; cf. xx. 12. Otherwise read line g immediately after line h (And the time) to destroy them that destroy the earth, The small and the great. "The great" would be Satan and the two Beasts: "the small" would be their adherents.

4. ten horns, and upon his heads seven¹ diadems. And his tail drew² the third part of the stars of heaven, and did cast them to the earth: and the dragon stood³ before the woman that was about to be delivered, that he might devour her child when she was delivered. And she was delivered of a son, a man child, who shall break⁴ all the nations with a rod of iron: and her child was caught up to God and to his throne. And the woman fled into the wilderness, where she hath a place prepared of God, that there they should nourish her a thousand two hundred and threescore days.
7. And war burst forth⁵ in heaven: Michael and his angels had to war⁶ with the dragon; And the dragon warred and his angels; and he prevailed not,
8. Neither was their place found any more in heaven.
9. And the great dragon was cast down, the old serpent, —He that is called the Devil and Satan, That deceiveth the whole world— He was cast down to the earth, And his angels were cast down with him.
10. And I heard a great voice in heaven, saying, Now is come the salvation and the power And the kingdom of our God, and the authority of his Christ: For the accuser of our brethren is cast down, Which accuseth them before our God day and night.
11. And they overcame him because of the blood of the Lamb, And because of the word of their testimony, Seeing that they loved not their lives even unto death.⁷

Satan on his fall from heaven, which involved one-third of the angels, sought to destroy this child, 1-5^a

But the child is rapt to heaven and his mother escaped for three and a half years into the wilderness, 5^{b-6}

Satan and his angels storm after the child to heaven, but are overthrown and cast down to earth, 7-9

Triumph song of the glorified martyrs in heaven in honour of their brethren still on earth

Who in the reality of things

¹ The position of the numeral before the noun is against our author's usage. But this seems due to the source.

² *σύρει*. Here = Hebrew imperfect.

³ Here *ἔστηκε*, from *στήκω*, as WH. In vii. 11 our author uses *ἐστήκει* in the same sense.

⁴ See note on chap. ii. 27 (translation), and vol. i. 75.

⁵ The Greek is *ἐγένετο*.

⁶ *ὁ Μιχαὴλ καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ τοῦ πολεμήσαι*. These words cannot be explained as Greek on any hypothesis save on that of their being a slavishly literal rendering of a vigorous Hebrew idiom. See vol. i. 321 sq.

⁷ A pregnant expression, meaning that they esteemed life as nothing in comparison with loyalty to their faith, even unto martyrdom. I have rendered the *καὶ* before *οὐκ ἠγάπησαν* by "seeing that" (cf. xviii. 3, xix. 3^a), as = *ἵ* in Hebrew: cf. Gen. viii. 18, xxvi. 27. This line introduces a statement of the condition under which the action denoted by the principal verb, *ἐνίκησαν*, took place. See *Oxford Hebrew Lexicon*, p. 253; Gesenius, *Heb. Gr.* p. 456 (Oxford ed.).

have already overcome Satan by their coming martyrdom

Satan persecutes the Christian Church, but the Jewish Christian Church escapes, 13-16

Persecution of the Gentile Christian Church

13. Therefore rejoice, ye heavens, and ye that dwell in them :
Woe unto the earth and the sea ;

For the devil is gone down to you with great wrath,
Knowing that he hath but a short time.

18. And when the dragon saw that he was cast down to the earth, he persecuted the woman that had brought forth

14. the man child. And there were given to the woman the two wings of the great eagle that she might fly into the wilderness to her place, where she is nourished for a time, and times, and half a time, because of¹ the serpent.

15. And the serpent cast out of his mouth after the woman water as a river, that he might cause her to be swept away

16. by the flood. But the earth helped the woman, and the earth opened her mouth, and swallowed up the river which

17. the dragon cast out of his mouth.² And the dragon waxed wroth with the woman, and went away to make war with the rest of her seed, which keep the commandments of God, and hold the testimony of Jesus.

SATAN APPARENTLY TRIUMPHANT: THE CHURCH ON EARTH DESTROYED.

Satan stands by the sea-shore and summons to his aid

XII. 18-XIII., XIV. 12-18. (The climax of Satan's power on earth achieved in the personal reign of the Antichrist—the Roman Empire incarnated in the demonic Nero—for three and a half years: the universal martyrdom of the faithful, and the beatitude pronounced upon them from heaven. For a summary of this section (to which xiv. 12-13 belongs—see vol. i. 368) see vol. i. 332 sq. The third Woe, which began in xi. 15-19, is resumed here, though in xii. the way is prepared for this Woe by the casting down of Satan from heaven.)

XII. 18. And he stood upon the sand of the Sea.

¹ See note in vol. i. 330 *ad fin.*

² xii. 14-16, which was written originally of the Church before 70 A.D., do not admit of any intelligible reinterpretation in their present context, which relates to 95 A.D. This passage, like many others, would have undergone revision had John had his opportunity; see vol. i. 299, § 1 *ad fin.*, 332.

CHAPTER XIII.

1. And from the sea I saw a beast coming up
With ten horns and seven heads,¹
And on his heads names of blasphemy.

2. And the beast which I saw was like unto a leopard,
And his feet were as the feet of a bear,
And his mouth as the mouth of a lion :

And the dragon gave him his power,
And his throne, and great authority.

3. And (I saw) one of his heads slain as it were unto death ;
And his deadly wound was healed :

And the whole earth wondered † after the beast † ;²

4. And they worshipped the dragon,
Because he had given his power to the beast ;

And they worshipped the beast, saying,
Who is like unto the beast ?
And who can war with him ?

- 5^a. And there was given unto him a mouth speaking great
things and blasphemies ;³

6. And he opened his mouth for blasphemies against God,
To blaspheme his name, and his tabernacle,⁴ and those
that dwell in the heaven.

- 5^b. And there was given unto him authority to act with effect
forty and two months.

7. And there was given unto him to make war with the
saints, and to overcome them ;

And there was given unto him authority over every tribe
and people and language and nation.

the first
Beast with
seven
heads and
ten horns
—the
Roman
empire in-
carnated
in the
Neronic
Antichrist,
ii. 18—
xiii. 2

The
Beast's
wound
healed

Those that
dwell upon
the earth
worship
Satan and
the first
Beast

Blas-
phemies
of the first
Beast, 5^a, 6

He rules
for three
and a half
years and
overcomes
the saints,
5^b 7

¹ MSS add a gloss: "And on his horns ten diadems." The position of the numeral is against our author's usage. Further, the gloss conflicts with xii. 3^a. Again, though the use of "diadems" is befitting in relation to the Emperors of Rome [cf. xix. 12 where Christ has "many diadems"], it is quite inapt in regard to the ten vassal kings of Parthia (xvii. 12).

² Read: "when it saw the beast." The Greek *ὁρῶν τὸ θηρίον* implies a corruption in the Hebrew source. *מַרְאֶה* (= *mar'ah*) is corrupt for *מַרְאֶה* = *mar'ah* or *mar'ah*. See vol. i. 337. xiii. 3^a, 8 are a doublet of xvii. 8.

³ The three verses relating to the blasphemies of the Beast, i.e. 5^a, 6, clearly form a tristich ; and the three lines in 5^b, 7, each beginning with *καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ*, just as clearly form another tristich. Hence I have restored 5^b to its original place.

⁴ Possibly "his shekinah." See vol. i. 352, ii. 205 sqq.

Those
whose
names
were not
in the
Book of
Life wor-
ship him

Seer's
admoni-
tion to be
faithful in
the coming
persecu-
tion, 9-10

Second
Beast or
False
Prophet
from the
land—the
imperial
priest-
hood, offi-
cials, and
cultured
classes

He makes
the
dwellers
on the
earth to
worship
the first
Beast

His signs
and
deceits,
13-14

Universal
martyrdom
of the
faithful, 15

The faith-
less receive
the mark
of the
Beast on
their right
hand and
forehead,
16-17

8. And all that dwelt on the earth worshipped ¹ him,
Whose names were not written in the book of life
Of the Lamb that hath been slain from the foundation of
the world.

9. If any man hath an ear, let him hear.

10. If any man is for captivity,
Into captivity he goeth :
If any man is to be slain with the sword,
With the sword must he be slain.²

Here is the patience
And the faith of the saints.

11. And I saw another beast coming up out of the earth ;
And he had two horns like a lamb,
But † he spake as a dragon †.³

12. And he exerciseth all the authority of the first beast in
his sight.

And he maketh the earth and them that dwell in it to
worship the first beast,
Whose deadly wound had been healed.

13. And he doeth great signs, so that he maketh even fire to
come down from heaven on the earth in the sight of

14. men. And he deceiveth them that dwell on the earth
by reason of the signs that it was given him to do in
the sight of the beast ; saying to them that dwell on the
earth, that they should set up an image⁴ to the beast,

15. who had the wound of the sword, and yet lived. And
it was given unto him to give breath to the image
of the beast, that the image of the beast should also
speak, and to cause⁵ that as many as should not worship

16. the image of the beast should be killed. And he causeth

¹ Text reads προσκυνησουσιν. But this is a rendering of the Hebrew imperfect in the source. Cf. 4, where the past " worshipped " is rightly given. See vol. i. 353.

² A alone preserves the true text here. See vol. i. 355 sq.

³ Read : " he was a destroyer like the dragon." The Hebrew of the source was here corrupt ; see vol. i. 358 sq.

⁴ Lit. " make an image."

⁵ The Greek = " And it was given unto him to give breath to the image of the beast, that the image of the beast should both speak and cause that as many as should not worship the beast," etc. This does not represent the historical facts. It is also hopelessly clumsy. I have assumed, therefore, that there is a Hebraism in the text akin to another we have found frequently. The second beast was empowered to do two things : the first to give life to the image of the first beast, and the second—to cause all that did not worship the image to be put to death. Thus καὶ παύσει would naturally be καὶ

- all, the small and the great, and the rich and the poor, and the free and the bond, to receive¹ a mark on their right hand or upon their forehead: and that no man should be able to buy or sell, save he that hath the mark, the name of the beast or the number of his name.
17. right hand or upon their forehead: and that no man should be able to buy or sell, save he that hath the mark, the name of the beast or the number of his name.
18. Here is wisdom. Let him that hath understanding count the number of the beast; for it is the number of a man: and his number is Six hundred and sixty-six.²
- XIV. 12. Here is the patience of the saints, who keep the commandments of God, and the faith of Jesus.
18. And I heard a voice from heaven saying, Write, Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth: yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours; ³ for their works go with them.⁴
- Seer's admonition to the faithful who are to be martyred
Third Beatitude pronounced by a voice from heaven over the martyred Church,
xiv. 12-13

CHAPTER XIV.

PROLEPTIC VISIONS—OF THE GLORIFIED MARTYRS
IN THE MILLENNIAL KINGDOM, OF THE DOOM
OF ROME AND OF THE HEATHEN NATIONS.

(This entire chapter is proleptic: that is, the orderly development of future events, as set forth in the successive visions, is here abandoned (as in vii. 9-17, xi. 1-13), and the visions of coming judgments in xvi. 17-xix., xx. 7-10, are summarised in xiv. 8-11, 14, 18-20. To this summary is prefixed a description of the blessed (*i.e.* the 144,000 in vii. 4-8) on Mount Zion during the Millennial reign. This is a later stage in their blessedness than that in vii. 9-17. The object of the entire chapter is to encourage the faithful to endurance in the face of the universal martyrdom just foreseen by the Seer in xiii. 15.

τοῦσαι, and be parallel to *δοῦναι* that precedes. But here by a common Hebrew idiom the infinitive passes into a finite verb. Thus *καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς δοῦναι* . . . *καὶ τοῦσαι* is a literal rendering of *וְנָתַן לָהֶם* . . . *יִתְּנוּ לָהֶם*. In this case the imperial priesthood produce a speaking image, and cause all that do not worship it to be put to death. If we do not accept the Hebraism, then it is the image that causes the death of the faithful. But the context seems to be against this interpretation, and certainly the verse that follows is. It is the second beast in xiii. 16 that causes all to receive the mark of the beast, and historically, as we know from Pliny, etc., it was the priesthood or official classes that did so—not the images.

¹ Lit. "that they should give them."

² It is possible that ver. 18 is a later addition.

³ *i.e.* the hardships, laborious toils incident to the life of faith.

⁴ *i.e.* not "follow after them"; see vol. i. 370. The works are the Christlike character they have achieved; see vol. i. 372 sq.

This is done by the vision of the blessedness of the martyrs in the Millennial Kingdom, 1-5, and the vision of the doom of Rome and the heathen nations—Thus Christ's Kingdom which seemed overthrown is seen in the vision to be established on earth, and Satan's Kingdom, which appeared triumphant, to be destroyed.)

Proleptic vision of Christ's Kingdom with the glorified martyrs (= 144,000 that were sealed in vii. 4-7) on Mt. Zion in the Millennial period (= vision which comes in its due order in xx. 4-6) The new song sung in heaven and learnt by the 144,000, 2-5
Proleptic vision of the Evangelisation of the world during the Millennial period, 6-7

1. And I saw, and behold the Lamb standing on Mount Zion,
And with him a hundred and forty and four thousand,
Having his name and the name of his Father written on their foreheads.
2. And I heard a voice from heaven,
As the voice of many waters,
And as the voice of a great thunder.
And the voice which I heard (was) as (the voice) of harpers
3. Harping with their harps, and singing as it were a new song
Before the throne, and before the four living creatures and the elders.
And no one could learn the song
Save the hundred and forty and four thousand :
- 4^c. These are they which follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth.
- 4^d. These have been redeemed¹ from among men (to be) a sacrifice to God,²
5. And in their mouth hath no falsehood been found ;
For they are blameless.
6. And I saw another angel flying in mid heaven, having an eternal gospel to proclaim unto them that dwell on the
7. earth, and unto every nation and tribe and tongue and people, saying with a great voice,
Fear God, and give him glory ;
For the hour of his judgment is come :
And worship him that made the heaven
And the earth and sea and fountains of waters.

¹ Here it was most probably John's editor who, wrongly taking $\delta\rho\alpha\chi\eta$ to mean "first fruits," added the following gloss: "3^a. who were redeemed from the earth. 4^{a-b}. These are they who were not defiled with women; for they are virgins." These clauses exclude from the 144,000 all women; for the clause "who were not defiled with women" cannot be interpreted of women even metaphorically. See vol. ii. 8 sqq.

² The redeemed are a sacrifice ($\delta\rho\alpha\chi\eta$) to God, but not to the Lamb. $\delta\rho\alpha\chi\eta$ does not mean "first fruits" here. The same interpolator who added the clauses given in note (1) has added here "and to the Lamb."

8. And another, a second angel, followed, saying,
 Fallen, fallen is Babylon the great,
 Which had made all the nations to drink the wine
 [of the wrath] of her fornication.
9. And another angel, a third, followed them, saying with a
 great voice,
 If any man worshippeth the beast and his image,
 And receiveth the¹ mark on his forehead, or upon
 his hand,
10. He² shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God,
 Which is mingled sheer³ in the cup of his anger,
 And he shall be tormented with fire and brimstone
 In the presence of the angels and of the Lamb.
11. And the smoke of their torment goeth up for ever
 and ever;
 And they have no rest day nor night,
 That worship the beast and his image,
 And whoso receiveth the mark of his name.⁴
14. And I saw, and behold, a white cloud ;
 And on the cloud one seated like unto a son of man,
 Having on his head a golden crown,
 And in his hand a sharp sickle.⁵

Proleptic
 vision of
 the doom
 of Rome
 and of
 them that
 worship
 the Beast
 and receive
 his mark
 (= vision
 coming in
 its due
 order, xvi.
 17-xviii.),
 8-11

Proleptic
 vision of
 the
 judgment
 executed
 by the
 Son of
 Man on
 the
 heathen
 nations
 (= vision
 coming
 in its due
 order in
 xix. 11-20,
 xx. 7-10),
 14, 18-20

¹ This article is necessary ; see vol. ii. 15, and text *in loc.* for the cursives and versions which support it.

² We have here *καὶ αὐτός*. Three explanations are possible. (a) The *καὶ* is a Hebraism introducing the apodosis, and so is not to be translated ; see vol. ii. p. 16. (b) It may be taken with the *καὶ* that follows in the third line as *καὶ . . . καὶ*, "both . . . and." But this usage is not found elsewhere in our author, though it is in J. (c) It may be rendered "too." *καὶ αὐτός* would then = "he too." But the context is against this rendering ; for it presupposes that some one else just mentioned shall drink of the wine of God's wrath. But there is no such statement in xiv. 8. Besides, the phrase *καὶ αὐτός* (in the meaning of "he too") does not occur in our author, save in an interpolation xiv. 17, and in a Greek source xvii. 11.

³ *ἀσφρόν*. Can our author have taken this word to be a rendering of *non*, as the LXX in Ps. lxxix. 9? See vol. ii. 17.

⁴ Vers. 12-13, which pronounces the great beatitude on the martyred Church, has been restored to its original context after xiii. 18.

⁵ Here apparently John's editor has added 15-17, which is really a doublet of xiv. 18-20. This doublet represents the judgment as a reaping of the harvest of the wrath of God. But this figure does not belong to our author, who speaks of it as a vintage ; cf. xix. 15. Besides, several constructions are against his use, and the interpolator has failed to recognise the "one like a son of man" as Christ ; see vol. ii. 3, 18 (*ad fin.*), 21 sq. John could never have divided the judgment between Christ and an angel or have put any angel on an equality with Christ. It is a very stupid interpolation ; for it assigns to an angel the very judgment that is to be exercised by the Word

18. And another angel¹ went forth from the altar,² and cried with a great voice to him that had the sharp sickle saying,

Thrust in thy sharp sickle,
And gather the clusters of the vine of the earth ;
For her grapes are fully ripe.

19. And he³ thrust his sickle into the earth,
And gathered the vintage of the earth,
And cast it into the great winepress of the wrath of God.

The Son
of Man
treads the
winepress
of the
wrath of
God

20. And the winepress was trodden without the city,
And blood came out of the winepress even unto the
horses' bridles—
To a distance of one thousand six hundred furlongs.

CHAPTER XV.

XV. 2-8. (The chronological order of events in the Seer's visions of the future is here resumed. In other words, xv. 2-8 follows immediately on xiii., for xiv. broke away from this order and was wholly proleptic. xv. 2 opens with a vision of the entire martyr host, that had fallen in xiii. and are now in heaven (as in vii. 9-17) praising God for His righteousness and proclaiming the coming conversion of the nations (that had not been deceived by Rome), who would become His servants because of His righteous acts, 2-4. Thereupon follows a vision of the dooms inflicted on Rome and the nations seduced by her in the judgments of the Bowls, 5-8.)

of God in xix. 11-21. The interpolated verses (15-17) are : 15. "And another angel went forth from the temple, crying with a great voice to him that sat on the cloud,

Thrust in thy sickle and reap :
For the hour to reap hath come ;
For the harvest of the earth † is dried up †.

16. And he that sat on the cloud thrust in his sickle on the earth ; and the earth was reaped. 17. And another angel went forth from the temple which is in heaven, he also having a sharp sickle."

¹ Another, as distinct from the angels in vers. 6, 8, 9 ; otherwise render : "another, an angel."

² The MSS add : "who had power over fire."

³ *i.e.* the Son of Man. The text reads "an angel"—an interpolation due to the hand that inserted 15-17. The Son of Man is never described as an angel. It is He, and not an angel, that thrusts in the sickle and gathers the vintage of the earth. Therein xiv. 14, 18-20 is a proleptic vision of the event described in the vision in xix. 11-21 where the Word of God treads the winepress of the wrath of God.

- 2.¹ And I saw as it were a sea of glass mingled with fire ; The
and them that had been victorious over the beast, and glorified
over his image, and over the number of his name,
standing by the sea of glass, having the harps of God,
3. and singing² the song of the Lamb, saying,
Great and marvellous are thy works,
Lord God Almighty :
Righteous and true are thy ways,
Thou King of the nations.
4. Who shall not fear, O Lord,
And glorify thy name ?
For thou alone art holy ;
For all the nations shall come
And worship before thee ;
For thy righteous acts shall have been made manifest.
5. And after these things I saw, and † the temple of the
6. tabernacle of the testimony in heaven †³ was opened : and
seven angels⁴ came forth from the temple, clothed in fine
linen,⁵ pure, bright, and girt about the breasts with golden
7. girdles. And one of the four living creatures gave unto
the seven angels seven golden bowls full of the wrath of
God who liveth for ever and ever.
8. And the temple was filled with smoke from the glory of
God, and from his power ; and none could enter the temple
till the seven plagues of the seven angels were finished.

whose roll
is now
complete,
sing,
praising
God for
His power
and
righteous-
ness and
kingship
of the
nations,
2-3
Who shall
come and
worship
before
Him
(during the
Millennial
Kingdom)
Vision of
seven
angels
who
receive
seven
bowls of
wrath, 5-8

¹ xv. 1 is an interpolation ; see vol. ii. 30 sq. : " And I saw another sign in the heaven, great and marvellous, seven angels having seven plagues, (which are) the last ; for in them is finished the wrath of God." This subject is not touched upon till xv. 5, as the phrase *καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα εἶδον* proves. This phrase is not used unless at the *beginning* of a new and important section. See vol. i. 106 and footnote.

² The text reads *καὶ ᾄδουσιν*, "and they sing" as in xiv. 3. This is the Hebrew idiom, which has already occurred frequently ; see vol. i. 14 sq. That this was so understood very early we see from the Versions, which render as I do in the text : *i.e.* Pr fl arm⁶ a. We should observe the correction in M, which reads *καὶ ᾄδοντας*. The text here adds : "the song of Moses the servant of God and" ; see, however, vol. ii. 34 sqq.

³ A meaningless expression. Either we must excise the words : "of the tabernacle of the testimony," or, for this introduction to the Bowls go back to a Hebrew source and assume a slight corruption in the original. See vol. ii. 37 sq., where it is shown that if this introduction is from a Hebrew source we should probably read : "the temple of God which is in heaven," as in xi. 19. The corruption could quite easily arise.

⁴ Text reads : "the seven angels that had the seven plagues"—a change due to the interpolator of xv. 1.

⁵ See vol. ii. 38. The best MSS read *λίθον*. This impossible reading appears to presuppose a misrendering of the Hebrew.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE SEVEN BOWLS.

(These plagues are not in any sense a repetition of the seven Seals or the three Woes. Under the Seals (save in the fifth, where the prayers of the martyrs as spiritual judgments affect only the heathen), Christian and heathen alike suffer physically. The three Woes do *spiritual* hurt only to those who had not the Seal of God; the first two doing *physical* hurt as well: to those who had the Seal of God the three Woes could do no *spiritual* hurt, though the third could do them *physical* hurt. Since those who had been sealed have already been martyred in xiii., the Bowls affect only the heathen world.)

First Bowl
poured
upon the
earth, 1-2

The
second in
the sea, 3

The third
on the
rivers and
fountains, 4

The fourth
on the sun,
8-9

The fifth
on the
throne of
the Beast,
10-11

1. And I heard a great voice from the temple saying to the seven angels, Go and pour out the seven bowls of
2. the wrath of God upon¹ the earth. And the first went and poured out his bowl upon¹ the earth; and it became
3. a noisome and grievous sore upon men.² And the second poured out his bowl upon¹ the sea; and it became blood as of a dead man; and every living soul died, (even)
4. the things that were in the sea. And the third poured out his bowl upon¹ the rivers and the fountains of waters,
8. and they became blood.³ And the fourth poured out his bowl upon the sun; and it was given unto him to
9. scorch men with fire. And men were scorched with great heat, and they blasphemed the name of God which hath the power over these plagues, and they repented not
10. to give him glory. And the fifth poured his bowl upon the throne of the beast; and his kingdom was darkened;⁴
11. . . . and they gnawed their tongues for pain, And they blasphemed the God of heaven because of their pains and of their sores; and they repented not of their works.

¹ *eis*, but *êxi* in 8, 10, 12, 17 without any real difference in meaning.

² The MSS add the following gloss: "that had the mark of the beast and that worshipped his image"; see vol. ii. 43.

³ Here follows an interpolation: "and I heard the angel of the waters saying," which is used to introduce 5^b-7. These clauses originally followed after xix. 4, to which context they are restored in this edition; see vol. ii. 122, also 116 sq.

⁴ After "darkened" several clauses have been lost, in which the causes of the darkness and the sufferings of mankind were given. The plague of darkness could not explain the agony of the worshippers of the Beast. This plague is closely connected with the first Woe; see vol. ii. 45 sq. The phrase "because of the sores" proves that the sufferings of the subjects of the Beast cannot be explained from the text as it stands.

12. And the sixth poured out his bowl upon the great river, The sixth the Euphrates, and its waters were dried up, that the way on the might be prepared for the kings that (come) from the sun- Euphrates, rising. And I saw from the mouth of the dragon, and that the 18. from the mouth of the beast, and from the mouth of the Parthians might 14. false prophet, three unclean spirits¹ going forth² unto march the kings of the whole world to gather them together against 16. unto the war of the great day of God Almighty.³ And Rome, 12 they gathered them together to the place which is called (described more fully in xvii. 12-13, 17, 16) 17. in Hebrew Har-Magedon. And the seventh poured out his bowl upon the air; and there came forth a great voice out of the temple, from the throne, saying, It Evil spirits 18. is done. And there followed lightnings, and voices and from Satan and the thunders, and there followed a great earthquake, such as Beasts there has not been since men were upon the earth, so mustering 19. mighty an earthquake, so great.⁴ And the cities of the the nations to Har-Magedon, before God, to give her the cup of the wine of the 13-14, 16 20. fierceness of his wrath. And every island fled away, and An earth- 21. the mountains were not found. And great hail, (every quake follows, stone) about the weight of a talent, came⁵ down from follows, heaven upon men: and men blasphemed God because overthrow- of the plague of hail; for the plague thereof was⁶ ing the cities of the nations. exceeding great. Babylon reserved for special judgment, 18-20.

¹ While our text represents God as putting it into the heart of the Parthian kings, xvii. 17, 16, to destroy Rome, it is three unclean spirits from Satan and the two Beasts which muster the nations against Christ in xvi. 13-16; cf. xix. 17, 19, xx. 8.

MSS add a gloss: "As it were frogs; for they are spirits of demons working signs"; see vol. ii. 47 sq.

² The text here reads corruptly & *ἐκπορεύεται* instead of *ἐκπορεύμενα*, which our author's usage and the context require; see vol. ii. 48.

³ Here the MSS insert as xvi. 15—a verse which originally stood after iii. 3*, and where it is restored in this edition. It forms the second of the seven beatitudes in our author.

⁴ The MSS add here: "And the great city was divided into three parts"—the contents of which are against the context, while the order of the numeral is against our author's usage; see vol. ii. 52.

⁵ Lit. "cometh" = Hebrew imperfect.

⁶ Lit. "is."

CHAPTER XVII.

XVII.-XVIII. THE VISION AND DOOM OF ROME, XVII. 1-6, XVIII.; THE INTERPRETATION OF THE BEAST AND OF HIS SEVEN HEADS AND TEN HORNS, XVII. 8-17.

(These two chapters are to be taken closely together. xvii. begins with a promise on the part of the angel to show the Seer the judgment of the Great Harlot; but instead he turns aside to deal with the Beast, and the promised judgment is not witnessed till xviii. Our author is here using two sources: one embraces xvii. 1^a-2, 3^b-6^a, 7, 18, and part of 8-10, xviii. (see vol. ii. 55, 59 sqq., 94), which was originally written when Vespasian, the sixth king, was still reigning (xvii. 10). The second is fragmentary, xvii. 11-13, 17, 16, and dealt with the Neronian Antichrist, the ten kings, and the destruction of Rome.)

Vision of
the woman
(i.e. Rome)
on the
Scarlet
Beast, 1-6

XVII. 1. And there came one of the seven angels which had the seven bowls, and he spake with me, saying, Come hither, I will show thee

The judgment of the great harlot
That sitteth upon many waters:

2. With whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication,
And with the wine of whose fornication they that dwell upon the earth have become drunken.

3. And he carried me away in the spirit into a wilderness: and I saw a woman sitting upon a scarlet-coloured beast, full of names of blasphemy, having seven heads and ten

4. horns. And the woman was clothed in purple and scarlet, and adorned¹ with gold and precious stones and pearls, having in her hand a golden cup full of abomina-

5. tions and the unclean things² of her fornication. And upon her forehead (was) a name written, a mystery—

Babylon the great,
The mother of harlotries³
And of the abominations of the earth.

¹ Or "covered"; see note on meaning of *κεκρυμμένη* here, vol. ii. 64.

² To be taken as an acc. after *γέμον*, cf. 3, and not as in RV.; nor as dependent on *ἐχούσα*, as suggested in my note, vol. ii. 65.

³ So Tyc Pr vg arm². This forms a perfect parallel to "abominations." This reading of Tyc Pr vg arm may be the result of conjecture. If so, the corruption could have arisen in the Hebrew source; see vol. ii. 65.

6. And I saw the woman drunken with the blood of the saints and with the blood of the martyrs¹ of Jesus. And
7. when I saw her I wondered with a great wonder. And the angel said unto me, Wherefore didst thou wonder? I will tell thee the mystery of the woman, and of the beast that carrieth her, which hath the seven heads and the ten horns.
8. The beast that thou sawest was, and is not, and is about to come up out of the abyss, and he goeth his way² into perdition. And they that dwell on the earth will wonder —(all) whose names have not been written in the book of life since the foundation of the world, when they behold the beast, that³ was, and is not, and yet is to come.⁴
9. Here (is needed) the mind which hath wisdom. The
10. seven heads⁵ are seven kings: five of them have fallen, the one is, the other is not yet come, and when he
11. cometh, he must continue a short time. And the beast, that was, and is not, is himself also an eighth, and is of the seven; and he goeth his way into perdition.
12. And the ten horns, which thou sawest, are ten kings, that have received no kingdom as yet; but they will receive⁶ authority as kings for one hour along with the beast.
13. These have one purpose, and they give their power and
17. authority unto the beast.⁷ For God hath put it into their hearts to do his purpose,⁸ and to give their kingdom unto
16. the beast, until the words of God should be fulfilled. And the ten horns which thou sawest, and the beast,
- These shall hate the harlot,
And make her desolate and naked,

The meaning of the Beast,⁷

All but Christians will marvel at the Beast's return after his death,⁸

The seven heads are seven kings: the sixth reigns: the seventh will reign but a short space and be succeeded by the Beast, who is one of the seven, 9-11

The ten horns are ten kings who will serve the Beast and destroy the Great Harlot, 12-13, 17, 16

¹ So rightly AV. and RV. and not "witnesses"; see vol. i. 62.

² It is better to follow A *ὁπάγει*, "he goeth his way," here than *αὐτὸς* 025. *ὁπάγειν*, "to go his way." All the time, despite his apparent recovery and triumphs, he is on the way to perdition; cf. on xvii. 11.

³ Better so rendered than by "how that" (*ὅτι*). I here read *ὅτι*, not *ὅτι*; cf. *ὅτι* in xvii. 11 exactly in the same sense. We have here a parody of the divine name: "Which is, and which was, and which is to come" (i. 4, iv. 8).

⁴ *πάρεσται* is here = *ἐλεύσεται* (a form our author does not use, though he uses other tenses of *έρχομαι* and *ἐξελεύσεται* (xx. 8)).

⁵ A gloss here follows: "are seven mountains on which the woman sitteth and they." This is a second explanation thrust in from the margin.

⁶ Text = "receive."

⁷ The text is dislocated and glossed. 17 is to be read immediately after 13 and next 16. 14 follows on 16, because 14 records the destruction of the forces which according to 17, 16 are to destroy Rome. 15 is a gloss on xvii. 1. "And he said unto me, The waters which thou sawest, where the harlot sitteth, are peoples, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues"; see vol. ii. 61, 71 sq., 74.

⁸ Text adds here an early gloss or doublet: "and to do one purpose"; see vol. ii. 73.

And be
themselves
destroyed
by the
Lamb and
the Saints,
14 (a judg-
ment im-
plied in
xix. 13^b)
The
woman
Rome

And they shall eat her flesh
And burn her with fire.

14. These shall war against the Lamb,
And the Lamb shall overcome them,
For he is Lord of lords, and King of kings;
And they that are with him, called and elect and
faithful, (shall overcome).¹
18. And the woman, whom thou sawest, is the great city,
which reigneth over the kings of the earth.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE DOOM OF ROME.

(This chapter deals with the doom of Rome, a vision of which had been promised by the angel to the Seer in xvii. 1. With the exception of a few clauses, it comes from a source which our author has already laid under contribution in xvii. 1-10, 18; see vol. ii. 94. It was written in the time of Vespasian, and several clauses survive attesting that period; see vol. ii. 93.)

Rome has
fallen, for
she hath
corrupted
all the
earth, 1-3

1. After these things I saw another angel coming down
from heaven, having great authority; and the earth was
2. lighted up by his glory. And he cried with a mighty
voice, saying,

Fallen, fallen is Babylon the great,
And has become a habitation for demons,
And a hold of every unclean and hateful² spirit,
And a hold of every unclean and hateful bird.³

3. For of the wine⁴ of her fornication hath she caused all
the nations to drink;⁵

¹ Understand *νικησάτω*, rather than what I have proposed in vol. ii. 75. After 14 the text inserts what was originally a gloss on xvii. 1, *i.e.* 15. See note 7, p. 429.

² Text of this and the next line doubtful. I have followed A *μινπαυ-
γιγ arm*⁴.

³ This line conflicts with the statement in xix. 3^b, according to which the smoke of Rome's burning is to go up for ever and ever. But this is due to the fact that xviii. is an early source used by our author, whereas xix. comes from his own hand.

⁴ *κ* 046 Tyc s² read: "wine of the wrath of her fornication." I have followed 325^a (?) Pr and s¹.

⁵ So a few cursives and s¹ (*πρωτοικεν*). This reading explains the impossible readings of the Uncials. This clause expresses the very same idea that is expressed passively in xvii. 2^b: *ἐμεθύσθησαν . . . ἐκ τοῦ αἵμου τῆς πορνείας*; cf. xiv. 8.

For ¹ the kings of the earth committed fornication with her,
And the merchants of the earth waxed rich through the
wealth of her wantonness.

4. And I heard another voice from heaven, saying,
Come forth from her, my people,²
That ye may have no fellowship with her sins,
And that ye receive not of her plagues.

Her sins
in which
the faithful
are not to
share
called into
remem-
brance

5. For her sins have reached unto heaven,
And God hath remembered her iniquities.

6. Render unto her even as she hath rendered,
And double (unto her) double according to her works :
In the cup which she hath mingled, mingle unto
her double.

The
measure of
her punish-
ment and
her
destruc-
tion by
fire, 6-8

7. In the measure in which she hath glorified herself
and played the wanton,
In that measure give her torment and † mourning †.³

Because she saith in her heart,
I sit as a queen,
And am no widow,
And I shall not see † mourning †.⁴

8. Therefore in one day shall her plagues come,
† Pestilence and mourning and famine †.⁵

¹ See note *in loc.* 3^b are circumstantial clauses introduced by *καὶ* (= Hebrew *ו*), which state the conditions under which the action described in 3^a takes place. See notes on xii. 11^c, xix. 3, and see Oxford *Heb. Lexicon*, p. 253. Hence *καὶ* = "seeing that," "for." The Greek aorists are rendered by English aorists (*ἐπὶβρυσαν* . . . *ἐπλούτησαν*), as Babylon is regarded as a thing of the past in these verses. In 3^a the perfect is rightly used, since the results of "the wine of fornication" are enduring in the present. But in 4 sqq. the standpoint of the Seer changes. Babylon is still conceived as in being. The Greek aorists that follow have therefore frequently to be construed by the English perfect.

² This statement points to a source. The faithful have all suffered martyrdom. See vol. ii. 96 *ad fin.*

³ *πένθος* ("mourning") is an idea foreign to the context here and in 8^b. It is not "mourning," but destruction that awaits Rome. Since *πένθος* = *πῆμα*, the latter may be corrupt for *πῆμα* or *πῆμα* = *ἀπώλεια* = "destruction." The same corruption is implied by the LXX in Jer. xii. 11. Hence for "mourning" read "destruction." This explanation is better than that suggested in vol. ii. 100.

⁴ Read "destruction," as in 7^b.

⁵ First of all the order seems wrong. Almost invariably in the OT. we have "famine and pestilence." Here again "mourning" cannot be right. As in 7^b we should read "destruction." Thus we should have "famine, and pestilence, and destruction."

Dirge of
the kings
over
Rome,
9-10

And she shall be burnt with fire ;
For strong is the God who hath judged her.

9. And the kings of the earth who committed fornication
and lived wantonly with her shall weep and wail over
her, when they look upon the smoke of her burning,
10. Standing afar off for the fear of her torment, saying,

Woe, woe to the great city,
Babylon the strong city,
For in one hour is thy judgment come.

Dirge of
the
merchants,
11-16

11. And the merchants of the earth shall weep and mourn
over her,¹
For no man buyeth their merchandise any more—

12. Merchandise of gold and silver, and precious stone and
pearls,
And fine linen and purple, and silk and scarlet,
And all thyine wood, and every vessel of ivory, and every
vessel of most precious wood,²
And brass, and iron, and marble,

13. And cinnamon, and spice, and incense,
And ointment, and frankincense, and wine,
And oil, and fine flour, and wheat,
And beasts, and sheep,³ and souls of men.⁴

15. The merchants of these things, who were made rich by
her, shall stand afar off for the fear of her torment,

16. weeping and mourning, Saying,
Woe, woe to the great city,
That was clothed in fine linen and purple and
scarlet,
And adorned with gold, and precious stone, and
pearl ;
For in one hour are so great riches laid waste.

Dirge of
the sea-
folk,
17-19

17. And every ship master, and every one that saileth any
whither,⁵ and mariners, and as many as gain their
18. living by the sea, stood afar off, And cried, as they looked
upon the smoke of her burning, saying, What (city) is like

¹ 23*, which is quite impossible in 23 and cannot be satisfactorily restored elsewhere in this chapter, is best explained as a gloss on 11*. It runs: "For the princes of the earth were thy merchants." In my text and commentary I have inserted it after 11*.

² A 2040 vg eth read "stone."

³ The MSS add here: "and horses and chariots and slaves." See vol. ii. 102 for the grounds for the excision of these words.

⁴ Ver. 14 is transposed after 21 in this edition. See vol. ii. 105, 108.

⁵ The text seems corrupt here. Pr bo sa presuppose *ἐπὶ τὸν ὁρίζοντα* instead of *ἐπὶ τὸν ὁρίζοντα*. Hence render "that saileth on the sea," see vol. ii. 105 sq.

19. the great city? And they cast dust on their heads, and they cried, weeping and mourning, saying,

Woe, woe to the great city,
Wherein were made rich all that had their ships at
sea;
For in one hour are her precious things laid waste.¹

21. And a strong angel took up a stone, as it were a great millstone, and cast it into the sea, saying,

Sudden destruc-
tion of
Rome, 21

Thus with violence² shall be cast down
Babylon, the great city,
And shall no more be found.³

14. And the fruits which thy soul lusted after
Are gone from thee:
And all the dainties and the splendours
Are perished from thee.⁴

Dirge of
the Seer
over
Rome, 14,
22, 23^{a-d}

- 22^{a, b, c, d}. And the voice of the harpers and singers⁵
<Shall be heard no more in thee>;⁶
And <the voice>⁶ of the flute players and
trumpeters
Shall be heard no more in thee.

- 23^{c, d}. And the voice of the bridegroom and the bride
Shall be heard no more in thee;

- 23^{e, f}. And no craftsmen of whatever craft
Shall be found any more in thee.

- 23^{g, h}. And the voice of the millstone
Shall be heard no more in thee:

- 23^{i, j}. And the light of the lamp
Shall shine no more in thee.

¹ On the restoration of this verse see vol. ii. 106. Ver. 20 is restored at the close of 23^{a, b}. On the restored order see vol. ii. 92 sq.

² Or "with indignation." But the meaning is doubtful.

³ The beginning of the next dirge appears to be lost. On the reconstructed order of this dirge, see vol. ii. 92 sq., 108 sqq.

⁴ The text adds: "And they shall no more find them" (= וְלֹא יִמְצְאוּ עוֹד); but this is possibly a corrupt form of the line, which is lacking in 22^b and which I have restored (i.e. לֹא יִמְצְאוּ עוֹד בְּךָ עֵד). But probably it is an interpolation; for elsewhere in this source 18^{a-27} *עוֹד מִי* is always followed by the subjunctive, whereas here it is the indicative; cf. xviii. 21, 22 (ter), 23 (bis).

⁵ *מוֹסִיקָאִים* = שָׂרִידִים (see LXX Ezek. xxvi. 13, Sir. xxxv. 3, 5), corrupt for שָׂרִידִים = "singers."

⁶ Restored as the context requires. See vol. ii. 109. It is noteworthy that the Ethiopic Version has made the same restoration, see vol. ii. 352.

Seer's appeal to the inhabitants of heaven to rejoice over the doom of Rome, 20, 23^k, 24

20. Rejoice over her, thou heaven,
And ye saints, and ye apostles, and ye prophets ;
For God hath given judgment in your cause against her.
- 23^f. For with her¹ sorcery were all the nations deceived.
24. And in her was found the blood of the prophets and saints,
And of all that had been slain upon the earth.

CHAPTER XIX.

(Response of the heavenly host to the appeal of the Seer just made—first of a mighty multitude praising God for His judgment of the Harlot City, and His avenging His servants' blood at her hands, 1-3; next of the Elders and Cherubim and of the Altar, which in like manner praise Him for that, having poured out the blood of the saints, they were made to drink each other's blood, 4, xvi. 5^b-7; and, finally, of the martyrs themselves, who offer their thanksgivings, for that now the Lord God Almighty has become King and that the Bride is now ready, xix. 5-7. The Bride will appear clothed in keeping with her character, 8. Thereupon the fourth Beatitude is pronounced, 9. At this stage a vision of the destruction of the Parthian kings is to be expected (see vol. ii. 114 *ad init.*, 117 *ad init.*, and note 1 on ii. 436). Now that Rome and the Parthians have been destroyed, there remains only the judgment of the kings of the earth who had shared in the abominations of Rome. These are slain by Christ, and the Beast and False Prophet are cast into the lake of fire, 11-20.)

Response of heaven to the Seer's appeal. Song of the angels on God's judgment of Rome, 1-3

1. After these things I heard as it were a great voice of a mighty² multitude in heaven, saying,
Hallelujah ;
Salvation, and glory, and power, belong to our God :
2. For true and righteous are his judgments ;
For he hath judged the great harlot,
That corrupted the earth with her fornication,
And he hath avenged the blood of his servants at her hand.
3. And again they said :³
Hallelujah ;
For⁴ her smoke goeth up for ever and ever.

¹ Text reads corruptly "thy."

² *i.e.* *collected*.

³ A perfect with an aorist meaning.

⁴ *and* to be taken as a Hebraism ; see vol. ii. 120.

4. And the four and twenty elders and the four living creatures fell down and worshipped God that sitteth on the throne, saying,
Amen, Hallelujah ;
- XVI. 5^{b,c}.** Righteous art thou, which art and which wast.¹
Holy, in that thou hast thus judged :
6. Because they poured out the blood of saints and prophets,
Thou hast given them blood also to drink :²
They are worthy.
7. And I heard the altar saying,
Yea, O Lord God Almighty,
True and righteous are thy judgments.
- XIX. 5.** And a voice came forth from the throne, saying,
Praise our God, all ye his servants,
And ye who fear him, small and great.
6. And I heard as it were the voice of a great multitude, and as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of mighty thunders, saying,
Hallelujah :
For the Lord God Almighty hath become King.
7. Let us be glad and rejoice,
And give unto him the glory :
For the marriage of the Lamb hath come,
And his bride³ hath made herself ready.
8. Yea, it hath been given unto her to clothe herself
In fine linen bright, pure.⁴
9. And he saith unto me, Blessed are they which are called to the marriage supper of the Lamb.⁵
.
.

Song of the Elders and Cherubim praising God in that He hath made them, that slew the saints, to slay each other, xix. 4, xvi. 5^{b,c}, 6
The martyrs at last vindicated by God, and bidden to offer their praise, xvi. 7, xix. 5
Response of the martyr host, singing, Hallelujah in that God has become king, the marriage of the Lamb come, and the Bride made herself ready, 6-8

¹ On the restoration of xvi. 5^{b,c}-7 to its original context, see vol. ii. 116, 120-124.
² On the technical meaning of this phrase, see vol. ii. 123.
³ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ; see vol. ii. 127.
⁴ Text adds an incorrect gloss : "for the fine linen is the righteous acts of the saints" ; see vol. ii. 127 sq. Rather "the fine linen" is the result of such righteous acts, that is, the spiritual bodies in which the saints are clothed.
⁵ Text adds here a doublet of xxii. 6^a, 8-9. 9^b. "And he saith to me, these are true words of God. 10. And I fell down before his feet to worship him. And he saith to me, See thou do it not. I am a fellow-servant with thee and with thy brethren that have the testimony of Christ : worship God : for the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy." See vol. ii. 128 sqq.

destruction of the Parthian kings¹ (proleptically referred to in xvii. 14) A Divine Warrior followed by the armies of heaven, 11-14 (a judgment proleptically described in xiv. 14, 18-20) Smites with a sharp sword the nations and treads the winepress of the wrath of God—bearing the name of King of kings and Lord of lords, 15-16 Birds of prey summoned to feast on the slain Beast and False Prophet overthrown and cast into the lake of fire, 17-18

11. And I saw the heaven opened ;
And behold, a white horse,

And he that sat thereon—Faithful and True ;²
And in righteousness he doth judge and make war.
12. And his eyes are as a flame of fire,
And on his head are many diadems ;³
13. And he is clothed in a garment dipped in blood :
And his name is called The Word of God.
14. And the armies which are in heaven follow him on
white horses,
Being clothed in fine linen, white, pure.
15. And from his mouth proceedeth a sharp sword,
That with it he should smite the nations :

And he shall break ⁴ them with an iron rod :
And he treadeth the winepress of the fierce wrath of
God Almighty.
16. And he hath on ⁵ his thigh a name written,
KING OF KINGS AND LORD OF LORDS.
17. And I saw an angel standing in the sun ; and he cried
with a great voice, saying to all the birds that fly in
mid heaven, Come, gather yourselves together to the
18. great supper of God ; That ye may eat the flesh of kings,
and the flesh of captains, and the flesh of mighty men,
and the flesh of horses and of them that sit thereon, and
the flesh of all men, both free and bond, and small
and great.
19. And I saw the beast, and the kings of the earth, and
their armies, gathered together to make war against him

¹ I have indicated a lacuna here. Where xix. 9^b-10 stands we should expect a vision relating to the destruction of the Parthian kings—a destruction prophesied in xvii. 14 (see vol. ii. 116 *ad fin.*) and implied by the epithet βασιλευς in xix. 13 (see vol. ii. 133). This vision appears to have been displaced by the interpolation, 9^b-10. The subjects of all other proleptic visions are rehandled in other visions in their due order. Hence we expect a vision on the destruction of the Parthian kings here in its chronological order.

² K 046 al^{pl} and many versions read "called Faithful and True."

³ Here the MSS add an interpolation: "Having a name written which no man knoweth save he himself." It is an anacolouthon: it forms a break in the thought and is contradicted by what follows; see vol. ii. 132.

⁴ See note on xii. 5 (translation); also vol. i. 75 sq.

⁵ Text adds: "his raiment and on," see vol. ii. 137.

20. that sat upon the horse, and against his army. And the beast was taken, and with him the false prophet that wrought the signs before him, wherewith he deceived them that had received the mark of the beast, and them that worshipped his image: they twain were cast alive into the lake of fire that burneth with brimstone. And the rest were slain with the sword of him that sat upon the horse, (even the sword) which came forth out of his mouth: and all the birds were filled with their flesh.
- Their allies slain and their bodies eaten by birds of prey. 19-21

CHAPTERS-XX.-XXII.

(The traditional order of the text in these three chapters is intolerably disordered and hopelessly unintelligible. The present editor has restored, so far as he can, the order of the text as it left the hand of the Seer. See vol. ii. 144-154. The restored order is given on pp. 153-154. On line 12 (p. 154) delete 6°, and on line 17 insert 5° before 6b-8.)

CHAPTER XX. 1-3.

1-3. (Satan chained for a thousand years, and the nations set free from his deceivings.)

1. And I saw an angel coming down from heaven,
Having the key of the abyss
And a great chain in his hand.
2. And he laid hold on the dragon, the old serpent,
Which is the Devil and Satan,
And bound him for a thousand years :
3. And he cast him into the abyss,
And shut and sealed (it) over him,
That he should no more deceive the nations
Till the thousand years should be fulfilled.

Chaining
of Satan
in the
abyss

After this he must be loosed for a little time.

CHAPTER XXI. 9-27.

XXI. 9-XXII. 2, 14-15, 17. (Vision of the Heavenly Jerusalem, which descends from heaven and settles on the ruined site of the earthly Jerusalem. This Heavenly City is at once the seat of the Messianic Kingdom, the abode of the glorified martyrs, and the centre of the evangelising agencies of the surviving nations on the earth, during the millennial period. Though it is not stated, we must conclude that alike the glorified martyrs and the Heavenly Jerusalem are withdrawn from the earth before the final judgment.)

The tree of life (xxii. 2, 14) appears to be for the new converts (xxii. 2; cf. xi. 15, xiv. 6, 7, xv. 3, 4) and not for the martyrs, since the martyrs are already clothed with their heavenly bodies and are not subject to the second death. They had already eaten of it in the Paradise of God (ii. 7).

As one of the seven angels of the Bowls showed Rome—the capital of the kingdom of the Antichrist—to the Seer (xvii. 1), so he now shows him the heavenly Jerusalem.)

Vision
of the
Heavenly
Jerusalem
—the seat
of Christ's
Kingdom
on earth
for 1000
years

Its
measure-
ments

9. And there came one of the seven angels who had the seven bowls, which were full of the seven last plagues; and he spake with me, saying, Come hither, I will show thee the bride[, the wife] of the Lamb.
10. And he carried me away in the Spirit to a mountain great and high, and showed me the holy city Jerusalem,
11. coming down out of heaven from God, Having the glory of God: her light was like unto a stone most precious, as it were a jasper stone, clear as crystal.
12. She had a wall great and high; she had twelve gates, and at the gates twelve angels; and names written thereon, which are the names of the twelve tribes of
13. the children of Israel. On the east were three gates; and on the north three gates; and on the south three
14. gates; and on the west three gates. And the wall of the city had twelve foundations, and on them the
15. twelve names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb. And he that spake with me had for a measure a golden reed to measure the city, and the gates thereof, and the
16. wall thereof. And the city lieth foursquare, and the length thereof is as great also as the breadth; and he measured the city with the reed, twelve thousand furlongs: the length and the breadth and the height
17. thereof are equal. And he measured the wall thereof,

a hundred and forty and four cubits, according to the measure of a man, that is, of an angel.

18. And the building of the wall thereof was jasper :

And the city was pure gold, like unto pure glass :

19. And¹ the foundations of the wall of the city were adorned with all manner of precious stones.

Its glorious
structure
and
appear-
ance

The first foundation was jasper ; the second, sapphire ; the third, chalcedony ;

20. The fourth, emerald ; the fifth, sardonyx ; the sixth, sardius ;

The seventh, chrysolite ; the eighth, beryl ; the ninth, topaz ;

The tenth, chrysoprase ; the eleventh, jacinth ; the twelfth, amethyst.

21. And the twelve gates were twelve pearls ;

Each one of the gates was of one pearl,

And the street of the city was pure gold, transparent as glass.²

22. And I saw no temple therein :

For the Lord God Almighty is the temple thereof,

And the Lamb < is the ark of the covenant thereof³ >.

No temple
nor ark
therein,
nor sun
nor moon
to give
light, but
God
Himself
and the
Lamb

23. And the city hath no need of the sun, nor yet of the moon, to shine upon it :

For the glory of the Lord doth lighten⁴ it,

And the lamp thereof is the Lamb.

24. And the nations shall walk by the light thereof :

And the kings of the earth do bring their glory into it.

25. And the gates thereof shall not be shut day or night.⁵

Its gates
always
open to
the nations
of the
earth

¹ Though A 025, 046 omit, it seems best, with * Pr (gig) arm s¹.² bo eth to read the copula.

² Or, "as it were transparent glass."

³ A probable restoration ; the original is lost. The English versions conceal this loss by transposing the words "And the Lamb" into the preceding sentence. Cf. xi. 19, where the temple and the ark of the covenant are spoken of as the headcentres of the manifestations of God. In the Heavenly Jerusalem God takes the place of the first, and the Lamb that of the second ; see vol. ii. 170 sq.

⁴ ἐφώτισεν is either the Greek timeless aorist, Moulton, Gr. 135 sq. ; Robertson, Gr. 836 sq., or it is in our author's mind a rendering of the timeless Hebrew perfect—a very common usage.

⁵ The text reads : "for there shall be no night there"—a corruption due in part to xxii. 5. As in Isa. lx. 11, the text clearly ran as I have emended : "Thy gates . . . shall not be shut day or night." The alternations of day and night still prevail on the earth. It is otherwise in xxii. 5, where the New Jerusalem has come down from God to the new and glorified earth. Besides, the parallelism is against it ; see vol. ii. 173.

26. And they shall bring the glory and the honour of the nations into it :

27. And there shall not enter into it † anything unclean or one † ¹ that maketh an abomination or a lie :

But only they that are written in the Lamb's book of life.

CHAPTER XXII. 1-2, 14-15, 17.

The river
and tree
of life

1. And he showed me a river of water of life, bright as crystal,

2. Proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb, In the midst of the street thereof :
And on this side of the river and on that was the tree ² of life,

Bearing twelve (manner of) fruits,

Yielding its fruit every month :

And the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations.

Fifth
Beatitude
—for those
who
cleanse
themselves
and so have
access to
the tree of
life in the
City
Invitation
of the
Spirit and
the Bride

14. Blessed are they that wash their robes,
That they may have the right to the tree of life,
And may enter in by the gates into the city.

15. Without are the dogs, and the sorcerers,
And the fornicators, and the murderers, and the idolaters,
And every one that loveth and maketh a lie.

17. And the Spirit and the bride ³ say, Come.
And let him that heareth say, Come.
And let him that is athirst come :
Whosoever willeth let him take the water of life freely.

¹ Primitive corruption for "any that is unclean or," cf. xxii. 15. Only persons are contemplated as the next line shows.

² The term is used generically. The text implies that there are two rows of trees, one on either side of the river ; see vol. ii. 176.

³ Since the term "bride" designates the Heavenly Jerusalem in our author (cf. xxi. 2, 9), it has no doubt the same meaning here, but the idea of the Christian *community* rather than of the city is here brought forward ; see vol. ii. 179.

CHAPTER XX. 4-15.

XX. 4-8. (Vision of the glorified martyrs who reign with Christ for a thousand years.)

- 4^{c-b}. And <I saw> the souls of them that had been beheaded for the witness of Christ,
 And for the word of God,
 And¹ had not worshipped the beast,
 Nor yet his image,
 And had not received the mark upon their forehead
 And upon their hand ;
- 4^{a-b-i}. And I saw thrones, and they seated themselves thereon,
 And judgment was given unto them.²
 And they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years.³
- 5^b. This is the first resurrection.
6. Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection :
 Over these the second death hath no power ;
 But they shall be priests of God and of Christ,
 And shall reign with him a thousand years.

Kingdom
of Christ
on the
earth, 4-6

Sixth
Beatitude
—the
blessed-
ness
of those
that have
part in
the first
resurrec-
tion

XX. 7-10. (Close of the Millennial Kingdom and of its evangelizing activities. Thereupon follows the loosing of Satan, the march of Gog and Magog against the beloved city, their destruction by supernatural means, and the casting of Satan into the lake of fire. The Seer does not say what became of the Heavenly Jerusalem, but its withdrawal from the earth before the final judgment is presupposed. Since "the beloved city" in xx. 9 is the Heavenly Jerusalem, the saints referred to in the same verse must include the risen martyrs.)

7. And when the thousand years are fulfilled,
 8. Satan shall be loosed out of his prison, And shall

Satan
loosed :
his final
efforts and
overthrow,
7-10

¹ Text reads : "and that" ; but see vol. ii. 183.

² This couplet occurs immediately at the beginning of ver. 4, where alike the context and the grammar are against them.

³ Here follows an interpolation, as Mr. Marsh has suggested : 5^a. "The rest of the dead lived not till the thousand years were fulfilled." See Greek text *in loc.* By its removal the symmetry of the text is restored—seven successive couplets.

come forth to deceive the nations which are in the four corners of the earth, Gog and Magog, to gather them together to the war: the number of whom is as

9. the sand of the sea. And they went¹ up over the breadth of the earth, and compassed the camp of the saints about, and the beloved city: and fire came down
10. out of heaven, and devoured them. And the devil that deceived them was cast into the lake of fire and brimstone, where are also the beast and the false prophet; and they shall be tormented day and night for ever and ever.

XX. 11-15. (Vision of the great throne and of Him that sat thereon, before whose presence the former heaven and the former earth forthwith vanish. Judgment of the dead. Death and hell cast into the lake of fire.)

Resurrection
of the
dead and
final
judgment,
11-13

11. And I saw a great white throne, and him that sat thereon;
And from his face the earth and the heaven fled away,
And no place was found for them.
12. And I saw the dead, the great and the small,² standing before the throne,
And books were opened: and another book was opened,
which is (the book) of life:
And the dead were judged out of the things written in the books.³
13. And the treasures⁴ gave up the dead which were in them;⁴

¹ The past verbs in 20^{9-12a} are to be explained from our author's use of Hebrew idiom, according to which Hebrew perfects (or imperfects with vav conversive) represent vividly the future events as things already accomplished.

² Our author elsewhere writes: "the small and the great"; see vol. ii. 194.

³ Tautological interpolation added here: "according to their works."

⁴ The text here reads "sea," but the context requires a reference to the abode of righteous souls, since Hades is the abode in our author only of wicked souls, and as such is cast into the lake of fire, xx. 14^a. The change of "treasures"—the normal word in Judaism (50-100 A.D.) for the abode of righteous souls, or of "mansions" (John xiv. 2), or "Paradise" (?)—into "sea" was made in the interests of a bodily resurrection. But the sea has already vanished with the first heaven and earth (ver. 11, xxi. 1). According to the transmitted text only wicked souls have part in the General Resurrection and Final Judgment. In 4 Ezra vii. the text dealing with the General Resurrection and Final Judgment has also been tampered with, with a view to enforcing belief in a physical resurrection. The result of the tampering with the two texts is interesting: while in the Apocalypse only the wicked rise and are judged, in 4 Ezra only the righteous rise and are judged! see vol. ii. 194-198.

And death and Hades gave up the dead which were in them :

And they were judged every man according to their works.

14. And death and Hades were cast into the lake of fire.¹ End of death and Hades
And all that were not found written in the book of life
Were cast into the lake of fire.

XXI. 5^a, 4^d, 5^b; XXI. 1-4^a b. c.; XXII. 3-5. (Declaration by God that the former things have passed away and that He creates all things new. Forthwith the Seer sees the new heaven and the new earth and the New² Jerusalem coming down, adorned as a bride for her husband. God tabernacles with men. No more grief or pain or tears or death. All the faithful are to reign with Christ for ever and ever (xxii. 5), whereas in the Millennial Kingdom only the risen martyrs were to reign for a thousand years.)

- 5^a. And he that sat upon the throne said, God
4^d. The former things have passed away; makes all
5^b. Behold, I make all things new.³ things new

- XXI. 1. And I saw a new heaven and a new earth; New
For the first heaven and the first earth had passed heaven and new
away; earth
Nor is there any more sea.

¹ Text adds here a marginal gloss : "this is the second death, the lake of fire," drawn from xxi. 8f., where the clause is full of meaning; but it is wholly out of place here with regard to death and Hades.

² Even the Heavenly City of xxi. 10, which had been withdrawn from the earth before the Judgment with Christ and the saints, is *renewed* or displaced by one of a higher nature.

³ Text contains the following intrusion : 5^a. "And he saith, Write : for these things are faithful and true. 6^a. And he said unto me, They have become." xxi. 5^a—doublet of xxii. 6^a—is in this edition restored after xxii. 5 and immediately before xxi. 6^b. See next page. Hence correct note in vol. ii. 203 *ad fin.* 6^a is an interpolation. The Seer does not require such an assurance in confirmation of God's own words. Nothing can intervene between the declaration of God, "Behold I make all things new," and the Seer's immediate recognition of their fulfilment : "And I saw a new heaven," cf. Gen. i. 3, "And God said, Let there be light : and there was light." This interpolation, xxi. 6^a, "And he said unto me, They have become," is an extremely idle one—even with the traditional order of the text; for the Seer needs no such assurance, since *ex hypothesi* he has in vision already seen the new heaven and the new earth and the New Jerusalem descending on the new Earth, xxi. 1-3. Further in xxi. 5^b the words *ἰδοὺ καὶ τὰ πάντα* do not refer to an accomplished fact, which the traditional order presupposes. If the Seer had so intended he would have said *ἰδοὺ καὶ πεποίηκα πάντα* (cf. iii. 8, *ἰδοὺ θέτωκα*). These words refer to the present creative act. Hence the new creation, xxi. 1-3, follows after xxi. 5^b, and the Seer in the vision sees God's words at once translated into fact. Cf. i Enoch xiv. 22 *πᾶς λόγος αὐτοῦ ἔργον*.

The New
Jerusalem

2. And the holy city, New Jerusalem, I saw,
Coming down out of heaven from God,
Made ready as a bride adorned for her husband.

God
dwells
with men

3. And I heard a great voice from the throne saying,
Behold, the tabernacle¹ of God is with men,
And he shall dwell with them,
And they shall be his people,²
And he shall be their God.³

Blessed-
ness of
God's
people,
xxi. 4^a b. c. a. xxii. 3-5

4^a. And God shall wipe away every tear from their eyes
b. And death shall be no more :
c. Neither shall there be mourning, nor crying, nor
pain any more,
Neither shall there be any more curse.
And the throne of God and of the Lamb shall
be in it :
And his servants shall serve him,
4. And they shall see his face,
And his name shall be on their foreheads.
5. And there shall be no more night,
And they have no need of light of lamp or light
of sun,
For the Lord God shall cause (his face) to shine
upon them :⁴
And they shall reign for ever and ever.

EPILOGUE AT THE CLOSE OF JOHN'S VISION.

God's
testimony
to John's
book and
His
message to
all men :
divine
sonship
for the
faithful :
for the
unfaithful
the second
death, xxi.
5^a, 6^b-8

XXI. 5^c, 6^b-8. (God's testimony to John's book : His
message to all men.)

XXI. 5^c. And He saith, Write ; for these words are faithful
and true.

6^b. I am the Alpha and the Omega,
The beginning and the end :
I will give to him that thirsteth of the fountain of the
water of life freely.

¹ ἡ σκηνή is probably "the Shekinah." There is no real English
equivalent. Perhaps we might render : "the Presence of God is with men " ;
or "the dwelling of God." In no case has "tabernacle" its ecclesiastical
meaning or its traditional associations ; see vol. ii. 205 sq.

² See vol. ii. 207 : crit. note on this line.

³ See vol. ii. 210 sq. : crit. note.

⁴ See vol. ii. 210 sq. φωτίζειν can, of course, be used intransitively, but
John uses it only actively elsewhere : xviii. 1, xxi. 23. Otherwise render :
"shall shine upon them." But in this sense we find φωτίζειν with the dat.

7. He that overcometh shall inherit these things,
And I will be his God,
And he shall be my son.
8. But for the cravenhearted and unbelieving,
And abominable and murderers,
And fornicators and sorcerers,
And idolaters and all liars—
Their part shall be in the lake that burneth with fire
and brimstone :
Which is the second death.

CHAPTER XXII.

XXII. 6-7, 18^a, 16, 18, 19, 10. (Here more than anywhere else in chaps. xx.-xxii. we have the *disjecta membra* of the Poet-Seer. I have restored the order of this section tentatively as above. xxii. 11, 18^b-19 are relegated to the footnotes as interpolations. See vol. ii. 211-213, 217.)

(Christ's testimony to John's book : His speedy coming.)

6. And he said unto me, These words are faithful and true: and the Lord, the God of the spirits of the prophets, sent his angel to show unto his servants the things which must shortly come to pass. And behold, I come quickly. Blessed is he that keepeth the words of the prophecy of this book.¹
- 18^a. To every one that heareth I testify the words of the prophecy of this book.²

¹ This sentence forms the seventh beatitude. There is a certain fitness in the order of the seven. The first (i. 3) declares the blessedness of those who read and keep the prophecy: the second (iii. 3, *i.e.*, xvi. 15) of him who watcheth and keepeth his garments: the third (xiv. 12-13) of those who die in the Lord: the fourth (xix. 9) of those who having so died are invited to the marriage supper of the Lamb: the fifth (xxii. 14) of those who had washed their garments that they might have access to the tree of life in the heavenly city: the sixth (xx. 6) of those who have actually part in the first resurrection: the seventh (xxii. 7) of those who keep the words of this Book.

² The following interpolation is inserted here :

18^b. If any man shall add unto them, God shall add unto him the plagues which are written in this book. 19. And if any man shall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God shall take away his part from the tree of life, and out of the holy city, which are written in this book"; see vol. ii. 222-224.

16. I Jesus have sent mine angel to testify these things unto you in ¹ the Churches :
I am the root and the offspring of David,
The bright and the morning star.

18. I am the Alpha and the Omega,
The first and the last,
The beginning and the end.

His speedy
Advent

19. Behold, I come quickly ;
And my reward is with me,
To render to each man according as his work is.

10. And he saith unto me, Seal not up the words of the prophecy of this book ; for the time is at hand.²

XXII. 8-9, 20-21. (John's testimony : the closing words.)

John's
testimony :
angel
worship
forbidden,
xxii. 8-9

8. And I John am he that heard and saw these things. And when I heard and saw, I fell down to worship before the feet of the angel which showed me these things. 9. And he saith unto me, See thou do it not : I am a fellow-servant with thee and with thy brethren the prophets, and with them which keep the words of this book : worship God.

Christ's
final
words and
John's
prayer and
benedic-
tion,
20-21

20. He which testifieth these things saith,
Yea : I come quickly.
Amen : come, Lord Jesus.

21. The grace of the Lord Jesus be with all the saints.
Amen.³

¹ *et*. So A, etc. Other authorities *et* = "concerning."

² Here the text adds :

11. He that is unrighteous, let him do unrighteousness still :
And he that is filthy, let him be made filthy still :
And he that is righteous, let him do righteousness still :
And he that is holy, let him be made holy still.

This verse refers to the Seer's contemporaries, and declares that the time for repentance is past. But, since xxi. 6-8 refer also to his contemporaries, there is still hope for them, if they repent ; see vol. ii. 221 sq.

³ The text of this verse is very uncertain. I have followed A in reading "the Lord Jesus." The fuller title, "Lord Jesus Christ," has the support of 046 and most cursives, while the form "our Lord Jesus Christ" has the support of some cursives and nearly all the versions. Again, the Apocalypse cannot have ended with the words "with all" (A vg). Such a grace would be wholly at variance with the thought of the Seer. Only the saints or those seeking to be saints can receive such grace. Hence the reading of A vg is simply defective, and the choice must lie between the reading of *κ* (gig) "with the saints" and that of 046 s⁽¹⁾ arm⁴ bo "with all the saints." This last is most in keeping with our author's views : cf. viii. 3.

APPENDIX.

FOUR PAPYRUS AND VELLUM FRAGMENTS OF THE APOCALYPSE.

FRAGMENT I. (= F¹).

P. Oxy. viii. 1079.

(Late 3rd or 4th Cent. Verso of a papyrus roll with Exodus
on recto (ed. Hunt, 1911).)

- i. 4. [Ιωαννης τα]ε[ς επτα] εκ[κλησ]ια[ις
τα[ις εν τη] Ασια χαρις υμιν και ειρη
νη απο ο ων] και ο ην και ο ερχομε
νος και απο τ]ων επτα πνευμα
των α (?)] εν[ω]πιον του θρονου αυ
5. [τ]ον' και απο Ιη Χρ ο μαρτυς ο πι
στος ο πρωτοτοκος των νεκρω
και ο αρχων των βασιλειων της γης
τω αγαπωντι ημας και λυσαντι η
[μ]ας εκ των αμαρτιων ημων εν
6. [τ]ω αματι αυτου και εποησεν ημ[ι
[βα]σ[ι]λειαν ιερεις τῶν¹ θνω² και π[α]τρι
αυτο]ν' αυτω το κρατος και η δοξα
7. [εις το]υς αιωνας αμην ιδου
ερχε]ται μετα των νεφελων
και οψε]ται αυτον πας οφθαλ
μος και ο]ιτινες αυτον εξε

¹ Correction in first hand.

² Result of correction in first hand. Sic.

FRAGMENT II. (= F²).

P. Oxy. viii. 1080.

(4th Cent. Plate 1. Leaf from vellum Codex
(ed. Hunt, 1911).)

λγ

λδ

- iii. 19. ω ^{ωσαν}ζηλευε¹ ουν και μετα
 20. νοησον ιδου εστηκα επι
 την θυραν και [†]εισελευσο
 μαι προς αυτον και δι
 πνησω μετ αυτου και αυ
 21. τος μετ² εμου ο νεικων
 δωσω αυτω καθεισαι
 μετ εμου ε[ν] τω θρον[ω μ]ου³
 ως καγω νενεικη⁴α
 και πεκαθικα¹ μετα τ[ο]ν
 πρ^ς μου εν τω θρονω
 22. αυτου ο εχων ους ακου
 [σατ]ω τι το π^να λεγει
- iv. 1. ταις εκκλησιαις μετα
] κρουω ε[α]ν τ[ις] ακου[ση της
] φων]ης μ[ο]ν και ανοιξη την θυραν και²
- ταυτα ιδον και ιδου θυ
 ρα ανεωγμενη εν¹
 τω ουρανω και η² φω³
 νη η πρωτη ην ηκουσα
 ως σαλπιγγος λαλονσης
 μετ² εμου λεγων αναβα
 ωδε και δειξω σοι α δι
 [γε]νεσθα[ι μ]ετα ταυτα
 2. κ[α]ι² ευθεως εγ[ε]νομην εν
 [τω] π^νι κα[ι] ιδου [θ]ρο
 νος εκειτο [ε]ν τω ο^ντω
 και επι το[ν] θρονον κα
 3. θημενον και ο καθ[η]
 επι τον θρον[ον]³
 μενος ομοι^ς ορασε⁴

¹ Correction by second hand. ¹ Second hand. First hand wrote
² The two missing lines are added by θυραν ανεωγμενην (?).
first hand at bottom of column, beginning ² Written by second hand.
] κρουω κτλ. ³ This line is added by second hand
⁴ Added by second hand. (sic) between the lines.

FRAGMENT III. (= F³).

P. Oxy. x. 1230.

(Early 4th Cent. (ed. Grenfell and Hunt, 1914).)

Recto.

- v. 5. ιδον ερ[ικησεν
 Δαυ]ιδ¹ αν[οιξαι
 6. αυ]του κ[α]ι ειδον εν[
 ζω]ν και εν μεσω των πρ[εσβυτερων
 ω]ς εσφαγμενοι εχων κερ[ατα
] τα ζ¹ π^να του θυ απεσταλ¹ [
 7. ηλ]θεν και ειληφεν εκ της δ[ε]ξι[ας
 8. οτ]ε ελα[βεν

¹ A slip of the scribe for απεσταλ.

Verso.

- vi. 5.] καθήμ[ενος
 6. κ]αι ηκουσ[α
 χοι]νίξ σιτου δηναριου κ[αι
 δην]αριου και το ελεον και το [
 7.] οτε ηνεωξεν την σφραγ[ιδα
 ηκο]υσα φωνην του τεταμτ[ου
 8.]ειδ[ον

FRAGMENT IV. (= F⁴).

P. Oxy. vi. 848.

(5th Cent. Plate 1. Fragment of papyrus Codex
 (ed. Grenfell and Hunt, 1908).)

Recto.

- xvi. 17. [του ναο]υ απο του
 θρονου λεγουσα·
 18. γεγονεν και εγε
 νοντο αστραπαι
 και φωναι και βρο
 ται· κ[αι σ]εισμος εγ[ε

Verso.

- xvi. 19. λη εμνη[σθη ενω
 πιον του θυ· δου
 ναι αυτη το ποτη
 ριον του οινου
 του θυμου της
 [ο]ργης αυτ[ο]υ και

NOTES ON THE ABOVE FRAGMENTS

F¹.

i. 4-7. This fragment agrees word for word with A where it exists. It is true that it differs in the reading supplied by Professor Hunt in i. 4: *i.e.* [των α] εν[ω]πιον. There is not room apparently for [των των] εν[ω]πιον as in A^κ. The fragment agrees throughout with C save that with A 025 it omits των αιωνων in i. 6, and perhaps rightly. It agrees generally with κ save in two passages where κ in i. 6 reads τ. αιων. των αιωνων and in i. 7 οψονται. It disagrees with 025 five times (1⁴ α εστιν, 1⁵ αγαπησαντι, λουσαντι, απο (for εκ), 1⁶ βασιλεις και ιερεις) and with 046 four times (1⁴ απο θεου ο ων, 1⁵ λουσαντι, απο, 1⁶ ποιησαντι).

Thus this fragment, so far as it exists, attests the text of A(C) as already existing in its present form at the close of the 3rd cent. or early in the 4th. The transposition το κρατος και η δοξα in i. 6 is peculiar to this fragment.

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F².

iii. 19–iv. 2. First of all A and F² (as well F^{2m} = second hand in F²) stand apart. A has two peculiar readings in 4¹ *αναβηθι* and *οσα*. Next A > *και* before *εισελευσονται* in 3³⁰. Finally, F^{2m} reads *ζηλωσον* in 3¹⁹, *ανεωγμενη* in 4¹, and *και ευθως* in 4²—all against A. Thus F^{2m} multiplies by 75 per cent. the differences between A and F² (if we leave *αναβηθι* and *οσα* out of consideration). F² reads *ζηλευε* in 3¹⁹ as A.

κ. F² is more closely related to κ than to any other uncial. Thus κ reads *και* before *εισελευσονται* in 3³⁰ and adds *ιδου* after *και*² in 4¹. It reads *ζηλωσον* in 3¹⁹ with F^{2m}. The *και* (a Hebraism) in 3³⁰ is most probably original, but the other two are wrong.

ο25. This uncial > *και* before *εισελευσονται* against F² and reads *ζηλωσον* 3¹⁹ and *και ευθως* with F^{2m}.

ο46. This uncial reads *ζηλευε* 3¹⁹ and *και εισελ.* in 3³⁰ with F²—both right, *ανεωγμενη* in 4¹ with F^{2m}, and does not insert *και* before *ευθως* in 4² as F^{2m} does.

From the above it follows that F² and F^{2m} agree much more closely with κ than with any other uncial, but have affinities with ο25 and ο46. ο46 attests a better text here than κ or ο25.

F³.

v. 5–8, vi. 5–8. F³ agrees in 5⁶ with AN ο25 in reading *ανοιξαι*, where ο46 reads *ο ανοιγων*; in 5⁶ with κ ο25. ο46 in reading *εν μεσω*, where A reads *εμμεσω* and always elsewhere with C; in 5⁶ with AN ο46 in reading *εχων*, where ο25 reads *εχον* (a correction), and 6⁷ with AN in reading *φωνην* which C ο25. ο46 omit. Thus F³ agrees so far as it goes with AN.

F⁴.

xvi. 17–18, 19. This fragment agrees word for word with A. Since ο25 is defective here, we have only to consider the relation of F⁴ to κ and ο46. While F⁴ supports A in the right reading in 16¹⁸ *αστραπαι και φωναι και βρονται*, κ^{*} reads *βρονται κ. αστρ. κ. φων. κ. βρονται*, κ^c *βρ. κ. αστρ. κ. φων*, and ο46 *αστρ. κ. φων*.

F⁴ agrees with AN in 16¹⁷ against ο46, which adds *τον ουρανου* after *ναου*, and with A ο46 in reading *απο του θρονου* against *του θιου* of κ. Again, in 16¹⁹ F⁴ agrees with A ο46 in reading *δουναι* against *του δουναι* of κ, *το ποτηριον* and *του οινου* against κ, which omits the article in both cases, and *οργης αυτου* against κ, which omits the *αυτου*. Thus ο46 is right five times with A against κ.

This fragment is interesting. Like F^1 , F^4 agrees word for word with A. But whereas F^1 gives considerable support to \aleph , F^4 is with one exception against it. Next, whereas F^3 gives equal support to A and \aleph , F^3 supports \aleph more often than any other uncial.

The above fragments prove, so far as they go, the absolute pre-eminence of A. They furnish evidence for the early uncial character of certain deviations of 025 and for the antiquity of one or more false readings of 046. Next as regards \aleph , we see that, whereas it has considerable support from F^1 and the full support of F^3 , it is far inferior to 046 in F^3 F^4 . Unfortunately 025 is defective for F^4 . From this comparison 025 emerges with a bad record. Hence, if on the exiguous evidence of these fragments we arranged the uncials in the order of merit, we should have A, C, 046, 025. All the evidence given in the Introduction, which in the main is limited to the fragments of \aleph and the corresponding sections in the other Versions and MSS, uphold the following order: A, C, 025, \aleph , 046. An exhaustive examination of the MSS and Versions might place \aleph before 025, but could not affect the primacy of A.

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON 13^{11b}.

THE text of this line in vol. ii. 317 should be restored as follows: *ἔχεν κέρατα δύο ὅμοια < τῷ > ἀρνίῳ*. The translation accordingly in vol. ii. 420 should be: "And he had two horns like *the* lamb."¹ The term "lamb" is here a symbol for the Messiah as elsewhere in our author, and earlier in Judaism, as we shall see presently. There would be no sense in saying "he had two horns like a lamb"; for some lambs have horns and some have not. The whole point of 13^{11b} consists in this, that the second Beast or Antichrist is portrayed as a Satanic counterpart of Christ, just as in 13⁸ the first Beast or Antichrist is also represented as a Satanic counterpart of Christ; for he is described as *ἐσφαγμένῳ εἰς θάνατον*.

But (as I have shown in vol. i. 340-44) chapter 13 is derived from Jewish sources, and 13¹¹⁻¹⁸ cannot be understood apart from Jewish apocalyptic. Now, whereas in our author the Lamb is described as having "seven horns,"² i.e. as a being of transcendent power, a Christian development of a Jewish conception, in this Jewish source the Messiah is symbolized by "a lamb with two horns," which was definitely a Jewish conception. The explanation of this latter phrase is to be found in 1 Enoch and the Test. XII Patriarchs. In 1 Enoch 90⁹ the Maccabean leaders are described as "horned lambs" as distinct from the rest of the religious Jews who are described as "lambs." In the pages referred to in the note¹ below, I have already shown how certain religious and military leaders of Israel were so symbolized in 1 Enoch 85-90. In the Test. Joseph 19⁸ Jonathan the Maccabee, who is obviously regarded by the writer of that work as the Messiah, is symbolized by the term *ἀμνός*. That for the corrupt "word" in 1 Enoch 90⁸⁸ we must read "lamb," where the Messiah is referred to, I have shown in my second edition of that book. But I herewith abandon Goldschmidt's emendation of the text which takes מלה to be a corruption of מלה, and which I then accepted, and also the hypothesis that 83-90 was originally written in Hebrew. I now regard 83-90 as derived from an Aramaic original,³ and explain the meaningless term "word" in 90⁸⁸ as a rendering of מִימָר which was a corruption of אִמָּר = "lamb." There the Messiah is symbolized as a lamb of which it is said that it became great and horned: that is, it had two horns, since this is the natural number.

¹ Hence כֶּסֶף in the source should have been read by the translator as קֶסֶף, not as קֶסֶף.

² See vol. i. p. cxiii sq.

³ In my second edition, p. lxi, I left the question of the original language of 83-90 open, though inclining to the view that it was Hebrew. But like 6-36 and Daniel originally it was most probably written first in Aramaic. Later in the 2nd cent. B.C. such books were written in Hebrew.

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON THE LATIN VERSIONS.

FRAGMENTS OF A LATIN VERSION OF THE APOCALYPSE PRESERVED IN THE SPECULUM (DESIGNATED M) AND FOUND IN ITS ENTIRETY IN THE CODEX GIGAS.

THESE fragments were first published by Mai in his *Spicilegium Romanum*, 1843, ix. 72-74, and are reprinted here according to Weihrich's edition (*Liber de divinis scripturis sive speculum*, Vienna, 1887). They do not represent any particular manuscript, but consist of a collection of proof passages from the O. or N.T. It is assigned to the vi-vii century. That m represents the same version as gig, a few examples will make clear.

From this comparison of versions, it will be seen that gig m represent one translation from the Greek and Cyp (*i.e.* Cyprian) Pr another. Occasionally I will append the readings of Tyc and vg. Unhappily fl is defective in the passages where m is preserved.

2²⁸ qui scrutor (scruto m : scrutans Tyc vg) renes et corda, gig m Tyc vg : scrutator renis et cordis, Cyp Pr.

3¹⁵ Neque calidus . . . aut calidus gig m vg : neque fervens . . . aut fervens Pr Tyc(?).

3¹⁷ miserabilis et mendicus et nudus et caecus gig m : miser et pauper et caecus et nudus Cyp Tyc vg (> Pr).

3¹⁸ vestimenta . . . induaris gig m : vestiaris veste (~ Pr) Cyp Pr.

confusio nuditatis gig m Tyc vg : foeditas nuditatis Cyp Pr.

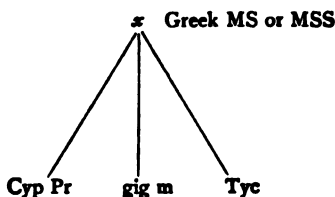
14¹⁰ in igne gig m : igne Cyp Pr Tyc vg.

18⁴ et (> Tyc) ne (ut non gig) communicetis peccatis ejus, et de (> Tyc) plagis ejus (+ ut m) ne accipiat (laedamini Tyc) gig m Tyc = ne particeps sis delictorum ejus et ne perstringaris plagis ejus Cyp Pr.

18⁶ calicem quem (calice quo m Tyc) miscuit . . . miscite illi (ei m) duplum gig m Tyc : in quo poculo miscuit duplum remixtum est ei Cyp Pr Arm³.

From the above, out of many like instances, it may be concluded that Cyp Pr and gig m are two independent translations of one and the same MS or possibly of two Greek MSS, which were generally in the closest agreement. The example under 18⁶ exhibits a divergence, which may represent a divergence in the Greek MSS. There are a few divergences between gig and m, which may be due to the influence of some other Latin version. Thus we have ditatus in 3¹⁷ in gig Cyp and locupletatus in m (and Tyc vg). Here Pr is defective.

We might *provisionally* represent the relations of the Latin versions as follows :—



Speculum (vi-vii cent.).

2¹ Et angelo Ephesi ecclesiae scribe.

2²⁸ Et scient omnes ecclesiae quia ego sum qui scruto renes et corda.

3¹⁴ Et angelo Laodiciae ecclesiae scribe: haec dicit ille amen, testis fidelis et verax, principium creaturae Dei. ¹⁵ Novi opera tua, quia neque frigidus neque calidus es. Utinam frigidus esses aut calidus! ¹⁶ Sed quoniam tepidus, evomam te ex ore meo. ¹⁷ Quia dicis: dives sum, et locupletatus sum, et nihil opus est mihi; et nescis quia tu es miser et miserabilis et mendicus et nudus et caecus. ¹⁸ Suadeo tibi a me emere aurum igne probatum, ut dives sis et locupleteris; et vestimenta mea alba, ut induaris, ut non appareat confusio nuditatis tuae. Et collurio inungue oculos tuos, ut videas. ¹⁹ Ego quoscumque amo, arguo et castigo. Aemulare igitur et age paenitentiam. ²⁰ Ecce sto ad januam et pulso. Si quis audierit vocem meam, et aperuerit januam, introibo ad illum, et caenabo cum illo et ille mecum. ²¹ Qui vincit, dabo illi sedere mecum in sede mea, quomodo et ego vici, et sedeo cum patre meo in sede ipsius.

14⁸ Cecidit, cecidit Babylon magna. De vino fornicationis ejus biberunt omnes gentes. ⁹ Si quis adoratur bestiam et imaginem ejus, et accipit character in fronte sua aut in manu sua dextra, ¹⁰ et hic bibit de indignatione Dei, quae mixta est mera in calice irae ejus, et cruciabitur in igne et sulfure in conspectu angelorum et agni. ¹¹ Et fumus et cruciatus eorum in saecula saeculorum ascendit. Et non habent requiem die ac nocte qui adorant bestiam et imaginem ejus, et qui acceperunt character nominis illius. ¹² Et audiui vocem de caelo dicentem mihi: scribe, beati mortui qui in Domino

moriuntur amodo. Etiam dicit spiritus, ut requiescant a laboribus suis: opera enim eorum sequuntur eos.

17¹⁵ Aquae quas vidisti ubi meretrix sedet, populi et turbae et gentes et linguae sunt.

18⁴ Et audiui aliam vocem de caelo dicentem: exite de ea populus meus, et ne communicetis peccatis ejus, et de plagis ejus ut ne¹ accipiat. ⁵ Quia adpropinquaverunt peccata ejus usque ad caelum, et memoratus est Deus iniquitates ejus. ⁶ Reddite ei sicut et ipsa reddidit, et duplicate duplicia secundum opera ejus. In calice quo miscuit vobis, miscite ei duplum. ⁷ Et quantum magnificavit se, et luxoriata est, tantum date ei tormentum et luctum. Quia in corde suo dicit, sedeo regina, et luctum meum non videbo. ⁸ Propterea una hora veniet plaga ejus, mors et famis et luctus, et igne cremabitur. Quoniam fortis est dominus Deus qui judicat eam.

20¹² Et vidi mortuos pusillos et magnos stantes in conspectu sedis. Et libri aperti sunt, et alius liber apertus est qui est vitae. Et judicati sunt mortui secundum ea quae scripta sunt in libris, et secundum opera sua. ¹³ Et dedit mare mortuos qui fuerunt in ipso, et mors et infernus dederunt mortuos qui fuerunt in ipsis. Et judicati sunt singuli secundum facta sua.

21⁸ Dubiis autem et infidelibus et abominandis et homicidis et adulteris et maleficis et idolis servientibus et mendacibus, pars illorum in stagno ignis ardentis et sulfure, quod est mors secunda.

22¹⁵ Foras canes, et malifici, et adulteri, et idolis servientes. ¹⁶ Testor ego omni audienti verba prophetiae libri hujus. Si quis adjecerit supra haec, imponet Deus super eum plagas quae scriptae sunt in hoc libro. ¹⁹ Et si quis abstulerit verba prophetiae libri hujus, auferet Deus partem ejus de ligno vitae et de civitate sancta.

¹ Ut ne (= *ne* $\mu\eta$). So Weihrich emends et ²⁰ in Codex Sangallensis, MVLC om.

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON THE MILLENNIAL KINGDOM.

THE peculiar form that the Millennial Kingdom assumes in the Apocalypse is due to the results which, according to the Seer, would arise out of the conflicting claims of the Empire and the Christian Faith.

The main question at issue between them, a question which included all minor issues within it, originated in the demand that all loyal citizens of the Roman Empire should offer Divine worship to the Emperor. This claim to Divine honours was adopted by Rome with the object of unifying and consolidating all the diverse elements of the Roman Empire into a single whole. As Rome had already united all the civilized regions of the world in one universal commonwealth, so now it aimed at strengthening this bond of common citizenship by the still stronger tie of a common and universal religion, the one essential element of which was the worship of the Roman Emperor. Such a worship, of course, no Christian could render. Hence a collision of these two forces became inevitable, and in due course Rome proposed to itself definitely the task of exterminating Christianity on the ground that it was a Society guilty of high treason to the State. This came about first under Domitian. Thus there arose a conflict of two loyalties, loyalty to God and Christ on the one hand and loyalty to Caesar on the other, and our author was the first to set forth in all its seriousness the transcendent issues at stake, and to teach his brethren that to yield in any degree to such demands of the State was to be guilty of apostasy to God and the Christ who had redeemed them.

Under the conflict of his day the prophet clearly discerned the eternal issues at stake, and in this conflict he taught that no faithful follower of Christ would escape: in other words, *he foretold a universal martyrdom*. Herein our author may have found a fulfilment of the mysterious saying of our Lord: "When the Son of Man cometh, shall He find faith on the earth?"

This forecast of our author, however, was no more realized than numbers of the detailed prophecies of the O.T. But, though this element in his prophecy failed to be fulfilled, the larger spiritual truth embodied in his prophecy—that the Kingdom of this world should become the Kingdom of the Lord and of His Christ—is true for all time and all like crises in human affairs. While the human element falls away the divine remains.

But the Seer could not stop short with forecasting a universal martyrdom. For this forecast of a universal martyrdom naturally led to a recasting of the traditional expectation of

the Millennial Kingdom. If the world was to be evangelized afresh, this evangelization could not be effected save through supernatural intervention, seeing that all the faithful were to be martyred before the advent of the Kingdom. Hence our Seer expected Christ to return on His Second Advent *with all the blessed martyrs* to destroy the enemies of the Kingdom (17¹⁴ 19¹¹⁻²⁰) and to found the Millennial Kingdom in the Jerusalem that should come down from heaven, and so to evangelize the world afresh (21⁹-22² 14-16. 17 20⁴⁻⁶).

But since John's expectation of a universal martyrdom in the immediate future was not realized, his expectation that the earth would be evangelized by Christ and the blessed martyrs from heaven, cannot be regarded as an essential element of the teaching of the N.T., seeing that the former expectation which gave it birth never itself came into being. The need for this supernatural method of Christianizing the world has not arisen. There has been no universal martyrdom of the Church. Hence since the faithful survive, Christ has committed into their hands the complete evangelization of the world.

But while the peculiar form of this expectation must be relegated to the region of unfulfilled prophecy, the truth at the base of this expectation is not thereby affected. And this truth is that ultimately the righteous shall inherit the earth. The entire Apocalypse is indeed in one respect an expansion of the two opening beatitudes of the Sermon on the Mount:¹ the first of these is, "Blessed are the poor in spirit: for theirs *is* the Kingdom of heaven" (Matt. 5³). The essential element of this beatitude is conveyed in many of the Seer's words, but especially in

- iii. 20. Behold I stand at the door and knock :
 If any man hear my voice and open the door,
 I will come in to him, and will sup with him,
 And he with me."

As for the second beatitude—"Blessed are the meek: for they *shall inherit* the earth" (Matt. 5⁵)—the assurance of the truth of this beatitude shows itself in every song of the Apocalypse, whether sung by angels or saints, and this assurance gathers strength as the divine drama moves swiftly onwards, till at last in the closing millennium of the world's history the Kingdom of this world has become the Kingdom of the Lord and of His Christ.

The optimism of the man who believes in God and lives unto Him cannot be other than indomitable and unexpugnable.

¹ The so-called second beatitude, "Blessed are they that mourn: for they shall be comforted," is an intrusion in Matthew's text. V.⁶ should follow immediately on v.⁵.

GIVING REFERENCES TO GREEK TEXT (VOL. II, PP. 236-385), TO INTRODUCTION (VOL. I, PP. XXI-CLXXXVII), TO COMMENTARY (VOL. I, PP. I-373 AND VOL. II, PP. I-226), AND TO ENGLISH TRANSLATION (VOL. II, PP. 386-446), AND APPENDICES (PP. 447-457).

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516^o 517^o 518^o 519^o 520^o 521^o 522^o 523^o 524^o 525^o 526^o 527^o 528^o 529^o 530^o 531^o 532^o 533^o 534^o 535^o 536^o 537^o 538^o 539^o 540^o 541^o 542^o 543^o 544^o 545^o 546^o 547^o 548^o 549^o 550^o 551^o 552^o 553^o 554^o 555^o 556^o 557^o 558^o 559^o 560^o 561^o 562^o 563^o 564^o 565^o 566^o 567^o 568^o 569^o 570^o 571^o 572^o 573^o 574^o 575^o 576^o 577^o 578^o 579^o 580^o 581^o 582^o 583^o 584^o 585^o 586^o 587^o 588^o 589^o 590^o 591^o 592^o 593^o 594^o 595^o 596^o 597^o 598^o 599^o 600^o 601^o 602^o 603^o 604^o 605^o 606^o 607^o 608^o 609^o 610^o 611^o 612^o 613^o 614^o 615^o 616^o 617^o 618^o 619^o 620^o 621^o 622^o 623^o 624^o 625^o 626^o 627^o 628^o 629^o 630^o 631^o 632^o 633^o 634^o 635^o 636^o 637^o 638^o 639^o 640^o 641^o 642^o 643^o 644^o 645^o 646^o 647^o 648^o 649^o 650^o 651^o 652^o 653^o 654^o 655^o 656^o 657^o 658^o 659^o 660^o 661^o 662^o 663^o 664^o 665^o 666^o 667^o 668^o 669^o 670^o 671^o 672^o 673^o 674^o 675^o 676^o 677^o 678^o 679^o 680^o 681^o 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848^o 849^o 850^o 851^o 852^o 853^o 854^o 855^o 856^o 857^o 858^o 859^o 860^o 861^o 862^o 863^o 864^o 865^o 866^o 867^o 868^o 869^o 870^o 871^o 872^o 873^o 874^o 875^o 876^o 877^o 878^o 879^o 880^o 881^o 882^o 883^o 884^o 885^o 886^o 887^o 888^o 889^o 890^o 891^o 892^o 893^o 894^o 895^o 896^o 897^o 898^o 899^o 900^o 901^o 902^o 903^o 904^o 905^o 906^o 907^o 908^o 909^o 910^o 911^o 912^o 913^o 914^o 915^o 916^o 917^o 918^o 919^o 920^o 921^o 922^o 923^o 924^o 925^o 926^o 927^o 928^o 929^o 930^o 931^o 932^o 933^o 934^o 935^o 936^o 937^o 938^o 939^o 940^o 941^o 942^o 943^o 944^o 945^o 946^o 947^o 948^o 949^o 950^o 951^o 952^o 953^o 954^o 955^o 956^o 957^o 958^o 959^o 960^o 961^o 962^o 963^o 964^o 965^o 966^o 967^o 968^o 969^o 970^o 971^o 972^o 973^o 974^o 975^o 976^o 977^o 978^o 979^o 980^o 981^o 982^o 983^o 984^o 985^o 986^o 987^o 988^o 989^o 990^o 991^o 992^o 993^o 994^o 995^o 996^o 997^o 998^o 999^o 1000^o 1001^o 1002^o 1003^o 1004^o 1005^o 1006^o 1007^o 1008^o 1009^o 1010^o 1011^o 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7 2 9 10 11¹ 6 11 12 12 (bis). 12 19 (bis) 12¹ 2 2 6 7 8 10 12 13² 2 10 (bis) 12 14¹⁰ 2 2 6 (bis). 9 10 (bis) 14 [14¹⁰ 17] 15 (1 bis). 5 16² 8 17² 4 18 18² 2 7 8 (bis). 19 (bis) 20 22² 22² 23² 24² 25² 26² 27² 28 19¹ 2 11 14 16 (bis). 17 (bis). 20 (bis). 22 21¹⁰ 22 27 22² 20² 2 12 13 (bis). 15 22² 21¹⁰ 22² [22¹⁰] [22¹⁰] 22¹⁰.

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